

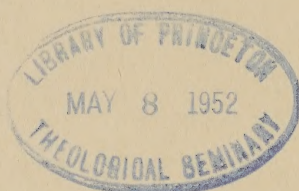
C. HOWARD HOPKINS

HISTORY OF THE Y·M·C·A  
IN NORTH AMERICA



+ ASSOCIATION PRESS +





Hopkins, Charles Howard,  
1905-  
History of the Y.M.C.A. in  
North America  
BV 1030 .H6 1951





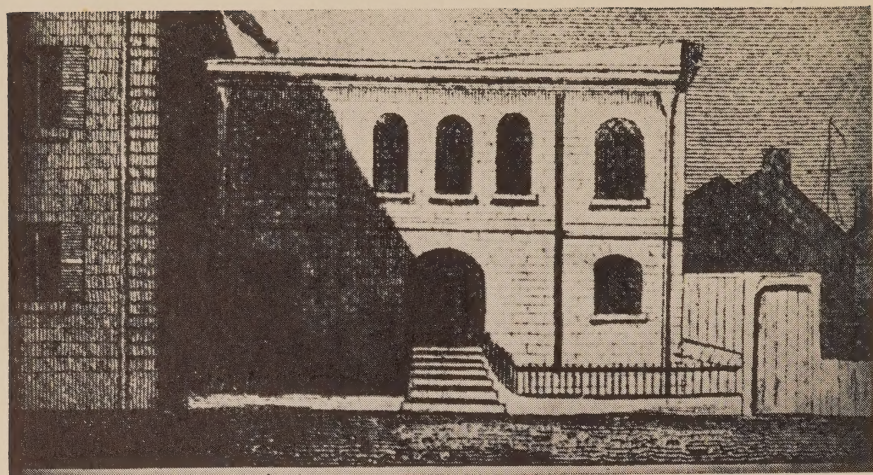




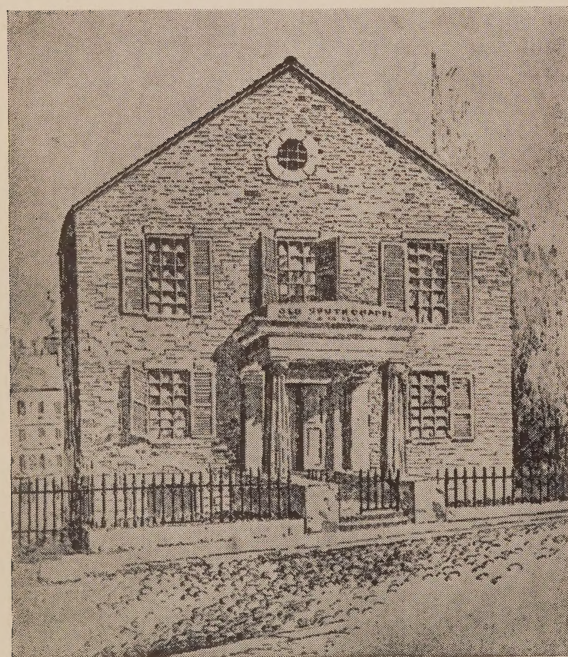


HISTORY OF THE Y.M.C.A. IN NORTH AMERICA





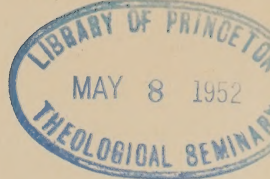
St. Helen's Baptist Church, Montreal



Old Smith Chapel,  
Boston

CRADLES OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN NORTH AMERICA





# HISTORY of the Y. M. C. A. in North America

by C. HOWARD HOPKINS

ASSOCIATION PRESS • New York • 1951

Copyright, 1951 by the  
National Board of Young Men's Christian Associations



Printed in the United States of America



## A N A P P R E C I A T I O N

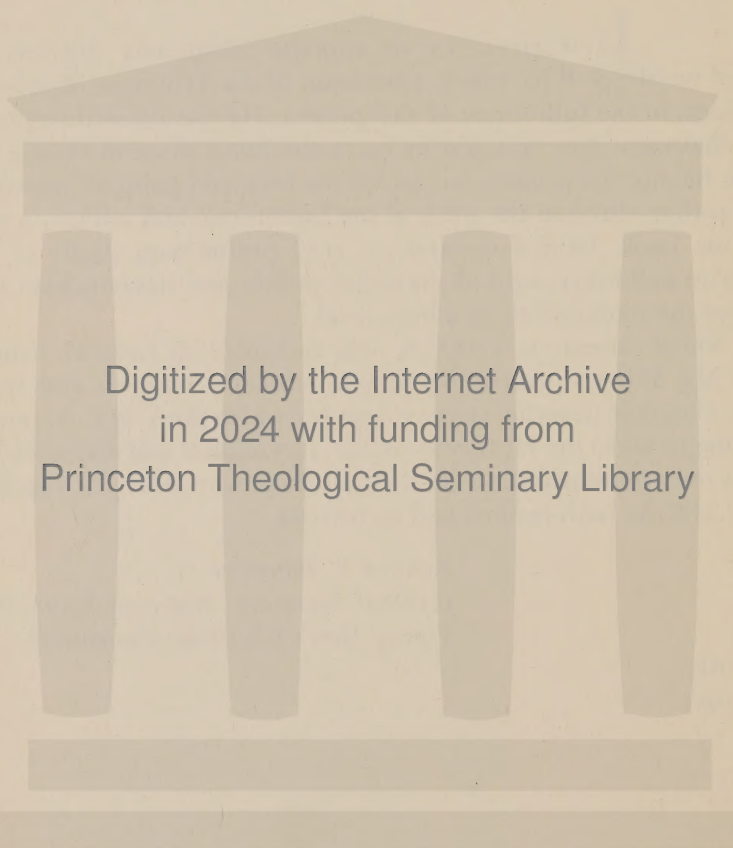
IT IS DIFFICULT to appraise adequately the services rendered by Mr. S. Wirt Wiley, Chairman of the Historical Resources Committee, in the fulfillment of this project. He was no ordinary committee chairman. Not only did he carry the lion's share of raising the funds to finance the project, but he led the long and painstaking search for the author, directed the work of the Committee and author in outlining the book, located documents, read preliminary drafts of the manuscript and every word of the galley proofs, and in countless other ways kept the undertaking at a high level.

The North American Y.M.C.A. was fortunate to have at hand a man of Mr. Wiley's mature experience, scholarly interests and training, and complete devotion to the things for which the Y.M.C.A. stands. In helping to make the History available, this modest and distinguished man has once more placed in his debt all those who share the concerns of the Y.M.C.A., both laymen and secretaries.

EUGENE E. BARNETT

*General Secretary, National Council of  
Young Men's Christian Associations*

New York,  
April, 1951



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2024 with funding from  
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

# F O R E W O R D

FOR MANY YEARS there has been an increasing need and demand for an objective and definitive history of the Young Men's Christian Association in North America.

The Committee on Historical Resources believed that such a history must be based upon exhaustive research of original documents pertaining both to local Associations and to the inter-Association organizations. It was believed that the history, while not encyclopedic, should be comprehensive enough to tell the story in all its significant aspects, the mistakes and failures as well as the achievements, portraying the developing Movement against the background of contemporary American life.

Obviously the historian should not only be highly competent in the techniques of historical research and writing but should have specialized in American history and particularly in the social, intellectual, and religious history of the United States and Canada. And he should be familiar with the other social sciences. While sympathetic to the purposes of the Y.M.C.A., he should not be a person deeply involved in the work or the fortunes of the organization.

Dr. C. Howard Hopkins seemed to meet these requirements rather remarkably. He had received his Ph.D. degree from Yale, specializing in American history. He was the author of *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism—1865-1915*, in the preparation of which he had dealt intensively with a period that had been formative in the development of the Y.M.C.A. in North America. In his student days he had been a volunteer worker in both student and city Y.M.C.A.'s.

Dr. Hopkins was given unrestricted access to source materials, including correspondence files. The Committee employed the necessary research assistants, approved the general outline of the history, satisfied itself as to the validity of the procedures being used, and gave counsel when requested. Some members of the Committee were among those chosen jointly by the historian and the Committee to serve as critical readers of the manuscript, but the historian was given a free hand in his research and writing.

In conference with representatives of the National Council of the



Y.M.C.A.'s of Canada it was early agreed that this history should deal with the Movement in both Canada and the United States since the Associations of the two countries had been wholly united in one Convention until 1912 and had continued as full partners in many important matters down to the present. It was further agreed that the Canadian Associations would have an additional history prepared going into greater detail regarding the Movement in Canada. The Canadian history has been written by Dr. Murray G. Ross.

The Committee raised a special fund to finance the project. The principal contributors were the following large Y.M.C.A.'s having an extensive and continuous task of training secretaries, technical workers, and lay leaders: Akron, Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Hartford, Houston, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, Portland, Ore., Rochester, N. Y., San Francisco, St. Louis, Seattle, Springfield, Mass., Washington, Wilmington. The railroad Y.M.C.A.'s and the armed services Y.M.C.A.'s as groups made substantial contributions as did Springfield and George Williams Colleges, the National Board, and Dr. John R. Mott.

The history is the product of nearly two and one-half years of full-time work by its author and his assistants. It seems to the Committee to provide a record and an interpretation of past experience that will be useful to the Y.M.C.A. in the development of policies and plans for the future. It should give both present leaders and those preparing for leadership a clearer understanding of the essential characteristics of the organization. It should prove to be a valuable document in the unfolding story of the Christian church and its auxiliaries and a useful contribution to the history of social institutions in North America.

#### COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RESOURCES

S. Wirt Wiley, <i>Chairman</i>	John E. Manley
Ernest M. Best	Owen E. Pence
Thomas W. Graham	Clarence P. Shedd
Lawrence K. Hall	George E. Simmons
Charles H. Wesley	

NEW YORK

1951

## A U T H O R ' S   P R E F A C E

THE PREPARATION and writing of this book provided a significant example of Movement-wide co-operation. In addition to utilizing the resources and facilities mentioned in the Committee's Foreword, the author was enabled to visit widely among Associations and to attend various conferences and meetings, it being the Committee's belief that the History should be written against the background of acquaintance with the present as well as careful study of the past. That the author's knowledge of the contemporary Y.M.C.A. would at best be somewhat superficial was inevitable within the time limits of the job—twenty-six months. The Committee was able to extend our contract somewhat, but the celebration of the Centennial fixed the deadline. The author accepts responsibility for a fair share of the limitations of the study, yet the task proved vastly larger than had at first been supposed. When the project began, housing was difficult; the author commuted some fifty thousand miles during twenty months. The project was itself moved twice and four chapters of the writing had to be completed after the expiration of the twenty-six months in New York. Organizational aspects of the study involved the investment of one working day in five in committee or similar processes. A correspondence involving more than twelve hundred items was necessitated. If some of the priceless archives brought to light could not be fully exploited, they should be a lure to future historians who, it is hoped, will obtain access to some important files that were not available.

The author's primary debt for a multitude of courtesies is to the Chairman of the Committee on Historical Resources, Mr. S. Wirt Wiley, without whose imagination, persistence, and statesmanship the History would not have been written at this time. He has been a constant resource and an unfailing counselor concerning men and the entire Movement, past and present. The indebtedness of all connected with the project to Miss Mary P. Thorpe, Librarian of the National Council, is beyond measure, for without her meticulous knowledge of the collections of the Bowne Historical Library and her infinite capacity for taking pains, the research could not have been accomplished.

We are likewise deeply obligated to Dr. Owen E. Pence for specific guidance and the sharing of insights.

The author did not write this book single-handed. For the steady loyalty of his associates he is grateful beyond measure. Their detailed researches provide the narrative much of its definitive quality. Mrs. Helen F. Sweet gave special attention to the archives of world service and successfully carried through the onerous task of preparing the Index. Mrs. Cleo Mitchell Espy unearthed much fresh data on the student Y.M.C.A.'s and verified an infinite mass of detail to insure the accuracy of the Footnotes. Miss Wilmina Rowland gave the project a period of study of archives and problems in her special fields. To his wife the author is indebted for an indefinable but very real contribution implied in the well-understood phrase—"Y.M.C.A. widow."

Space prevents acknowledgment of help by several score Association men in all parts of the country and abroad, particularly those whose organizations prepared histories for the project. We are also obligated to each member of the Committee on Historical Resources and to the executives of the National staff, especially Dr. Eugene E. Barnett. Many acknowledgments are contained in the Footnotes, but the author is especially grateful to Professor Chester McArthur Destler of Connecticut College for reading and commenting on a large part of the manuscript, and to Professor Raymond P. Morris, Librarian of Yale Divinity School, for numerous courtesies. It was his privilege to know and receive help from the late Professor Robert J. Conklin, Librarian of Springfield College. He owes a varied debt to Dr. Galen Fisher, the late Dr. D. Willard Lyon, Mr. John E. Manley, Professor Sidney E. Mead, Dr. John R. Mott, and Professor H. Richard Niebuhr.

In conclusion the author expresses his respect for the unquestioned generosity of spirit and selfless devotion to the welfare of men and boys that he has witnessed on the part of scores of lay and secretarial workers across the continent through what has been a fascinating and stimulating assignment. He has been given access to all materials in the possession of the Movement and he has written with a free hand.

Stetson University,  
DeLand, Florida,  
April 30, 1951

C. HOWARD HOPKINS



# C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
<i>General Introduction: The Birth of the Y.M.C.A.</i>	3

## PART I

### *The American Movement from its Beginning Through the Civil War (1851-1865)*

<i>Introduction: America in the 1850's</i>	11
1. The First North American Associations	15
2. The Dawn of Movement Consciousness	54

## PART II

### *The North American Movement Finds Itself (1865-1895)*

<i>Introduction: America and the Y.M.C.A. Come of Age</i>	101
3. The Movement Develops a Structure	105
4. The Building Movement and the Emergence of the Secretary	148
5. A Work for All Classes and Conditions of Young Men	179
6. The Foundations of Y.M.C.A. Physical Work	245
7. The Rise of the Student Movement	271
8. The Movement Expands Abroad	309
9. The American Y.M.C.A. and the Christian Religion	361

## PART III

### *The North American Y.M.C.A. in the Twentieth Century (1895-1940)*

<i>Introduction: The Background</i>	405
10. From International Committee to National Council	408

	PAGE
11. The Proliferation of Program (1895-1917)	452
12. Changing Currents in Religion and Ethics (1900-1940)	510
13. New Ideas and Approaches (1920-1940)	549
14. Financing the Associations (1900-1940)	594
15. The Secretarial Profession in the Twentieth Century	605
16. Fifty Years of the Student Y.M.C.A.	625
17. The American Y.M.C.A. and One World	657

## PART IV

### *The Tenth Decade in the American Associations (1940-1951)*

<i>Introduction: The 1940's</i>	709
18. A Decade Becomes a Century	711
Notes	741
Index	788



# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Cradles of the Young Men's Christian Association in North America	Frontispiece
The First Compilation of Associations in North America	24
The North Market Mission (Y.M.C.A.) Sunday School, Chicago, 1857	28
The West Baltimore Building	35
Fac-simile of the Original Copy of the "Paris Basis"	79
Fac-simile of letter written by President Abraham Lincoln, 1861	93
Robert Ross McBurney	108
Letter from Cephas Brainerd to Robert Weidensall, 1869	121
The Chairman and Secretaries of the International Committee, December, 1883	125
Interior of the Twenty-Third Street Building, New York, 1869	153
First Board of Directors of the Western Secretarial Institute	174
Poster announcing the Organization of the "First Colored Y.M.C.A." in America, Norfolk, Virginia	212
Fragment from a statement about the Rural Work Opportunity, written by Robert Weidensall in 1889	226
First page of <i>R.R. Y.M.C.A. Links and Pins</i> , Vol. I, No. I, issued by the Atlanta Association in 1886	232
Luther Halsey Gulick	252
The Tremont Building Gymnasium, Boston, 1872-1883	262
Pioneers of the Student Work Secretaryship	307
Pioneers of the Foreign Work Secretaryship	327
L. Wilbur Messer	422
Edgar M. Robinson	465
The "Rosenwald" Building, Atlanta, Georgia	473
Traveling Library and Recreation Chest	494
The Founders of the World's Student Christian Federation	632

#### ON USAGE OF TERMS AND SOURCE MATERIAL

The term "North American Movement" refers to the Associations in both the United States and Canada. The terms "American" and "Canadian" are used when the reference is limited to the United States or to Canada. In the absence of any qualifying word, the context should make the reference clear. In view of the simultaneous preparation of a history of the Canadian Movement, the primary focus of this book is upon the Y.M.C.A. in the United States.

In quoting from the sources, spelling, punctuation, hyphenation, and the like are left as they were in the originals.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION





## General Introduction:

### The Birth of the Y. M. C. A.

A FRESH EMBODIMENT of the Christian ethic has come into being whenever the Christian religion has burst the bonds of institutionalism and overflowed as a new and vital movement. In the fourth century laymen became impatient with the worldliness of the Church and betook themselves to the monastic life. A great reforming force was released, later to take on the fetters of organization. Reborn upon each new decline within the Christian community, monasticism was the major reforming agency of the Middle Ages. The Protestant Reformation was a vibrant recovery of aspects of the gospel that had been obscured through the centuries. Similar in purpose and in effect were the successive waves of revivals that beginning in the 1730's swept over the American continent at least once each generation. Among the permanent results of the evangelical spirit, and unique within "the endless inventiveness of the ongoing Christian life" and in the development of social organizations, is the Young Men's Christian Association. This book is a history of the first American century of this exceptional lay expression of dynamic Christian concern for the young man adrift in the modern city.

Without undue sentimentality it may be said that devoted bands of youthful disciples have given themselves to the Christian cause since the Master Himself gathered twelve young men from varied walks of life and committed his gospel to them. The lay brotherhoods of the Middle Ages were an embodiment of the spirit of Christian dedication, as were numerous but now forgotten groups of pious youth who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries associated "for religious conversation," for mutual edification, for the "prevention of ye mischief arising from vain company," for "religious debate and theological dis-

cussion," as "nurseries of the churches," or for the propagation of foreign missions.<sup>1</sup> In every instance these societies, many of which endured through generations and even centuries, were the specific response of the Christian spirit to a particular felt need. The resulting organization was colored by that spirit. The parent of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States, of Canada, and of more than threescore nations was such an Association, formed by a dozen youthful salesmen in a London dry goods store in 1844. Inspired by the evangelical revival, it was organized to improve "the spiritual condition of young men engaged in the drapery and other trades by the introduction of religious services among them."

The prime mover in the London enterprise was George Williams (1821-1905), a farmer lad from Somerset who had been apprenticed to a dry goods merchant in Bridgewater at the age of sixteen.<sup>2</sup> Converted soon after, he joined the Congregational Church in that town and became at once an ardent Sunday School worker. In the first glow of his religious faith young Williams came upon the writings of the American evangelist, Charles G. Finney, which were being read throughout the English-speaking world and in translation elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Finney's practical gospel, his strait morality, and his lack of denominational emphasis were a powerful influence upon Williams and his colleagues in the zealous religious groups with which Williams was from this time onward continuously identified and of which he was often the prime mover.

Upon the completion of his apprenticeship in 1841, Williams entered the employ of Hitchcock and Rogers, a leading dry goods firm in St. Paul's Churchyard, London. There were at that time about 140 young men "assistants"—clerks or salesmen—in the establishment, and probably 150,000 in the City of London. Hours were from seven to nine in summer and seven to eight in winter. All wore black broadcloth suits and white ties, and lived in small, crowded rooms above the store. Williams was at once an aggressive force among his companions, whose environment held them in one another's company the entire twenty-four hours of the day. Because of the long hours of work and the usual overtime there were often only a few minutes relaxation in the evenings before the dormitories closed. Moral conditions were of the worst. Competition in business was so keen that in many houses "a premium was set upon misrepresentation," and "intemperance and dissolute living were winked at in the case of a skilful salesman."

Fortunately Williams was thrown in with a few like-minded young men, with whom he shared Finney's books and his yearnings for the souls of his associates. A prayer meeting became the focus of an intimate fellowship that within two years raised the morals and morale of the entire establishment and converted the head of the firm, who now supported the "Young Men's Missionary Society" with "his presence and his purse." There were also Bible classes and a "Young Men's Improvement Society." The idea behind these spread to other firms in the neighborhood and in the process of effecting an organization for the purpose of expediting it the Young Men's Christian Association was born on June 6, 1844.

There were twelve charter members of the London Association, which was named a little later, the group deciding upon the title proposed by Christopher Smith, Williams' roommate and one of the original twelve. Four denominations were, as it happened, equally represented—the Church of England, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist. Williams' part in the actual organization of the society is obscure because no detailed account of it exists, but there can be no question of his lifelong devotion to the movement. He was "a keen and successful man of business from the first" and as he rose in the commercial world he supported the Association financially as well as with his influence and personal commitment. After the first meeting another one of the twelve participants wrote in his diary that the purpose of the group was "to influence young men to spread the Redeemer's Kingdom amongst those by whom they are surrounded." The Association appears to have owed little if anything to earlier young men's societies, such as those started twenty years before by David Nasmith, founder of the London City Mission, for it was itself fully adapted to its specific purpose.

Quarters were at once rented in a nearby coffeehouse, but by October it was necessary to move, this time to a tavern—"Radley's Hotel." Growth was steady but not phenomenal. Before long the stated purpose was enlarged to include "mental culture" and a series of public addresses initiated that became famous as the "Exeter Hall Lectures." Young men who were not avowed Christians were allowed to become "associate" members who could enjoy the advantages of the Association but were not permitted to vote or hold office. In 1845 T. H. Tarlton became the paid secretary and under his aggressive promotion the organization expanded and grew. The first branch was



established in the West End that year. A library was opened and class instruction was offered in several subjects. These moves involved the securing of larger and more attractive rooms in Gresham Street, which headquarters were visited by several Americans who proposed the idea in their home cities. More branches were begun and the Association planted in sixteen other cities in England, Scotland, and Ireland by 1851.<sup>4</sup> Before long earlier continental societies would be brought into the rapidly spreading brotherhood.<sup>5</sup> Although local forms of work and religious background varied widely, their common interest in the spiritual welfare of young men brought these groups into world-wide alliance in 1855. When George Williams was knighted by Queen Victoria on the occasion of the London Association's golden jubilee in 1894 there were five thousand Associations in twenty-four countries, with half a million members.

As the Movement spread rapidly across North America following the organization of Associations at Montreal and Boston in 1851, its real success was in the larger commercial cities. Begun among white-collar workers for themselves, the city Y.M.C.A.'s remained with few exceptions the creatures of that economic class. "This little realized limitation has unfortunately characterized, to a large extent, both the Associations and the churches of Britain and America throughout the entire [Y.M.C.A.] century," wrote Sherwood Eddy in his stimulating sketch, *A Century with Youth*, in 1944. Williams and Hitchcock his employer were both representative of the groups to which the Associations were to owe the most and to give the most. When urban degradation reached such depths as to elicit evangelical concern, the Y.M.C.A. could flourish as a counterattraction to vice, alcoholism, delinquency, crime, and a whole train of evils that rose with the modern city, a large proportion of whose population was comprised of young men. Unlike the Wesleyan revivals of the eighteenth century in Britain and the Great Awakening in America that appealed to the working classes, the revivals of the nineteenth century that created the Y.M.C.A.'s among a host of institutions and reforms were directed to and influenced mostly the middle-class, city-dwelling Americans and the residents of small towns and villages.

In 1851 the United States was still a nation composed largely of emigrants. Fifty years earlier its Christian population had been relatively the smallest of any so-called Christian country. The extraordinary religious needs of a continent whose population was in flux could be

met only by drastic and heroic methods. Revivalism supplied that need; it was the adaptation of Christianity to the rapid colonization of the American West. As the Mississippi valley began to fill the industrial revolution created new cities and a fresh form of evangelism manifested itself in them, as exemplified by Finney's Broadway Tabernacle in New York. The Y.M.C.A., it will be abundantly demonstrated in the chapters to follow, was one of the products of the successive waves of revivals that rolled over the continent from 1840 to 1900, and of which Finney was the chief instrument.<sup>6</sup> This relatively uneducated pragmatic evangelist cut through the hesitations of the more complacent churches and the residue of Calvinistic theology to promise men immediate salvation "by an immediate decision" of their own. To Finney and his real successor, Dwight L. Moody, theology actually meant little. The historic Protestant and evangelical insistence upon the "now" as the time for salvation and hence for ethical action was at the heart of Finney's gospel and of Moody's after him. "The cause of peace, the cause of antislavery, and that of the overthrow of licentiousness must lie near the heart of every truly benevolent mind," declared Finney. The saved, he argued, "are predisposed to lay hold on whatever gives promise of good to man . . . [it is] their business, their profession, their life" to promote reform.<sup>7</sup> Under this compulsion the often miscalled "Puritanism" of Finney and of the early years of the Y.M.C.A., which the reader will encounter in Chapters 1 and 5, gradually retired into the background while the great ideal of a work for the moral, mental, and physical salvation of young men took deep hold upon the Protestant conscience.

Revivalism was not only uninterested in theology. It was essentially above denominationalism. The evangelists tended to ignore sectarian walls and to play down denominational distinctions. This became one of the primary characteristics of the Y.M.C.A., as was shown by the church affiliations of the founders of the London Association. Finney and Moody dwelt upon the universal features of the evangelical faith. The Y.M.C.A.'s of the world in 1855 adopted a statement that such was their foundation. The North American refinement of this declaration narrowed it to an affirmation of those specific evangelical principles that were commonly held by the leading denominations. The Associations, however, consistently refused to make a list of such churches. Last, but far from least, revivalism brought the layman into his own as he had not been since the first Christian century. Whether

Finney or Moody, who was never ordained, or the Methodist farmer-preacher-circuit-rider on the frontier be taken as the example, the nineteenth century in America was the age of the lay worker in religion quite as it was the day of the common man on the entire democratic stage. The Y.M.C.A. was and is the layman's organization. It became in a sense the institutionalization of his rejection of ecclesiasticism in all its forms.

Of the social conditions into which the Associations were imported in North America more will be said as the succeeding narrative unfolds. That the sturdy American growth of this British plant would differ markedly from its parent may be assumed. It could hardly be foreseen in the small beginnings of 1851 that the American Y.M.C.A. Movement would shift far to the left of its starting point to become a community welfare organization. Yet in the perspective of the American Y.M.C.A. century no single fact is more obvious than that the common roots of both the American and the English Associations were in the great middle stream of the evangelical Protestantism that nourished the religious life and the ethical striving of the two nations, while European movements were in their turn the products of continental forms of pietistic evangelicalism.

*Part I: 1851-1865*

THE AMERICAN Y.M.C.A. MOVEMENT  
FROM ITS BEGINNING  
THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR





## Introduction:

### America in the 1850's

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION was planted in the United States at the opening of one of the most eventful and formative decades in the history of the nation. Within five years of the appearance of the first Association on the American side of the Atlantic, "manifest destiny" had been realized in the rounding out of the continental empire of the United States by the acquisition of Oregon, California, and the Rocky Mountain area. The vast reaches of the Mississippi valley had been occupied and the basic railroad network of mature America was being woven. Beginning in 1849 the Sierra Nevada unloosed a stream of gold that stimulated economic activity of every kind, doubling the wealth of the nation by the end of the decade. The great political compromise of 1850 brought a breathing spell after prolonged sectional strife so that the highest prosperity the country had experienced kept its mind off the "irrepressible conflict" for a few short years. So deep and far-reaching were the effects of high profits and an expanding economy that even the fresh outbreak of sectional rivalry in 1854 and a devastating financial panic three years later were unable to stem the tides of optimism and well-being.

At the middle of the decade Commodore Perry opened Japan to American trade, and by its end the American merchant marine was supreme upon the seven seas. Reluctantly and regretfully the nation was forced to forsake the pursuit of profits when civil strife finally broke in 1861. Imports and exports trebled during the ten-year period, each exceeding \$350,000,000 annually by 1860, while manufacturing attained a billion dollar investment, double that of 1850. In this colos-

sal development the free states exceeded the output of the slave states ten to one. Much of this expansion rested upon such an increase of railway mileage as had never been dreamed of. Whereas in 1850 plank roads, canals, river boats, and scattered short rail-lines provided haphazard communication and transportation, by the end of the decade more than thirty thousand miles of rails connected the major regions of the continent except the Pacific Coast. In 1861 a transcontinental telegraph line was completed and the great freighting firm that had operated the pony express found itself bankrupt. Hundred-car freight trains drawn eastward by as many as five locomotives hauled western products to the nation's greatest metropolis over steadily consolidating rail networks that were to prove indissoluble bonds uniting East and West when the Civil War broke.

Urban centers mushroomed at strategic points where transportation lines focused, a growth that was most remarkable in the Midwest. The wonder city that rose beside Lake Michigan trebled its population to pass the one hundred thousand mark by 1860 and street cars were seen there as in the older eastern cities. St. Louis doubled its size during the fifties, and a hundred steamboats plied the father of waters to St. Paul. Manufacturing moved into the Ohio valley and gradually pushed its frontiers to the Mississippi. In New York America's first great department store could justly claim by 1860 to be the world's finest. New York itself had long since outdistanced its earlier commercial rivals—Boston with 137,000 population in 1850, and Philadelphia with 121,000—having almost reached seven hundred thousand at the mid-century.

This growth, enthusiasm, and increase of wealth were largely concentrated in what with few exceptions were crude raw cities. Astonishing outbursts of crime broke wide open the unheard-of urban problem and moved thoughtful citizens to consider reform. The prime cause of crime and urban degradation was generally considered to be the saloon, there being one for each hundred population in most cities. Waves of temperance swept over the nation, but this was only one reform. It was a time of organized benevolent activity of every kind. Home and foreign missionary boards had long been at work for each denomination and some attempted to co-ordinate the efforts of several churches. Scripture and tract societies would not rest until they had put "a Bible in every home and a tract in every hand." Sunday School organizations were united in a national association. Sailors were the special object of evangelical groups that labored at ports and along

canals. Societies were formed to fight demon nicotine; propaganda in favor of international peace flourished; and a widely supported organization tried to solve the Negro problem by returning the colored population to Africa. There were affiliations dedicated to the spread of education, as well as some concerned with diet and health. Others aimed at the improvement of prisons and a few were set against prostitution. Perhaps the greatest and most effective of these were those motivated by the ethical revivalism of Charles G. Finney, who encouraged men to "work as well as believe."

Such were some of the components of the soil into which the Young Men's Christian Association idea was thrust and that nourished its first indigenous growth. In Chapters 1 and 2 the success of that rootage and the product of its beginning decade will be described.





## Chapter 1 The First North American Associations

... Not a few Christian young men of London have resolved in God's strength to accomplish these objects, viz.: "The improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of commercial young men by the efforts of the members of the Society, *in the sphere of their daily calling*, by devotional meetings, biblical instruction, mutual improvement classes and the diffusion of Christian literature."

—GEORGE M. VAN DERLIP, in  
*The Christian Watchman and  
Reflector* (Boston), October 30, 1851<sup>1</sup>

THE AMERICAN Y.M.C.A. is the fruit of a pietistic English seedling transplanted in 1851 to the fertile soil of North America. On both sides of the Atlantic that was a time of much activity in behalf of every conceivable charity, improvement, or reform. The low efficiency and high casualty rates among the many American societies for the welfare of young men betrayed the fact that the right combination of program, organization, and leadership had not yet been hit upon. The London Y.M.C.A. supplied this key, and the American genius for promotion, fired by the motives of the evangelical revival, opened the continent to the new idea.

In this chapter the origins of the first North American Associations will be described together with a brief sketch of the young men's societies that preceded them. The rapid spread of Y.M.C.A.'s across the United States and Canada followed news of the success of the Boston and Montreal Associations; within three years virtually every major city and many smaller ones had Y.M.C.A.'s. Their immediate preoccupation was chiefly with evangelism, which from the beginning included welfare and relief services. Libraries, lecture courses, and social activities that centered in "rooms" strategically situated and attractively furnished supported the primary concern for the spiritual and moral welfare of young men adrift in the new cities; the idea also took root among German immigrants, Negroes, and college students. Organizational forms that would characterize the entire

Y.M.C.A. century were developed, professional leadership emerged, and a working relationship with the churches was evolved in the form that would remain dominant through the nineteenth century. Many of the features of the American Movement were delineated in its first decade.

### THE IDEA TAKES ROOT

In the summer of 1851 a great world's fair was held in London. Keynoted to the theme of prosperity, the Crystal Palace, or Great Industrial Exhibition, presented for the first time exhibits from all nations, and it was fondly hoped that international peace would result. A few of the many Americans and Canadians attracted to London that season visited the rooms of the Y.M.C.A., talked with the librarian and secretary, and returned impressed with the potentialities of such an organization in their home cities. One of these travelers, George H. Petrie, attempted to form an Association that autumn in New York, but his friends did not warm to the suggestion.<sup>2</sup> George H. Stuart, a prosperous young merchant of Philadelphia, sought out George Williams and prayed and planned with him. The Reverend Henry M. Dexter, Boston Congregational editor and historian, brought back "all the documents [he] could procure" that shed light upon the "aims, methods, and excellences" of the organization in Gresham Street, with the intention of "trying to transplant it hither." Finding illness in his family he delayed, but when he heard that others were "moving in the matter" he turned over to them the literature he had brought and did what he could to help.<sup>3</sup> In Washington, D. C., a young man read about the original Association in a London newspaper and pondered the usefulness of the organization in "forming a closer union between the various churches in their work,"<sup>4</sup> while in Montreal a copy of the London Association's current lecture series galvanized two men—one of whom had visited the Association in London<sup>5</sup>—to the action that resulted in the first North American Association.

None of these groups was at first aware of the others, but the Movement that was organized in Boston in the last weeks of 1851 was to be a powerful factor in crystallizing intentions and in spreading the Y.M.C.A. idea across the United States, as was the Montreal Association in Canada.<sup>6</sup> A New York University student on vacation in London started the train of events that resulted in the organization of the Boston Association, the first in the United States. George M.

Van Derlip had been commissioned by the *Christian Watchman and Reflector*, a Baptist weekly published in Boston, to write a series of articles on his experiences abroad. A letter sent to the editor in June, 1850, seemed hardly interesting enough to print at that time, but was for some unexplained reason published October 30, 1851, on the front page.

The individual most impressed by young Van Derlip's description of the London Association—"a society which asks for sympathy, prayers and active co-operation, which asks for men, young men, nothing more"<sup>7</sup>—was a retired sea captain, Thomas V. Sullivan, who had devoted his later years to lay missionary and charitable activities especially directed toward seamen. A "home away from home" had been a major incentive of his work as marine missionary; a group of youths who assisted him in tract distribution could readily constitute the core of an Association. Sullivan first convened a meeting to discuss the organization of a Y.M.C.A. on December 15, 1851. He was a member of the committee of seven appointed to draft a constitution, which was studied by the full group a week later and adopted at an enthusiastic meeting in the chapel of Old South Church (a building no longer standing, around the corner from the famous Meeting House) on December 29. Officers were elected January 5, 1852.

Quite unknown to the Boston group there had been organized in Montreal a few weeks earlier a similar Association—the first in North America. Immediately inspired by the London example this Y.M.C.A. was rooted in the concern of a few who had been active twenty years before in tract distribution and the general evangelistic work of a Montreal "Young Men's Society." One of them had been a member of the London Association and another had visited it. They had begun their discussion in September but, rebuffed by most of the clergy, they were unable to obtain a preliminary hearing until November 19. On that occasion the proposal to form a Y.M.C.A. was given general approval. A provisional committee, representative of the various denominations, canvassed the churches during the following week and reported to a second meeting on November 25, to which they also brought a constitution that was unanimously adopted. This occasion is regarded as the date of the founding of the Montreal Y.M.C.A. Officers were elected December 9.

The declared purpose of these organizations as indicated in their constitution was "the improvement of the spiritual and mental con-



dition of young men." The Montreal document said that this should be "especially in connection with the study of the Scriptures—the union of young men, of various churches, in this and other plans of usefulness—and the providing of means by which young men, coming as strangers into the city, may be brought under religious influences among their own class."<sup>8</sup> The Boston constitution professed "a strong desire for the promotion of evangelical religion among the young men of this city" and emphasized "the importance of concentrated effort both for our own spiritual welfare and that of those from without who may be brought under our influence." This virtual paraphrase of the constitution of the London Association was prefaced by an "address to the public" in which the Association expressed its hope to become

a social organization of those in whom the love of Christ has produced love to men; who shall meet the young stranger as he enters our city, take him by the hand, direct him to a boarding house where he may find a quiet home pervaded with Christian influences, introduce him to the Church and Sabbath School, bring him to the Rooms of the Association, and in every way throw around him good influences, so that he may feel that he is not a stranger, but that noble and Christian spirits care for his soul . . . .<sup>9</sup>

The Boston organizers now rented "eligibly situated" rooms and in imitation of the parent Association in London "elegantly" fitted and "brilliantly lighted" them by gas so as to "present an air of comfort and neatness." A library of several hundred books and newspapers from most New England towns was there to attract young men who had come from the country. The rooms were opened with inspiring exercises on March 11, 1852, the venerable Dr. Lyman Beecher testifying to his fresh faith in the millennium in view of the move he was witnessing. A regular prayer meeting, Bible classes, evangelistic meetings, lectures, an employment bureau, a boarding house register, and an aggressive social program were further devices utilized to carry out the aims of the Association.

The Boston Y.M.C.A. deliberately allied itself with the trinitarian denominations from the beginning. The Montreal founders had adopted "those fundamental principles of Evangelical Christianity on which all Orthodox Protestant Churches are agreed"; they further declared that they would "never admit any intermeddling with those matters of faith and polity on which such churches differ." This first North American constitution did not, however, restrict either membership or office-holding to others than those who would sign it. But

in Boston, where denominational lines were more closely drawn between evangelicals and Unitarian or Universalist liberals, the matter was discussed at some length and was the reason for the two weeks' delay in organizing the Association following the preliminary meeting of December 15. The committee appointed at that time interviewed separately four leading clergymen—Congregational, Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist—who quite understandably advised restricting active membership and office-holding to members of orthodox churches. Consequently, the constitution of the Boston Association introduced several novel features including associate membership open to any young man of good moral character, and a standing committee of two members from each evangelical church in the city.<sup>10</sup>

In thus restricting both membership and provision for governing the Association, the Boston founders made certain that their organization was firmly in the hands of the dominant Protestant groups of their day. In so doing they fixed upon the American Y.M.C.A. Movement an exclusiveness neither practiced by the parent body in London nor considered necessary by the founders of the Montreal Association. The powerful impetus given by the Boston Association to the spread of Y.M.C.A.'s across the American continent was to accord this provision a much wider acceptance in the first decade of the Movement than might have been the case had the original Montreal constitution been the model. Nevertheless, the evangelical test represented a basic factor in the religious climate of nineteenth century America, and the leaders of the Movement were to become convinced that the success of the Y.M.C.A. depended upon the universal adoption of this principle, which became Movement policy soon after the Civil War.

#### FORERUNNERS OF THE Y.M.C.A.

The stimulus to which the Montreal Y.M.C.A. was the response came when fresh news of the London Association reached the ears of a few survivors of the earlier Young Men's Society that had flourished in Montreal during the 1830's. This had been one of some thirty groups formed during the winter of 1830-31 by David Nasmith, who had toured the United States and Canada after founding several home mission societies in British cities. An "American Young Men's Society" was proposed to focus the interests of these scattered "auxiliaries" but all were short-lived. The New York Young Men's Society, whose standing committees resembled those of Y.M.C.A.'s of twenty years later,

published a periodical, *The Young Men's Advocate*, for about a year, and one national convention appears to have been held.

Several of these societies districted their cities in order to organize the young men of each neighborhood to visit the sick "and in a variety of other ways . . . do good to the souls and bodies of others, and benefit themselves."<sup>11</sup> Nasmith did not stay in a community long enough to lay solid foundations nor did his plans possess sufficient unity of purpose to concentrate on one aim for any length of time. Although he was profoundly concerned for the spiritual welfare of young men, the constitutions of his societies referred vaguely to "moral and intellectual improvement." All of them, like that of New York, "met with many discouragements" and few seem to have survived for more than a year or two.

The movement took root in Canada where the branches in Toronto and Montreal lasted five or six years. A few stalwarts continued the program of tract distribution and rescue mission work through the 1840's and one survivor passed the torch to the founders of the Montreal Y.M.C.A., whose first program, with its waterfront mission, very much resembled that of the Nasmith society.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the committees, tracts, "secular" agencies, and many procedures of these earlier bodies might easily be mistaken for those of the first American Y.M.C.A.'s. Nasmith, in 1839, recognized the lack of a sufficiently religious basis in his groups and changed the name of the London organization to "Christian Young Men's Union," ruling also that new societies should be comprised exclusively of young men "who give evidence of union to the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>13</sup>

These groups, which had a host of predecessors and were paralleled by numerous secular societies for comparable ends, had their nearest counterparts in the students' religious societies that appeared in American colleges during the first third of the nineteenth century. Often motivated by an interest in missions, these were usually prayer circles with distinctly spiritual interests. In many of the colleges and theological schools organized between 1820 and 1850, students formed religious societies within a short time after the opening of the school.<sup>14</sup> These were the predecessors of the student Y.M.C.A.'s that were to develop in the 1870's and 1880's, the phenomenal rise of which will be described in Chapter 7.

Yet it must not be assumed that the American Y.M.C.A. Movement evolved spontaneously out of these earlier and scattered young men's



organizations, some of which joined the new Associations and took their name. The significance of such as have been described lay in the fact that in an age of organization, in which an attractive methodology was being sought for enlisting youth in religious activity and in spiritual and moral improvement, the combination that proved most effective was that of the London Y.M.C.A. Almost every American city or town had in the 1840's and 1850's its Young Men's Library Association, Mechanics Institute, or Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement.<sup>15</sup> There were, in fact, numerous organizations that later claimed to have preceded the London Association or those at Montreal and Boston, not only in this country, but abroad. A youth's union in Germany in 1816, a group of young men in India in 1822, Nasmith's "Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement" of Glasgow in 1824, the "Young Men's Society of Inquiry" of Cincinnati, organized in 1848, a similar body in Baltimore—all later felt they had been "first." All became Y.M.C.A.'s. Such claims led the World's Conference of 1905 to declare:

It is the London Association, however, which may legitimately lay claim to the title of "Alma Mater" in English-speaking countries; its importance was great, serving as it did as a model to so many Associations and instigating the creation of others. The London Association, indeed, rapidly became a missionary agency, for so early as 1849, the Dublin Association was founded through its instrumentality. Its influence upon the whole Association Movement cannot be overestimated, and on the occasion of its fiftieth Anniversary, it was unanimously agreed to consider the date of its foundation, 1844, as the average date of the foundation of our work.<sup>16</sup>

Although it is the purpose of this History to trace the development of the American movement that stemmed from the London Association, it should be noted that the Cincinnati society, organized by a group of men in their early twenties, was primarily for the purpose of encouraging their fellows to Christian activity. It developed remarkable religious zeal, established four mission Sunday Schools, and maintained rooms and a library, but not until it came in contact with the Y.M.C.A.'s recently formed elsewhere did the Cincinnati group add to its name "Young Men's Christian Union"—in 1853. Its program, however, was so similar to those of many Associations that it soon became a strong factor among them and exerted strategic leadership in the first American Confederation of Y.M.C.A.'s. Yet not until 1865 did it reorganize as a Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>17</sup> Another early society that merged with the Movement was the German

Young Men's Christian Association, organized January 6, 1850, in New York, "a branch of the Jünglings-Bund," later amalgamated with the New York City Association. In Lowell, Massachusetts, there had been in 1849 a group of young men united "for their mutual religious improvement, and the benefit of their fellows"—through the instrumentality of a now unknown traveler who had attended the meetings of the London Association at Radley's Hotel.<sup>18</sup>

Such groups were an indication that the time was ripening for the appearance of an idea that would capture the imagination of young men and enlist the confidence of their elders, together with the support of the churches, for a movement by and for young men in the interests of their religious, social, mental, and later physical development. In fact, during the very autumn in which the Boston Y.M.C.A. came into being a "Biblical Literature Society" had been founded there by Unitarians and other liberals. Soon after the formation of the Y.M.C.A. they revised their constitution making it similar in wording and identical in purpose and spirit to that of the Association, except that members of all denominations were invited to join. The title, "Boston Young Men's Christian Union," signified that the field for such organizations was an open one. This union was the only one of its kind to endure through the entire first century of the Y.M.C.A., providing the Boston Association with stimulating competition.<sup>19</sup>

#### THE SPREAD OF THE IDEA

The Boston Association immediately set out to promote its work by means of a far-flung publicity that was also to spread the Movement far and wide. Ten thousand copies of its constitution were dispatched to clergymen and denominational leaders not only throughout New England, but very widely elsewhere. The success of the Boston organization—whose membership soon reached 1,600—heartened the group whom Petrie had enlisted in New York. With both the London and Boston constitutions before them, together with the personal observations of Van Derlip, they organized June 30, 1852, a Y.M.C.A. on the Boston pattern. In the meantime, Associations had come into being in Worcester and Springfield (Massachusetts), Buffalo, Portsmouth (New Hampshire), and Washington, D. C.—that in the capital antedating the New York society by one day. Later in the year Associations were reported at Concord (New Hampshire), New London and Hartford (Connecticut), Detroit, Baltimore, and New Orleans, the last of which



was to exert an aggressive influence during the 1850's, especially in support of the first Confederation of North American Y.M.C.A.'s.

The year 1853 saw the organization of Y.M.C.A.'s in Toronto, Halifax, Portland (Maine), Providence, Brooklyn, Alexandria (Virginia), Louisville and Lexington (Kentucky), St. Louis, Chicago, Quincy, Springfield and Peoria (Illinois), and San Francisco. By the end of 1854 the number had been swelled to forty-nine by the addition of Associations in as widely separated places as Quebec, St. John (New Brunswick), Lowell, Manchester (New Hampshire), Richmond (Virginia), Charleston, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), Springfield, Dayton, and Cleveland (Ohio), Indianapolis, Rochester (New York), Natchez (Mississippi), Jersey City, New Brunswick, and Newark (New Jersey), and Houston (Texas). When the first inclusive statistics were published by the Confederation in January, 1856, fifty-six Associations were listed,<sup>20</sup> but already many of those that had swelled the early ranks had disappeared, including some named above. Each annual report to the Conventions of the 1850's regretted the disbanding of several; yet by 1860 there were said to be 205 with 25,000 members.<sup>21</sup> Most of them had modeled their constitutions after that of Boston.

The Association of Washington, which was to play the leading role in the integration of the American Movement prior to the Civil War, was brought into being through the circulation of the Boston constitution. A copy of that document was received by the Reverend Clement M. Butler, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, who at once recognized its potentialities and vigorously supported both the local efforts and the broader Movement. He handed the Boston constitution to a young examiner in the Patent Office, William Chauncy Langdon. He consulted with Thomas Duncan who had previously read about the London Association in a British paper. Together with William J. Rhees, who was employed at the Smithsonian Institution, and several others, they canvassed the clergy but received little sympathy. Butler, however, wrote a notice for the newspapers which was generously responded to and an aggressive Y.M.C.A. resulted. Through it Langdon was to promote the first American Confederation of Associations and significantly to influence the founding of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, as will be described in Chapter 2.

Although Movement-wide leadership was not asserted by the New York City Y.M.C.A. until after the Civil War, that Association early

8

## THE QUARTERLY REPORTER.

## YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF AMERICA.

Place.	Rooms.	Regular Meeting.	Date of Organization.	Annual Meeting.	Number of Members.	Vols. in Library.	Expos. & Period.	President.	Corresponding Secretary.
Montreal, C. E.	22 Great St. James st.		Dec. 9, 1851.	November.	100			James Baylis.	Francis E. Craffon
Kingston, C. W.			Jan'y 4, 1855.	3d Thurs. Jan'y	71	30		G. M. James.	John Patten
Toronto, "			Dec. 20, 1853.		129	129		John Holland.	Chas. R. Brooke
Braintree, "			Weekly	January, 1855.	60			Christopher Tyeer	Christopher Tyeer
Halifax, N. S.								H. W. Frith	Geo. H. Smith
St. John's, N. B.	Mechanic's Institute.	Semi-Month	Dec. 22, 1854.					Hon. W. B. Kincaid	C. A. Lord.
Portland, Me.	Cor. Zach. and Middle st.	3d Monday.	Nov. 9, 1853.	1st Wed. Oct.	450	442	33	C. J. Morley.	C. P. Stuart
Concord, N. H.	Zach. Building, Main st.	3d Monday.	Oct. 25, 1852.	W. a't'r 3 M. Oct.				L. W. Brewster	Horace Webster
Portsmouth, "			May 10, 1852.	2d W. March.	100	400		Rev. S. C. Bartlett	Alonso C. Tenney
Manchester, "	Sm'y's Block.	3d Monday.	Mar. 17, 1854.	3d M. May	164	46	41	W. H. Jansson	Geo. D. Edwards.
Boston, Mass.	Tremont Temple.		Dec. 25, 1851.	Last W. buli, My	2400	2016	102	A. Walker.	Geo. W. Shattuck
Charleston, Mass.	Main and Wlathrop streets.		June 7, 1853.	1st W. June.	127	100	25	A. C. Barrow.	Henry A. Ginnest
Lowell, "			Sept. 1853.	Last w. buli, My				H. R. W. Welch	T. D. Holmes.
Providence, R. I.	56 Broad street.	3d Monday.	Nov. 1852.	3d M. May.	1238	1676	40	Howard Crosby	W. E. Dodge, Jr
Hartford, Conn.	Post Office.	3d Monday.	June 30, 1852.	3d Thurs. Oct.	702	1500		A. A. Smith.	P. J. Ten Eyck
New York, N. Y.	Clinton Hall, Astor Place.	2d Tuesday.	Sept. 15, 1853.	1st Thurs. April.				John Tenslow	Jno. E. Rhoe.
Brooklyn, "	Cor. Court and Jerusalem st.	1st Thursday.	July 6, 1854.	June 21, 1855.				Charles P. Hartt	James A. Sheldon
Williamsburg, "	Corner 4th and S. 3d sts.			1st M. March.	300	200	15	Rev. Yates Hickey	G. H. Humphrey
Troy, "				1st M. March.	800	1000	50	Jno. C. Sterling	Oscar Cobb
Rochester, "	Cor. Niagara and Eagle sts.	Every Mond.	Jan. 1, 1855.	2d M. February	60			Jno. C. Sterling	L. D. Whitman
Buffalo, "	No. 22 Court street.	1st Monday.	Oct. 1854.	1st M. October.				T. W. Hinchman	Rev. P. D. Van Cleaf
Watervorn, "	117 Market street.	3d Monday.	June 10, 1854.	3d M. May.	650			F. T. Freilinghuysen	Dr. G. Grant.
Jewey City, N. J.	102 Chestnut street.	4th Monday.	June 13, 1855.	4th M. May.	704	227	70	Geo. H. Stuart.	Gratid P. Dale.
Newark, "	Market st. bet. Front and 2d	2d Tuesday.	Dec. 12, 1854.	3d Thurs. Feb.	77	223		Jno. W. Haminton	Rev. T. H. Robinson
Philadelphia, Pa.	East King street.	1st Thursday.	Nov. 17, 1854.	4th M. January.	270	100	20	Rev. W. E. Locke	Rev. W. S. Drysdale
Harrisburg, "	Corner 3d and Market sts.	4th Monday.	Mar. 27, 1854.	1st Thurs. Jan.	43	300	27	William Frew.	Rev. G. B. Russell
Lancaster, "	East Main st.	Every Thurs.	Jan. 10, 1855.	1st Tues. Jan.	80	200		David O. Prince	H. Clay Alberman
Pittsburg, "	Bible House, Fayette st.	1st Thursday.	Oct. 26, 1854.	2d Thurs. Jan.	68	45	43	John Carson.	Rev. E. Y. Reese
York, "	Main street.	1st Thursday.	Oct. 26, 1854.	3d Thurs. Jan.	600	1473	62	J. B. Thompson	J. Scofield.
Baltimore, Md.	Cor. Pa. av. and 4th st.	3d Monday.	June 29, 1852.	3d M. Aug.				G. W. Beall	David W. Wood
Elliot's Mills, Md.	Cor. Bridge and Congress.	3d Tuesday.	January, 1853.	1st Tues. Nov.	170			David Funsten	H. Suter
Washington, D. C.	Cor. Bank and 11th.	1st Monday.	Mar. 6, 1854.	2d Tues. Dec.	400	440		P. V. Dunsell, Jr	Geo. K. Whitmer
Georgetown, "				3d Wed. Nov.	80			T. Y. Simons, Jr	Wm. Thayer
Alexandria, Va.				3d Tues. Dec.				F. W. McNaister	Rev. T. J. Lamotte
Richmond, "				2d Wed. Nov.	80			R. B. Hilton	Wm. S. Bogart
Charleston, S. C.				2d Thurs. Oct.	216	400	52	C. Anderson.	Wm. C. Redding, Jr
Columbia, S. C.				Last M. Aug.				Peter B. Neff	Robert Moore.
Savannah, Geo.				3d M. Jan'y.				E. M. Doly	Rev. V. L. Conrad
Mecon, "				Last Tues. Feb.	175			H. B. Carrington	Jno. V. Cowdick
Cincinnati, Ohio.	No. 58 and 60, Fourth st.	2d & 4th Th.	Oct. 11, 1848.	1st M. May	50			Rev. J. M. Hoyt	Dan P. Kella
Springfield, "	Black's Building, Main st.	3d Monday.	January, 1853.	1st M. May	50			H. W. Chase	David McHrie
Columbus, Ohio.	High street.	1st & 3d Th.	Feb. 26, 1854.	1st M. May	50			E. J. Baldwin	Chas. W. Moore
Cleveland, "	Superior street.	Last Tuesday.	May 7, 1853.	1st M. May	50			C. C. Hine.	Geo. Thomas.
Lafayette, Indiana.	Reynolds Hall, Main st.	1st & 3d Mo.	Nov. 1854.	3d M. Nov.	130			G. A. Hull	Dr. D. D. Thompson
Indianapolis, "	Commercial Row, Wash. st.	1st & 3d Mo.	Nov. 1854.	1st M. Dec.	108			Jr. R. M. Jones	Hiram Shaw, Jr
New Albany, "	Corner Walnut and 4th sts.	1st Monday.	Oct. 19, 1853.	3d Mond. Jan.	362	85		H. Hitchcock	J. W. Skinner
Louisville, Ky.	Corner Main and Upper sts.	3d Monday.	Dec. 29, 1853.	1st Thurs. Jan.	50			C. O. Goffrey	J. M. Brawner
Lexington, "	Mercantile Library B'd'g.	1st & 3d Th.	Jan. 31, 1855.	1st Tues. Oct.	90			W. R. Moore	W. Bryce Thompson
St. Louis, Mo.	Cor. Cedar and Public Sq.	1st Tuesday.	May 1854.					C. J. B. Kinke	T. L. Griswold.
Quincy, Ill.									P. M. Stevens
Nashville, Tenn.									L. Alex. Duncan
Knoxville, "									Josh Bacon
Natchez, Miss.									Rev. J. B. Saxton
New Orleans, La.	197 Camp street.	3d Monday.	Nov. 22, 1852.	1st Tues. Dec.	184	360	78	Thos. I. Dix.	
San Francisco, Cal.	Over Post Office.	1st & 3d Sat.	July 25, 1853.	1st M. August.	287	900		Wm. G. Badger	
Stockton, "			January, 1855.	3d Thurs. Oct.	60			H. B. Underhill	

THE FIRST COMPILATION OF ASSOCIATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA  
From the Quarterly Reporter, January, 1856

became a model, the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. growing out of an invitation to the young men "connected with the several evangelical churches" of that place (then a separate city) to a meeting for the purpose of organizing "a Christian Association similar to the one existing in the City of New York."<sup>22</sup> The constitution of the Washington Society was reproduced verbatim by the founders of the Charleston Association,<sup>23</sup> while the Cleveland Y.M.C.A. modeled its document after that of New York,<sup>24</sup> whose growth in membership at the rate of one hundred a month was remarked upon as far away as Chicago.<sup>25</sup>

Thus was the London idea domesticated into the American scene, chiefly through the intermediate agency of the Boston Association. The London Y.M.C.A. exerted a seminal influence upon the first decade of the North American Movement. Its constitution and annual reports were through the years printed in the official American organ and in many local bulletins.<sup>26</sup> Its lecture series became the pattern for comparable efforts by American and Canadian Associations, though none ever equaled them in influence. Its secretaries, T. Henry Tarlton and W. Edwyn Shipton, corresponded extensively with American leaders during the 1850's and afterward, and in the post-Civil War era George Williams exerted a strong personal influence upon many Americans, numbers of whom visited the rooms of the parent Association as a shrine.<sup>27</sup> Later, as the fourfold program was developed in North America, divergences in both program and philosophy opened a gap between the parent Association and its offspring, but in the 1850's such lines were hardly perceptible, the few differences being obliterated in the broadly evangelical intentions and activities of all Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>28</sup>

#### PROGRAMS OF THE FIRST AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS

Virtually every major program emphasis of the nineteenth century American Y.M.C.A.'s emerged in some form during the 1850's. That the work of the new Associations was religiously oriented was to be expected, as the constitution of the Richmond Association declared:

The agencies employed for the attainment of these objects (the promotion of Evangelical Religion, the cultivation of Christian sympathy, and the improvement of the mental and spiritual condition of young men) shall be the efforts of the members in the spheres of their daily life, and devotional meetings, classes for Biblical Instruction, Mission Sunday Schools, Lectures, a Library and Reading Room, or any other agencies in accordance with the Scriptures.

Throughout the decade concern for youth first arriving in the city

was uppermost in the minds of Association planners, virtually all of whom accepted the purpose stated in the "address" that accompanied the Boston constitution.<sup>29</sup>

Devices to improve the lot of urban young men began with a characteristically evangelistic presentation of the gospel, but in this experimental era of Y.M.C.A. development these efforts often extended to the community at large. The greater share of program activity during the 1850's was made up of revivalism in a variety of forms. Y.M.C.A.'s early sent young men to preach on street corners, at the wharves, in neighborhood fire-houses—wherever they could gather an audience. In the second half of the decade many Associations held services in tents pitched in conspicuous places, such as the Boston Common. This became so popular a feature of the summer work that the *Quarterly Reporter* in 1858 published a description of available types, together with prices which began at \$500 for a tent forty by sixty feet.<sup>30</sup> A great many Associations scheduled regular series of sermons by leading local clergymen, frequently augmented by visiting dignitaries. Some of these were in the nature of religious lectures but most were interdenominational revivals aimed at interesting men who would attend a meeting in a public hall but could not be induced to enter a church. A conspicuous example of this was a series of Sunday afternoon sermons in the Wigwam, sponsored by the Chicago Y.M.C.A. as "The People's Free Church."<sup>31</sup>

Evangelical fervor led many Y.M.C.A.'s into rescue mission work and general welfare and relief operations. For a number of years the Montreal Association was known as the "Y.M.C.A. and City Mission." Later, when a union missionary agency was set up, the Association turned over to it a conspicuously successful program for sailors who thronged the waterfront in summer.<sup>32</sup> Associations in widely separated parts of the continent obtained "mission houses" or other quarters in distressed neighborhoods and carried on diversified programs including the distribution of tracts, Bibles, and other Christian literature. One Y.M.C.A. reported in 1859 having given away some 41,000 of these in five languages. The Buffalo Association early began this work among the German immigrants of that city.<sup>33</sup>

Of more interest than significance was what may be recorded as the first Y.M.C.A. activity for men of the United States Navy with government endorsement—by the Portsmouth, Virginia, Association in 1856, in the form of books for the library and later of permission to



hold meetings aboard a training vessel.<sup>34</sup> The Boston Association also attempted the latter in 1859 and the Quebec Y.M.C.A. held meetings in army camps that year.<sup>35</sup> One of the strongest pleas for city missionary work made by an Association leader was addressed to the New York Y.M.C.A. in 1863 by a young attorney named Cephas Brainerd, who contended that the responsibility for preaching the gospel to the great unchurched masses of Manhattan lay "directly in our field of labor."<sup>36</sup>

Brainerd proposed that the Y.M.C.A. act as a clearing house for teachers of mission Sunday Schools, which was then a popular form of Association work and one that brought the organizations into their first contacts with boys and girls, for whom special classes and revival meetings were often held.<sup>37</sup> A few Associations developed programs of regular school work for "indigent boys and girls," as that at Alexandria, Virginia, which operated three nights a week from November to March in 1857 and 1858 for some sixty "scholars."<sup>38</sup> The New Brunswick Association invested \$1,200 in 1857 in "a large school building" and two years later the Washington Y.M.C.A. spent \$600 on two buildings to be used as "mission stations for preaching, prayer-meetings, Sunday Schools, day schools, if possible, and as headquarters for the relief of the poor and distressed."<sup>39</sup> In 1856 the Newark Association reported that most of its members were engaged in Sunday School teaching or missionary work—a widespread activity that must be seen as an aspect of the rising popularity of the Sunday School. When the movement periodical, *Young Men's Christian Journal*, was discontinued in 1860, an arrangement was made for the publication of news through the *Sunday School Times*.<sup>40</sup> Y.M.C.A.'s not infrequently shared in community-wide Sunday School affairs—the Boston Association, for example, taking a part in a celebration in 1857 in which thirty schools were affiliated and 3,000 children participated.<sup>41</sup> Several Associations, like San Francisco, developed special "Sabbath Schools" for newsboys, but such activity should not be confused with later Y.M.C.A. boys' work.

A more enduring feature of the religious program was the Bible class. Often indistinguishable from the Sunday School class, this early endeavor was imported with the London constitution and found a congenial place in the American plan of work.<sup>42</sup> Although the Bible class never became a major activity of all American Y.M.C.A.'s—in spite of great emphasis and much promotion—it was widespread.<sup>43</sup> In





THE NORTH MARKET MISSION (Y.M.C.A.) SUNDAY SCHOOL, CHICAGO, 1857

Led by D. L. Moody (center rear) and J. D. Stillson

many Associations it was hardly distinguishable from the prayer meeting, which was from the beginning a universal and central feature, held at a variety of times. In the middle years of the decade the New York Association inaugurated a union prayer service held at noon in a nearby church. It spread and under the pressures of the panic of 1857 became the core of a nation-wide revival among the business classes of the cities—a unifying force in the life of the Movement that will be described in the next chapter.

Closely related to the religious work was a group of devices intended to help the young man find himself in the strange city. Most American Y.M.C.A.'s emulated the Boston example in listing respectable boarding houses and obtaining employment—aims that had been reported in the first newspaper account of that Association.<sup>44</sup> Locations of boarding places were kept by members of the appropriate committee and at the rooms. To the many calls for employment they did not at first attempt to furnish specific references, but invited young strangers to make the rooms their headquarters until they were “engaged in some business, thus becoming acquainted with our members.” The New York City Association made its employment bureau a major concern from the beginning, as did many others, and rendered an increasingly significant service through it. This program feature was to become more important with most Associations in the post-Civil War years.

The Y.M.C.A. record of the 1850's was filled with accounts of community relief activities during the winter months. The Association of Springfield, Ohio, distributed “the charities of the citizens among the destitute poor of our city” in 1855-56, as did the “Y” at Kingston, Canada West.<sup>45</sup> The next winter plans “for the relief of the sick and destitute” were put into operation at Mobile, Alabama, and at Alexandria, Virginia. In the spring of 1857 the Charleston Association explained through the *Quarterly Reporter* its intention of employing a colporteur who would not only distribute Bibles and tracts but report “cases of sickness and distress.” A year later the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A. had an admirable record of relief to sufferers from the depression and unemployment of that winter. It distributed 30,000 bushels of coal during each of two years.<sup>46</sup> The Chicago Association also acted as a community clearing-house for relief. Other Y.M.C.A.'s fed and clothed destitute children and provided for those orphaned by epidemics of plague, gave Christmas dinners to the inmates of the almshouses, and

sponsored "ragged schools," while some gave the proceeds from their courses of lectures to the local "provident association."

In a few Y.M.C.A.'s the members formed clubs to care for one another when ill. The Chicago Association notified hotel and boarding house proprietors that its men would gladly call on sick guests. Associations in southern cities mobilized against yellow fever, the New Orleans group carrying out a remarkable city-wide relief program during the epidemic of 1858. They divided the city into twenty-two districts with a committee for each, established central points at which physicians and drugs could be obtained, set up two infirmaries, provided food and other necessities for the victims, and appealed to the community and to their brother Associations across the continent for assistance. This came from the public and from Y.M.C.A.'s to the extent of \$23,000. During a period of eleven weeks 1,500 cases of yellow fever and 250 victims of other diseases were treated, and 300 persons were given relief.<sup>47</sup> The Y.M.C.A. of Mobile performed a similar but smaller service that same summer. It retained a doctor regularly.<sup>48</sup>

The first "secular" program to be universally adopted by local Associations was the library and reading room. All visitors to the London Y.M.C.A. had been impressed by this feature. The Boston Association immediately subscribed to some forty New England newspapers, which they believed helped to crowd their rooms every evening. They accumulated a good library and early reported taking thirty-five magazines, for even in Boston such facilities were as yet not generally available to the public. In 1856 the Boston Association claimed its library containing "standard works of a scientific, moral and religious character" to be "unsurpassed by any in our city."<sup>49</sup> In other communities the Association leaned heavily upon its reading room "to advance the combined objects" of the Movement, throwing open its doors to "a class of our young men who have hitherto been debarred from the pleasure of social intercourse and intellectual improvement."<sup>50</sup> The Washington Y.M.C.A.'s library was said to be the first of its kind in the city. The program of the Chicago Association became so closely identified with its reading room that twice in the late 1850's the Young Men's Association, a competing library and lecture organization, proposed merging its library of 4,500 volumes with that of the Y.M.C.A.<sup>51</sup> Occasionally, as when the committee in charge of the reading room of the New York Association attempted to exclude abolition propaganda, the reading room became a center of controversy. Its importance in the program

of the Movement was demonstrated when William J. Rhees of the Washington Y.M.C.A., a bibliographer of note, included data on these Association resources in his monumental *Manual of Libraries, Societies, and Institutions in the United States and British Provinces of North America*, published in 1859.

Yet an aggressive and appealing program was found necessary to supplement the reading room. A natural complement to this educational feature was the lecture course, then immensely popular in American towns and cities. Under Y.M.C.A. sponsorship these were usually in the form of addresses presented by distinguished visitors. In many places the lectures were interdenominational and community-wide cultural events, oftentimes quite fashionable, and frequently reported at length by local newspapers.<sup>52</sup> They might range from spiritualism to geology; religious controversy was scrupulously avoided, and it was generally agreed that the subjects ought not to be antireligious, though secular topics were popular.<sup>53</sup> A few Associations devoted a series of lectures to detailed explanation and apologetic of their own aims and programs. An address delivered before the Charleston Association by the Reverend Thomas Smyth of that city in 1856 was subsequently amplified and published in what was the first volume descriptive of the work and purpose of the organizations in America—*The Nature and Claims of Young Men's Christian Associations*. In some communities there was a strong moralistic purpose behind providing pure entertainment of this sort. The Indianapolis Y.M.C.A. in the winter of 1855-56

aimed at providing a course of lectures, to amuse, interest, and instruct our whole people; one which should be attractive enough to purify our intellectual and social atmosphere, by driving out that PEST, the theatre, which promised to become settled upon us, like the cholera. Our success has been beyond the most sanguine expectations . . . . The attention, interest, and gratitude of the people, has been drawn to our Association, and our hope and trust is that God is on our side . . . .<sup>54</sup>

An attempt to operate a national Y.M.C.A. lecture bureau was unsuccessful.<sup>55</sup> Virtually all Associations celebrated their founding with an elaborate opening that featured the outstanding oratorical talent of the community. Annual meetings were usually similar and not infrequently included all the local ministers who would co-operate.

A number of Associations early began debating and literary societies although, due to fear of controversial issues, these never achieved a



wide popularity. In some cities they were for a time as important a program feature as the weekly prayer meeting. A Boston "class for intellectual improvement" met biweekly for debates, declamations, "and the reading of compositions." During its first season it gave several programs and concluded the year with "a public exhibition at the Lowell Institute, to an audience of fifteen hundred people." The Association saw this as a device for drawing men into its activities.<sup>56</sup> In the spring of 1857 the Associations of New York City, Brooklyn, and Charleston announced classes in the languages, music, and gymnastics at low rates for the benefit of "such of our members as have not had the advantages of an early education."<sup>57</sup> These were not well patronized at first, but gradually became popular. Two years later the Kingston, Ontario, Association reported classes in reading, spelling and grammar, history, geography, Bible, writing, and arithmetic "especially for young men, working men, and apprentices"—the last an incentive to Y.M.C.A. educational work that would become widespread forty years later.<sup>58</sup>

Interest in physical work appeared in the second half of the 1850's. Perhaps it was more than coincidence that it was the most distinguished clergyman of Brooklyn who pointed out this need and that the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A., in which he was interested, was the first to seriously propose it. Said Henry Ward Beecher early in the decade:

There ought to be gymnastic grounds and good bowling alleys, in connection with reading rooms, in every ward of the city, under judicious management, where, for a small fee, every young man might find various wholesome exercises, and withal good society, without the temptations which surround all the alleys and rooms of the city, kept for bowling and billiards. It seems surprising, while so many young men's associations are organized, whose main trouble it is to find something to do, that some Christian association should not undertake this important reformation, and give to the young men of our cities the means of physical vigor and health, separate from temptations to vice. It would be a very gospel.<sup>59</sup>

The earliest known record of a desire on the part of a Y.M.C.A. to put Beecher's idea into effect was the appointment of a committee by the Brooklyn Association's Board of Managers on June 3, 1856, to consider setting up a gymnasium. That year's report contained a far-sighted statement setting forth the values of "recreation and manual exercise." Business life, it declared, overtaxes the muscular and nervous systems and is "deteriorating the physical and vital force of the present race of young men" who seriously need "relaxation, diversion and



animated recreations." But public opinion, "which in our communities has a religious basis," frowns upon "almost all the devised expedients to this end," and rightly so, for most of them are either "under questionable control, or in partnership with evil appliances." Since young men who need "healthful and strength-giving amusements" must either forego them or endanger "their own reputation and positions," . . . "let the young men of these Associations take hold of this really moral and Christian subject."<sup>60</sup>

Two weeks after the Brooklyn Board's action, a committee was charged by the Montreal Convention of the Confederation of American Y.M.C.A.'s to report back to it as to "whether any means can be provided by Y.M.C.A.'s for the physical development and promotion of the health of their members—by gymnasiums, baths, etc." A Brooklyn delegate was a member of this committee and read its resolutions to the Convention two days later:

1st. That, as bodily health is intimately connected with mental and spiritual activity and development, anything that conduces to the same must be beneficial, *per se*.

2d. That, when properly conducted, gymnasiums, baths, and bowling alleys, are beneficial to bodily health and physical development.

3d. That the public sentiment in many of our cities in regard to bowling alleys renders it inexpedient for this Convention to recommend their establishment.<sup>61</sup>

"After some discussion, these resolutions were laid on the table."

The following winter the New York City Association began classes in gymnastics.<sup>62</sup> In 1859, on the initiative of the youthful Lyman Abbott, and with the continued interest of Beecher—whom Abbott was later to succeed in one of the nation's most distinguished pulpits, in Brooklyn—the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. made a determined effort to obtain a gymnasium by the device of selling shares at ten dollars each—a scheme that might have succeeded had not the Civil War intervened.<sup>63</sup> It was later said by one who knew the Movement intimately that a single Association had had a bowling alley at this time.<sup>64</sup> The seventh Convention of the Confederation, in session at New Orleans in 1860, heard these resolutions, presented by a Charleston delegate:

In view of the importance and necessity of a place of rational and innocent amusement and recreation for young men, especially in large cities and towns, be it

*Resolved*, That the establishment of gymnasiums is both desirable and expedient, provided they be, in all cases, under the exclusive control of

such Associations as may choose to adopt this feature as a safeguard against the allurements of objectionable places of resort, which have proved the ruin of thousands of the youth of our country.

Subsequently reported favorably by the widely representative committee to which they had been referred, these declarations when they came before the Convention were "adopted unanimously."<sup>65</sup> They were well received in scattered communities, but the coming of the War prevented action. In the Reconstruction period the matter needed to be rethought but the process of doing so produced no more thorough analysis of the problem than these reports and resolutions until the advent of Luther Gulick in the late 1880's.

The splendid quarters of the London Y.M.C.A. in Gresham Street inspired American travelers and reporters to duplicate them in their own Associations. With only one exception, all American Y.M.C.A.'s of the 1850's occupied rented rooms which were the center of their social as well as religious and intellectual life. From the very beginning these were selected so as to offer the utmost accessibility to the young men whom they hoped to attract to their program. The Pittsburgh Association, for example, selected a situation near the post office and other public buildings, thus, as it reported, "bearding, almost in its very den, one of the great enemies of the young—the Theatre—with its small fry of inevitable accompaniments, the gin shop and gaming saloon."<sup>66</sup> Meager resources at first located most Associations three or four floors above the street, so that the decade of the 1850's—and in fact several after it—was a time of frequent moves to more strategic locations. Numerous articles in the magazines pointed out the importance of settling on the principal street; the Association's headquarters should be well advertised and ought to be on the first floor, and should be attractively furnished.<sup>67</sup>

Local newspapers usually gave their endorsement to any "flourishing and useful organization" that was able to furnish its rooms "as an attractive resort, easy and free of access." That the quest for rented quarters that were attractive, well located, inexpensive, and adapted to the Association program was unending should be obvious.

As early as 1853 and again in 1856 the New York City Y.M.C.A. expressed the desire for a home of its own which it hoped "the liberal sympathy of our Christian merchants and citizens generally, will render possible at no very distant day."<sup>68</sup> The next year the Boston Association commenced a similar agitation and a building fund was started. Simi-

# BALTIMORE. - FIRST BUILDING.

ERECTED - 1859.

COST \$7000



## The Earliest Association Building in America.

The above is a photograph of what is believed to be the first building erected expressly for Association purposes. It was built in 1859, and thus described in the International Convention Report, 1866:

"We have a fine building, two stories high: the building is thirty-five feet front by seventy feet deep: we have a large hall in the second story which we use for prayer-meetings and lectures: on the first floor we have two fine rooms, one a library, the other for business of the Association. The hall was built in the early part of the fall of 1859, at a cost of \$7,000, of which amount there still remains a debt of \$1,300 due one of the Trustees, who kindly advanced the money. The annual expenses of the Association are between three hundred and four hundred dollars, which is promptly met by voluntary subscriptions from the members and friends of the Association."

The building is still standing on Schroeder and Pierce Streets, in the city of Baltimore, and is now used as a church.

THE WEST BALTIMORE BUILDING



lar moves were on foot in Charleston, Richmond, and Philadelphia in 1859, but in that year the West Baltimore Association constructed its own building at a cost of \$7,000—the first in America. A two-story brick structure, it was thirty-five by seventy feet with library and offices on the first floor and a large hall utilizing the second floor. After many years' service it was sold to a church, and in 1927 was in use as a community center.<sup>69</sup> The Washington Y.M.C.A. had commenced a building fund when the Civil War put a stop to all such activities, perhaps fortunately, for in the rethinking of Movement purpose that characterized the immediate post-War years a distinct type of "Association architecture" was produced, rendering obsolete those facilities modeled upon traditional local church plans.

In all of these activities the original purpose of the American Y.M.C.A.'s was uppermost—concern for the young man away from home in the great city. A few Associations varied the usual statement of this aim from "spiritual, mental, and intellectual" to concern for the "spiritual, mental, and social condition of young men"—an indication of the great significance of simple but effective programs of social events and activities. Teas, picnics, afternoon and evening trips on river steamboats, "ladies' festivals," great fairs, lectures, the social character of the "rooms"—all were utilized in the common purpose expressed by the Newark Association in 1854 of reaching the "thousands of youth and young men, many of whom are from the country, unacquainted with the city, desirous of securing good friends and associations and anxious to pursue a course of rectitude and virtue." Other Associations expressed their aim as combating the temptations that allured young men "to walk the broad road that leads to destruction." How this was to be done was not seen in the same light by all leaders, but an ultimate trend was suggested by a delegate from the Association at Kingston, Ontario, who testified before an early Convention that his organization, while admiring the many general religious and welfare programs maintained by others, contented itself "with the improvement of young men"—by means of lectures and meetings. Later Conventions would be deeply concerned to clarify the issue thus raised.

#### THE IDEA SPREADS TO SPECIAL GROUPS

American visitors were impressed by the outreach of the London Association to various parts of the city through "branch" organizations,

and came home to suggest the same.<sup>70</sup> Some were begun during the 1850's, notably the "West Branch" at Baltimore, intended "to reach the young men who now compose the numerous rowdy clubs which have been so notorious in Baltimore, viz., Plug Uglies, &c."<sup>71</sup> The decade was also marked by a substantial number of Y.M.C.A.'s in particular churches, there being in some cities as many as half a dozen of these. One that presumably, and perhaps characteristically, laid the foundations for a later community Association, was the "Y.M.C.A. of First Methodist Church and Center Church" of New Haven, Connecticut, which sponsored a course of lectures by distinguished clergymen including Clement M. Butler, Edward Everett, and Henry Ward Beecher during the winter of 1855-56.<sup>72</sup>

An early society later joined to a city Y.M.C.A. was the tiny Jünglings-Bund brought to New York in the great German migration of 1848—once said to have been formed that year—which became the core of German work by the New York Association.<sup>73</sup> The German immigrants were the objects of special Y.M.C.A. interest, particularly in Buffalo, Louisville, and Cincinnati where a German branch was organized in the fall of 1856, with sixty members, rooms, and classes in music and the English language.<sup>74</sup> The first Negro Y.M.C.A. in America was organized in Washington, D. C., in 1853, by Anthony Bowen, a fellow government employee with Langdon, who aided the project, the constitution of which was based upon that of the white Association.<sup>75</sup>

Student Y.M.C.A.'s likewise appeared in widely separated institutions as early as 1856, laying the foundations for what a later historian of the American Associations called "a movement which was destined to become one of the greatest religious influences in modern life." Religious societies had been a vital part of American college life for generations. These new organizations were much like their predecessors, save for the expanded program developed by the Association at the University of Virginia, which must be regarded as the most significant student expression of the Y.M.C.A. Movement in America before the Civil War. There is clear evidence of student Y.M.C.A.'s at Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee and at Milton Academy (now Milton College) Wisconsin in the academic year 1856-57. The former was established under the leadership of Professor A. P. Stewart.<sup>76</sup> The college catalog of 1858, printed that spring, testified that this Association was "similar to that of the most successful institutions of



the kind"—indicating contact with the Movement—and averred that every student ought to be under the "restraining influence of such an Association." There is good evidence for believing that this Association, reorganized by Robert Weidensall in 1878, was active until the 1940's. The only known record for the existence of the Milton society this early is a simple statement in the Academy catalog of 1856; this Association was listed in the Y.M.C.A. *Year Book* of 1950.<sup>77</sup>

On the crest of the wave of revivals of the late 1850's, student Y.M.C.A.'s were organized in the universities of Michigan and of Virginia. The Michigan Association—which made no known contacts with the Y.M.C.A. Movement prior to the Civil War—grew out of preliminary meetings and desultory activities beginning in the Christmas recess of 1857-58. In February, 1858, it adopted a constitution and the Y.M.C.A. name, but reorganized as the "Students' Christian Association" on October 15, 1859.<sup>78</sup> This second constitution resembled those of earlier student religious societies more than it did the documents of city Y.M.C.A.'s. University of Virginia students, moved by the local manifestations of the revivals and doubtless by a Y.M.C.A. formed in Charlottesville, planned an Association in July, 1858, but not until the following winter was it "permanently organized" following the adoption of a constitution on October 12, 1858.<sup>79</sup>

From its beginning the University of Virginia Association not only used the Y.M.C.A. name but entered into Movement fellowship and considered itself a part of the growing brotherhood. It became a member of the Confederation of American and Canadian Y.M.C.A.'s during 1859-60—to do so involved applying and being accepted—and was so listed in the roster published in April, 1860.<sup>80</sup> A delegation was chosen to attend the Convention at Troy in 1859 but "for some reason" did not arrive<sup>81</sup>—the only attempt by a student Y.M.C.A. to attend a Confederation Convention. The Virginia Association reported its progress to the Movement periodical and replied to the questionnaires of the Central Committee. The first such response described religious activities comparable to those then being maintained by city Y.M.C.A.'s—a course of lectures, teaching Sunday Schools in "the neighboring mountains," distributing tracts, conducting religious services "at the almshouse, and for the colored people of the University," taking collections "for benevolent objects," and "social prayer meetings" among students. In January, 1860, the *Young Men's Christian Journal*, official organ of the Movement, devoted almost three

pages to a report of the "noble work" being carried on by the University of Virginia Association in giving its Christian testimony in a secular university and carrying on an elaborate deputation plan that extended its weekly ministrations as far as five miles from the campus.<sup>82</sup> Both this Association and that at Ann Arbor were to exert a strong influence on the development of the student Y.M.C.A.

Early in the next decade an Association was founded by the students of Columbia College, in New York, which had at least two years' life between 1861 and 1863. At the time of writing this History, two of its sermon-lectures were extant as the sole records available: a "First Annual Sermon" preached before it by the rector of St. Mark's in the Bowery on June 15, 1862, and another dealing with "The Relations of Christianity and Science" preached the following year.<sup>83</sup>

#### THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE FIRST AMERICAN Y.M.C.A.'s

Inherent in the fact of their being Americans was the process of writing a constitution before the prospective members of a Y.M.C.A. could assume that they were ready to begin work. These documents took their inspiration from the Boston prototype. They set forth the name and purpose of the organization, defined membership, office, and at first set up a "standing committee." Although most Associations wrote their own statements of purpose these bore remarkable resemblances to that of the Boston founders. Membership, as has been indicated, was limited by most to those who were in good standing in evangelical churches. The distinction between active and associate members was widely copied, but there was a broad range of interpretations of the extent to which the voting power should be extended, some Associations allowing it to associate members. Few, however, permitted associate members to hold office. Some limited membership to men under thirty-five or forty years of age. Women were immediately drawn in to help make the rooms attractive, to raise money, to serve in welfare projects, to teach Sunday School and Bible classes, and to adorn social events.<sup>84</sup> Most Associations channeled this activity through a "ladies' auxiliary" but there were not a few that admitted women to membership.<sup>85</sup> After the War there was a short period in which a similar policy was pursued, but the Movement tended in the nineteenth century to accept aid from women while refusing them privileges.

American Y.M.C.A.'s learned almost immediately that to conduct business at the regular social or prayer meeting was quite apt to be disastrous to both. They therefore early developed boards of directors and committees. The latter were in practice a reflection of the program of the day, there being one for each of the activities described above. They ranged in number from four to sixteen, most Associations having about nine. Actual determination of policy rested in some Y.M.C.A.'s with the general membership, as in Cincinnati where it was expected that there would be democratic participation, or in others—of which Boston was the prototype—where decisions were made by a Board of Managers composed of the chairmen of the committees. The tendency was in the direction of the central governing board whose executive committee became increasingly powerful while there was less and less participation by the rank and file of members—a problem acute throughout the first century of the Y.M.C.A.<sup>86</sup> The Washington Association soon attempted to make its procedures more effective by abandoning the Boston constitution whose congregational forms seemed cumbersome to Langdon and others, who found the Belfast, Ireland, constitution more to their liking, it being European in its "simplicity and reliability,"<sup>87</sup> but this does not appear to have initiated a significant trend.

These organizations were financed by simple and obvious methods. Most had a moderate membership fee. Sustaining membership was initiated by so designating large givers. Many Associations at first had a life membership ranging from twenty dollars upward. The churches were important sources of funds, being frequently canvassed; their cultivation was one of the reasons for the awkward "standing committees" or ten to a dozen vice-presidencies that represented all the evangelical denominations of the city. Great "levees"—such as a tremendous "Floral Fair" by which the Charleston Association raised \$7,000 in 1857—teas, suppers, strawberry festivals, and the like usually put on by the ladies' auxiliaries, marked Y.M.C.A. finance methods as comparable with the churches of which the Associations considered themselves the direct offspring.<sup>88</sup>

In publicity methods, the youthful Associations of the 1850's set the pace they were to maintain through the Y.M.C.A. century. The wide distribution of the Boston constitution was matched by the Newark and Philadelphia Associations in sending a circular to rural clergymen within fifty miles "requesting them to furnish letters of



introduction to young men about leaving their congregations for the city." The Washington Y.M.C.A. had 1,000 copies of its constitution and introductory statement printed.<sup>89</sup> Many Associations published the lectures they featured.<sup>90</sup> Large city Associations posted "framed cards of information to strangers" in hotels, ferries, and railroad stations. The New York Association distributed 100,000 copies of a tract addressed "to one of the 150,000 young men" in the area of the city south of Chambers Street; it likewise placed several thousand cards describing its program in the business houses of the city. Virtually all Associations cultivated the newspapers and for the most part enjoyed highly favorable relations. The growth of the Movement was widely reported, this in turn acting as an important factor in its rapid spread.<sup>91</sup>

Several Associations studied their communities carefully not only to assay the task but to give publicity to the program developed to meet specific needs. Following the lead of the earlier Nasmith societies, the Y.M.C.A.'s of St. Louis and of Washington had committees on statistics in 1853-54, for the purpose of ascertaining "how many young men are communicants in the several evangelical churches . . . the number of young men who attend divine worship, and also the number of those who desecrate the Sabbath." They were further to collect "such other facts as may serve to show the moral and religious condition of young men in the city . . . and vicinity."<sup>92</sup> The Brooklyn committee was charged with surveying the Sunday Schools of the city and also to "seek out fields of Christian labor and point them out to members; and in general to provide for the aggressive work of the Association."<sup>93</sup> The Y.M.C.A. of Toronto made a community survey in 1854 in an endeavor to ascertain the relative strength of the moral machinery and that of vice.<sup>94</sup> Like their successors in a later period, these studies were given wide currency as a basis for solicitation of funds.

Two American Associations published periodicals in this decade, setting in both cases high standards of Movement coverage. *The Companion: organ of the Y.M.C.A.: a moral and miscellaneous periodical* was begun by the New Orleans Association in January, 1854, at which exact date the Glasgow Y.M.C.A. planned to start a *Young Men's Magazine*. These were the first periodicals published by local Y.M.C.A.'s. The purpose of *The Companion*, an eight-page monthly, was in part to create favorable sentiment toward the Association, in view of the "cool reception" and some "deliberate opposition" that it had faced at the outset. The paper reflected the cosmopolitan interests



and culture of New Orleans and aspired to be the mouthpiece of the American Movement. Although rebuffed by the Confederation's decision to issue its own quarterly, *The Companion* continued until the end of 1855 to cover the New Orleans and southern Associations, as well as providing directories of white and colored churches, editorials on moralistic and controversial matters, and news of the American and world Movements.<sup>95</sup> In August, 1856, there appeared the first issue of *The Christian Record: a monthly: devoted to the interests of the Newark Y.M.C.A.; and general religious intelligence*. A sixteen-page magazine, it aspired to serve not only the Y.M.C.A. clientele but the clergy and the Christian community—thus reflecting the intimate relation between these. It would be “an earnest ally of the evangelical pulpit” and “an humble champion of our holy religion.” Avoiding sectarianism it sought “only to be entirely and emphatically *Christian*.” The first issue—the only one of which a copy has survived—published the recent yearly report of the Association and its constitution, the annual address of its president, a sermon, an abstract of the Confederation Convention at Montreal, and a table of the Y.M.C.A.’s of Europe and of America.<sup>96</sup>

There were two waves of organizing Y.M.C.A.’s in the 1850’s—the initial urge and a second surge on the crest of the nation-wide revivals of 1857-58. The mortality rate following the first wave was high and was intensified by the depression of 1857. The Civil War engulfed the majority of the organizations, including many that had been strong and well-rooted. In the 1850’s the causes of failure were obvious and much discussed: the lack of supervisory agencies (three times as many nonfederated Associations died as did federated), the inability of volunteer leadership to carry the load of administration and cultivation, shallow roots because almost no property was as yet held, ignorance of true Association methods, debt, poor management, and inadequate leadership.<sup>97</sup> Less obvious was the fact that the Y.M.C.A. was inherently an urban organization, requiring for success and permanence those conditions attendant upon the industrial revolution to which the city Associations addressed themselves—the degrading surroundings of the metropolis in which youth found itself engulfed and in need of the “necessary advice and assistance” the Y.M.C.A.’s stood by ready to give.

## THE FIRST PAID WORKERS: ORIGINS OF THE SECRETARYSHIP

The ambitions of the larger Associations and the very nature of their programs made it necessary to employ workers soon after the opening of rooms with libraries and social facilities, although it must be emphasized that this "lay" Movement remained essentially a voluntary, democratic, and nonprofessionalized society well through the nineteenth century. Its genius was, in a sense, in putting the young church member to work. It later referred to anyone not a secretary—whether he be clergyman or other volunteer—as a "layman." All of the great names of the Y.M.C.A. leaders in this "golden age of the volunteer worker" were those of youthful laymen: the Movement was created by young men who had seen a vision and set themselves to actualize it. No one of them was paid for what he did.<sup>98</sup> Few if any had reached the age of thirty. Although most of their pastors cooperated fully and in some instances took the leadership themselves—their names comprise about one-tenth of those who attended the seven Conventions of the Confederation—"the formative minds both locally and otherwise were those of the young members themselves."<sup>99</sup>

It was natural that a large and well-ordered library and reading room would require the presence of a qualified attendant if it were to function effectually. In response to this need the Boston and Washington Associations employed librarians in 1852, the former reporting in May of that year that it had already expended some \$570 in salaries, which doubtless included janitorial and other services.<sup>100</sup> Five more men served the Boston Association in this capacity during the next seven years. The Y.M.C.A.'s of Buffalo, New York, and Brooklyn also hired librarians in 1853. In the spring of 1855 the Charleston Association obtained a full-time librarian, its previous employee having kept the rooms open only from four to ten o'clock.<sup>101</sup>

Other Associations undoubtedly had paid workers during this first decade, but the first full-time employee to be designated "corresponding secretary" was John Wanamaker, subsequent founder of a great mercantile business, who served the Philadelphia Association from the autumn of 1857 for about three years, re-entering business in the spring of 1861 with capital saved out of his secretary's salary.<sup>102</sup> When he entered the work, Wanamaker was nineteen and had about two years of formal schooling. He was just returned from western travel that had helped overcome a threat of tuberculosis, and took the post

with a salary of \$1,000 per year guaranteed by the president of the Association, George H. Stuart—though as was to happen with many of his successors, Wanamaker raised most of it himself.

Of pietistic background, Wanamaker was qualified largely by religious zeal and a slight experience as a Sunday School teacher. He began at once to organize the work of the Association, the chief interest of which was the revivalistic noon prayer meeting then moving toward its greatest popularity. The Philadelphia Association was still small and housed in one room, but, as Wanamaker's biographer writes, in the first year of his secretaryship the new executive added two thousand members. He also reported in 1858 that he had carried on

. . . tireless visitation of those who dropped in, who were met by chance, or whose names were sent in by pastors in home towns; the distribution of hundreds of Testaments; many names appended to a total-abstinence pledge; noonday prayer-meetings at which young men learned to speak and express themselves in prayer; and the placing of over forty teachers in various Sunday schools. The secretary's salary had been subscribed, and, in addition, more money had come in as contributions and dues than during the previous four years of the organization's existence.

. . .

Many years later Wanamaker explained his success in this first great work, by saying, "I went out into the byways and hedges, and compelled them to come in."<sup>103</sup>

On December 19, 1858, the Boston Association employed as librarian Levi P. Rowland (1837-1933) whose qualifications for the post were his conversion at the age of sixteen and three years' experience in the book business. Rowland was not only the first individual to make the Y.M.C.A. secretaryship a life work, but his active career, which continued more than seventy years, unquestionably was the longest in American Y.M.C.A. history. Like several of his contemporaries, Rowland planned to retire at the age of forty, at which time he wrote:

My health wd [would] not permit me to enter the ministry and so I went into the book business . . . The Librarian of the Boston Y.M.C.A. (for then it was called that in place of Secretary) died suddenly and I applied for the place because I loved Christian work. I had a boy to help me, but in preference to keeping a boy I took young men who were strangers in the city and out of work and gave them the place at 3.00 a week and usually they remained about 3 to 5 months before they would find such a place as they wanted. . .

I had charge of the Library, and rooms—met strangers, looked after the meetings in and out of the rooms—called upon young men in stores &

offices & shops, kept the young men *at* the work who were Christians or converted. Introduced them into some church connection, spoke at the church prayer meetings—wrote letters to parents in the country, aided in organizing Associations in all parts of New England . . . .<sup>104</sup>

In 1862, the New York City Association, in grave danger of collapse, employed as its librarian an Irish immigrant named Robert Ross McBurney, who, it is said, had visited the rooms of the society the day he landed in 1854.<sup>105</sup> A meeting called to consider dissolution of the Association had turned into a rally, and a delegated committee soon afterward offered McBurney \$5.00 a week as janitor and librarian, to "build up the Association." On July 11, 1862, McBurney, who himself remarkably typified the young man the Movement existed to serve, began a career that in the generation after the Civil War was to "create the secretaryship." In 1866 he and Rowland were presumably the only full-time paid Y.M.C.A. secretaries in North America, inaugurating the necessary permanence of the office that would give continuity to both goals and program.

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AND THE CHURCHES

The Associations of the 1850's were intimately related to the evangelical Protestant churches. The Movement not only attached itself to them but it breathed their theological and ethical atmosphere. It was born of the fervor generated by the revivals of the mid-century, as has been suggested in the Introduction to this book. As the first half of the Y.M.C.A. century was to unfold, the practical-minded revivalism of Charles G. Finney and later of Dwight L. Moody would motivate much of the program of the growing Movement—its promotional urges, its insistence upon going to unusual places where the churches would or could not be found, the determination to have a material home with which to identify its activities, its essential conservatism on social issues but strong demand for personal purity and conformance to accepted Protestant folkways. It was the chief motivating force and promotional agency of the nation-wide revivals of 1857-58.

In all this the Y.M.C.A. mirrored American Protestantism. Its faith rested upon a naive belief in the Bible as the unique, supernatural repository of all truth, knowledge, and morality. Its God was that of the Book, especially concerned for sinners whose day-to-day conduct failed to measure up to current Protestant usage. The Association was,



for the most part, a move by the "better" people in behalf of those for whom they felt a real compassion and responsibility. The results were unquestionably positive in protecting many a youth from the wiles of the city and for helping him rise to levels of conduct and of living to which he might not otherwise have attained. The faith in which the American Y.M.C.A. was born and grew to manhood may have been naive, but it was real. The Movement was not content with introspective pietistic prayer meetings or with revivals for their own sake. It directed its energies, channeled through such agencies, to the reformation of character, the improvement of human relationships, and the inculcation of simple virtues.

Although some Y.M.C.A. pioneers had difficulty in obtaining the support of the clergy, this was for the most part a temporary handicap that was overcome after the young men had demonstrated their usefulness to the churches and their determination to remain loyal to them. During the 1850's Y.M.C.A.'s composed of the members of particular congregations were quite common, but these gradually disappeared or merged with city Associations, thus demonstrating that the Movement was not to be merely a young people's society within the churches. John V. Farwell, who together with Moody virtually began the Chicago Association, pointed out that at that time only one minister had claimed that his young men were all needed in the church and had induced them to leave the Y.M.C.A. and give their full allegiance to the denomination.<sup>106</sup>

In order to obtain approval it was necessary that the new Associations make clear their conception of the relation of the Y.M.C.A. to the churches and that they demonstrate their belief by services rendered. Declared a speaker at the Convention of 1859:

Of the Church these Associations are an *integral part*, the lightarmed, chosen, consecrated, fleet of foot, and trusty band sent out to reconnoitre and open the way for salvation to follow.

There were a hundred variations on this theme by Association apologists through the initial decade of the Movement. "This Association is the church at work; it is the church carrying the gospel to every creature within its own sphere . . .," wrote a contributor to the *Young Men's Christian Journal*. To support such a claim, the young societies channeled much of their religious activity through the churches. They printed and circulated church directories in their "Strangers' Guides,"

the New Orleans Association even listing a Unitarian congregation. Most Y.M.C.A.'s held their initial meetings in churches and continued to do so until they were established in their own rooms.

The most significant service of this kind was the interdenominational activity of the Y.M.C.A.'s, which in many an American community was the first demonstration of church unity witnessed in the nineteenth century. Ministers of all persuasions delivered lectures and presided at Association prayer meetings. They gradually overcame their distrust of the new young men's Movement—"that flying artillery of Zion"—especially as the evangelical test of membership became widely accepted. "Christianity—neither sectarian nor sectional—the great remedy for social and political evils" was the title of an address delivered before the Y.M.C.A.'s of Boston and of Richmond, Virginia, in 1859 by a distinguished Bostonian who was sincerely convinced of the catholic possibilities of the Associations. Virtually all Associations made their first appeals to the clergy and the churches, and cultivated them with such success as to develop confidence and hearty support. "Since the establishment of the Association," wrote the Knoxville correspondent to the first issue of the *Quarterly Reporter*, "sectarian and denominational zeal seems to have become merged into a pure, warm-hearted love for one another, as fellow disciples, and this spirit has been carried into our various churches, producing a very pleasant and cordial Christian esteem and affection in each toward all."

The nation-wide revivals that began in 1857 were a patent illustration of this. That a lay fellowship induced rival clergymen whose differences often amounted to distrust and suspicion to occupy the same platform came in time to be a major contribution to unity. The annual report of the Chicago Association for 1859 gave a vivid expression to this potential catholicity in words prophetic of the unmeasured influence to be exerted upon the leaders of a world organization of churches a generation later by Dwight L. Moody, at this time chairman of its committee to visit "sick members of the Association and strangers":

. . . Our organization is not intended, nor does it *practically* interfere with the denomination or Church, none of us undervalue the names by which we are respectively called. . . . Distinct and different in many of their views of religious truth, they harmonize in the great central doctrine of justification by Christ alone. Like the cylinder . . . which has drawn upon its circumference, in separate and distinct sections the various colours of the rainbow—presenting here, isolated, and in bold contrast to the other, the

Presbyterian's favorite blue—then the red rubric of the Episcopalian, and still further on the *water colour* of the Baptist, and so on, when turned quickly by a *single* hand, presents naught but the purely white, so Christians of different denominations, when moved by the arm of a common faith, symbolize that beautiful unity and harmony that will prevail, by-and-by, when we shall all see eye to eye. Neither do we hold to ours, *as superior to*, or *independent of*, but as *auxiliary* to the Church organization.

... 107

Lest there be any lingering doubt on the matter, the Convention of 1856 resolved:

That we do not intend that this institution shall take the highest place in our affections, or the largest share of our labors, but, that we hold this organization as auxiliary to the divinely appointed means of grace, the CHURCH and the *preaching of the Gospel*.

"We have been told," commented a Washington newspaper upon the birth of the Association in that city, "that sectarianism and denominational theology are not to be allowed to introduce their hydra-heads." If this be the case, it concluded, this will establish "an *era* indeed. It cannot but be blessed of Heaven and earth, and will, though gradually do more good amongst us than could be performed by any other conceivable organization." We have not set out, declared Langdon in his first report as corresponding secretary of the Washington Association, "to assume any polemical position" nor as "the exponent simply of any principle of faith, but for a *practically* religious purpose. . . ." The Movement did not try to eliminate theology, but it chose to launch its ship upon that particular religious current that ran most widely and deeply through the America of the mid-nineteenth century.

The gradual spread and acceptance of the Boston example of requiring active members to be church members was symbolized by the adoption of the evangelical test by the Montreal Association in 1854.<sup>108</sup>

Although a half-century later this restriction began to be suspect as a limitation upon the inclusiveness of the organization, it was both logical and inevitable in the 1850's. The Conventions of the first decade were reticent about declaring their minds on it, lest they infringe upon the freedom of local Y.M.C.A.'s, but they did recommend that "none but those who are in active communion with evangelical Churches" be classified as active members. Most constitutions, following Boston, provided for "standing committees" or vice-presidencies elected from all co-operating evangelical congregations—the Pittsburgh Association's Board of Managers at one time having thirty-eight

churches so represented—an awkward device that was gradually eliminated, but not until it had helped convince the denominations of the catholic intentions of the Y.M.C.A.

Yet the evangelical basis was neither universally accepted nor did it always result in happy community relations. In at least six of the first Associations it was a matter of grave concern; several were forced to disband because of the animosities created, and William Chauncy Langdon, the most significant figure of the first decade, considered that it resulted in greatly lessened efficiency when he compared the spiritual results gained by European Associations with those of American. "*Here, Active Membership depends upon a fact exterior to the Association,*" he wrote; "*there he only is such who comes in God's name to put his hand to the plough. . . .*" It is impossible, he continued, "to compare the spirituality and devotedness of the organizations in the United States with those of any other country, without recognizing the radical constitutional error which has here been made."<sup>109</sup> The Washington Y.M.C.A. subsequently changed its constitution to Langdon's satisfaction, but the problem of the "active" but ineffective member remained. In New York and Boston, liberals, chiefly Unitarians, organized competing "Young Men's Christian Unions" but these did not spread; only that in Boston lived through the century described in this History.

Y.M.C.A. pioneers were distinctly cool toward the Roman Catholic Church. Although few if any of them appear to have been involved in the notorious anti-Catholic movements of the time, they nonetheless reflected the Protestant attitudes of the day. The New York City Association early refused membership to a Roman Catholic youth, the issue provoking excited discussion in two monthly meetings.<sup>110</sup> At the same time the officers of that Association spoke approvingly of a Y.M.C.A. that had been formed among Roman Catholic young men in Cork, Ireland.<sup>111</sup> Doubtless some of the motivation for the evangelical test was anti-Catholic, especially in Boston where Irish immigration was already large. Relations with the Roman Catholic Church would not become a serious matter for the Y.M.C.A. until the twentieth century. In this first decade the Movement may be seen in perspective as a protest against an exaggerated sectarianism, the failure of the churches to undertake work for young people, and their excessive pietism and ecclesiasticism.<sup>112</sup>



## ETHICAL PROBLEMS AND THE FIRST ASSOCIATIONS

In its attitudes toward moral and ethical problems the Y.M.C.A. again reflected the Protestantism of the day. The moralistic purpose of the Movement was well expressed by the editor of the *New Orleans Companion* when he declared:

The object of our paper is, to present to the minds of our readers . . . the importance of the cultivation of the mind and heart; and of such associations as will tend to moral elevation; and the pursuit of true happiness, which is only to be found in virtue and religion.

We will not scruple to call the attention of our readers to some of the glaring sins of our community; and the moral responsibility which rests upon every philanthropist, and Christian, to use his influence boldly and fearlessly, however small he may consider that influence, in opposing the tide of iniquity, and Sabbath desecration which is the great crying sin of this city. We also desire to create a spirit of inquiry in the minds of our young men, as to what is going on in the moral world. . . .<sup>113</sup>

Sabbath observance was a serious matter with Protestants. The Association at Portsmouth, Virginia, twice described in the *Quarterly Reporter* petitions it had presented to the city council for Sunday closing of fish markets and "grogeries." The Convention of 1856 asked the members of the brotherhood to support and work for Sabbath observance. The Chicago Y.M.C.A. expressed serious concern over Sunday operations "by the railroad corporations of the city."<sup>114</sup>

The intentions of the *Companion's* editor must have caused him some inner searching when several readers made it known that his paper was "rather too full of the Old Harry . . . to read on the Sabbath" and some had added, "or on a week day, either!" Amusement was obviously frowned upon if it violated the current usages, although the Convention that met in Montreal in 1856 tabled rather than rejected a resolution endorsing "such recreations as are moderately and healthfully stimulating, such as social reunions, healthful games, concerts of music, festivals, &c., and everything which can be devised as attractive for good." It was in cosmopolitan New Orleans that the Convention of 1860 endorsed a prophetic statement of the desirability of gymnasiums as "a safeguard against the allurements of objectionable places of resort." The attitude of the youthful Movement toward the entire matter of recreation was well summarized in editorial comment by the *Young Men's Christian Journal* in 1859: a Y.M.C.A. should include recreational features in its program only when suitable facilities were not available and "a real need and call" felt. Even then

this should be done only so far as to "in no wise interfere with the prime work of the Association" and must be "guarded and hallowed by a Christian spirit. . . ." <sup>115</sup>

This first decade saw the development of a policy toward controversial issues (later known as "public affairs" in Association parlance) that was to be formative for the Y.M.C.A. century.<sup>116</sup> Doctrinal points that were not generally agreed upon were not considered fit subjects for Association-sponsored prayer meetings, a necessary precaution if unity was to be achieved. Abolition, the hottest issue of the time, played a major part in the delicate negotiations leading to the organization of the Confederation, as will be seen in Chapter 2, and the highly emotional attitudes held concerning it soon proved that no such issue could be allowed to monopolize the interests of any Y.M.C.A. that hoped to fulfill its stated aims.

This problem first appeared in the Washington Association in the form of a declaration by the Board of Managers that "no political or partisan paper shall be admitted into the Library, without having been reported to and approved" by themselves.<sup>117</sup> They also considered prohibiting "discussions of a sectarian or political character" but tabled the motion.<sup>118</sup> The New York Association was almost wrecked when the library committee banned *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. A newspaper attacked it as a political club, and another disruption took place when the paper was withdrawn from the library, all of which caused the Association to decide that "resolutions declaratory of opinion merely, are not to be put to vote."<sup>119</sup>

These controversies in the New York Y.M.C.A. resulted in a worldwide influence far beyond their immediate local significance. The Reverend Abel Stevens, a member of that Association, who was deeply troubled over the difficulty of maintaining it intact under such stresses, became the spokesman for the American delegation to the first World Conference of Y.M.C.A.'s, held in Paris in 1855. Among the several proposals he there made was one intended to clarify policy in such situations. A full account of this will be given in Chapter 2, but four years after the Paris meeting the essence of Stevens' statement became American Movement policy when the Troy Convention adopted new Articles of Confederation that included these words as their second article:

Any difference of opinion on other subjects, [than the basic Christian affirmation of unity] however important in themselves, but not embraced

by the specific designs of the Associations, shall not interfere with the harmonious relations of the Confederated Societies.

Nevertheless, it was difficult to keep politics out of Association affairs. The conviction of a group of leaders of the New York Y.M.C.A. that there could be no legitimate divorce between religion and politics when moral issues were at stake prompted them to organize a "Young Men's Republican Union" and to campaign for Fremont in 1856 and for Lincoln in 1860 and 1864. One of them, Cephas Brainerd, was a member of a committee that sponsored Lincoln's Cooper Union speech in 1860 and helped stir up interest in it. "This is a matter of religion which has run into politics and Christians are bound to follow it," he wrote in justification of his "advanced ground on the slavery question."<sup>120</sup> The time would come after the Civil War when the New York leadership of the Movement would be criticized for making its organization an adjunct of the Republican Party. Richard C. McCormick, another New York Association leader who was a member of the Union, wrote back from a trip west where he found the Dubuque Association trying to elect its president to Congress in 1858: "We should have more such solid men in our national councils."<sup>121</sup>

The Movement rarely hesitated to commit itself in favor of peaceful settlement of international difficulties. When the Convention met at Montreal in 1856 diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain had been broken over the recruiting of British soldiers in American cities. Upon Langdon's motion a special committee brought in an elaborate resolution that was unanimously adopted, calling for "the exercise of a cool and dispassionate judgment" and a day of prayer by all Associations.<sup>122</sup> This first American pronouncement of its kind was to be followed by many another throughout the Association century: in this area of public affairs the Movement forgot its neutrality as it did in regard to temperance, Sabbath observance, or the suppression of obscene literature. Most of these early attitudes later became organizational policy.<sup>123</sup>

\* \* \*

Thus did the virile seedling transplanted from the mother country take root in the fertile soil of North America. How the Movement became conscious of itself and formed a Confederation of Y.M.C.A.'s, how it responded to the demands of a fratricidal war and was almost engulfed in that struggle, are subjects for another chapter. All later

fruitage was from this planting in the eventful decade before the "Irrepressible Conflict" broke—years in which myriads of immigrants from abroad and youths from the American countryside flooded into the burgeoning cities that were already feeling the growing pains attendant upon the industrial revolution.



## Chapter 2 The Dawn of Movement Consciousness

We are told, sir, that our railroads are bonds of national union, because, connecting different sections of the country, they facilitate the exchange of commodities, and bind men together with the golden chain of pecuniary interest. But such a union as *we* contemplate—a union of young men from Maine to Louisiana, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific, (now represented here)—a union of heart and hand in our Saviour's cause—will constitute a far nobler and, we trust, more effectual bond; a bond which party interests and political intrigues can never sunder. In this respect, sir, the voices of our city and our state are, and ever have been, *for the Union*.

—WILLIAM H. NEFF, of Cincinnati, before  
the Convention of 1854.

THE FIRST Y.M.C.A.'s established on the continent of North America were born in isolation and ignorance of one another. They were drawn into their first federation by the tireless efforts of one man, supported by a Movement-conscious Association that was joined by a few other like-minded individuals and Associations. William Chauncy Langdon (1831-1895), co-founder of the Washington Y.M.C.A., father of the first Confederation of American Y.M.C.A.'s, and one of the prime movers of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, was born in Burlington, Vermont, and spent his childhood in Washington, D. C., and in Louisiana.<sup>1</sup> Because of family misfortunes and his mother's health, Langdon's "nomadic boyhood" gave him little systematic schooling but nonetheless awakened a precocious mind. While living at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, Professor Frederick A. P. Barnard, then of the state university, opened to him the mysteries of microscope and telescope, and others introduced the eager adolescent to further realms of science which now became his passion.

At fourteen Langdon invented "a game of cards illustrative of English history," had it copyrighted, printed the trial sets himself, and when it sold well added another on American history. He traveled the country selling the games, visiting distinguished relatives in Boston who introduced him to Longfellow, Abbott Lawrence, and others with

whom he developed friendships. Preparatory schooling in Vermont was followed by an intensive two years at Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, from which Langdon was graduated in 1850. He then prepared himself as a scientific lecturer. Offered a college teaching post in astronomy, he went to Washington to visit the naval observatory in preparation for mounting a new telescope, and there formed connections that took him back to the capital in June, 1851, as assistant patent examiner; he was then nineteen years of age. Langdon at once placed himself "in parochial relations with the Reverend Dr. Clement M. Butler, rector of Trinity (Episcopal) Church; and at his request, took a Bible class in his Sunday School."

In the spring of 1852 Butler proposed the formation of a Y.M.C.A. to Langdon and some other teachers of the church school, and, as was related in Chapter 1, an aggressive Association resulted. In Langdon's later estimation, the story of the first American Confederation of Y.M.C.A.'s began with "that of the society in Washington."<sup>2</sup> The clergy were cool to the suggestion in view of the transient residence of most young men in the city, situated as they were much like Langdon himself. A first conference was a failure but the friends persevered, convinced that the presumed liability of Washington's cosmopolitanism was their best asset. It was a microcosm of the nation, Langdon insisted, and their first constitution's preface declared:

Every State in the Union furnishes its quota of young men to the rapidly increasing population of the Capital: every denomination, sect and order of men, every condition of mind, morals and estate, have their representatives among the young men of our city.

This unusual clientele "and the relations which that Association came afterwards to hold towards the idea of a confederation were the natural outcome of this its exceptional character," declared Langdon in describing the origins of the first North American alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s.

Because of the sectional tensions concentrated in the capital, when the Y.M.C.A. scheduled a series of lecturers, a Southerner must be followed by a Northerner; "we were forced to consider national prejudices and even politics in everything" to an extent that was certainly not true of any other Y.M.C.A. Slow to initiate the usual religious program features, the Washington Association was at first attentive to the needs of the hosts of young men coming as strangers to the city. The committee on the sick had watched beside "some other-

wise lonely beds" and Langdon himself was deeply stirred by two deaths "of young men away from their New York and western homes." Again "the microcosmic character of the Washington Association" was borne in upon those living in a social and political atmosphere that reflected national rather than local interests.

Langdon, whose family ties and boyhood travels were divided between New England, the South, and the Midwest, and was himself "far from being a mere local resident," became corresponding secretary of the Washington Y.M.C.A. On a visit to Boston in August, 1852, he learned that there were at least seven other Associations in the country, and at once wrote to all of them. He especially sounded out the New York Association, "the largest and most important," to take the lead in proposing a conference to discuss the mutual interests of the rapidly growing American Associations—this when no American Y.M.C.A. was yet one year old. But there was no response from New York. Langdon then realized the strategic position of his own Association in fostering a national organization: there "would be no spontaneously concurrent movement; the work must be begun by one." On September 14, 1852, he proposed to a "most interesting and animated" meeting of the Washington organization "a plan for uniting the Y.M.C.A.'s of the different cities in a fraternity, making us mutually members of each other's Association," almost the first proposition to be presented it on which the Washington Association was "pretty cordially united." On October 18 its constitution was amended to admit members of other Y.M.C.A.'s to its privileges "while transiently among us." The move was at once communicated to other Associations and a few adopted it; not until the 1880's was the practice generally accepted.

In February of 1853 Langdon suggested that Butler, contemplating a European trip, be accredited to attend the London Association's forthcoming anniversary as representative of the Washington Association. Butler took not only official greetings from the Washington and Detroit Associations, but literature and a letter to the London secretary, W. Edwyn Shipton. Other representatives were sent by the Boston Association. Butler returned full of information and suggestions, and with a reply from Shipton. Langdon now proposed "a publication, as the channel for the interchange of information between the societies"—a scheme "deliberately considered, elaborately wrought out, reported on and matured so far as the Washington society was concerned." Unanimously endorsed by that Association in July, 1853, ac-

tion on the plan awaited word from the other Y.M.C.A.'s now spreading across the continent.

At the committee meeting where Langdon had proposed commissioning Butler, he had also suggested "that we should try to get a meeting of delegates from the American Associations in New York" the following May. The New York Association again did not acknowledge the letter, though during a visit there that summer Langdon was given the opportunity to present the proposal for a journal. But the co-operation necessary to the project was not forthcoming and the subject had to be dropped. In the meantime, Langdon had made himself the best informed person in the world on the extent of the Movement, compiling the first statistics and presenting summaries of his astonishingly voluminous correspondence to the quarterly meetings of the Washington Association in documents of great historical value a century later.<sup>3</sup> This correspondence brought him in touch with previously organized European alliances in Switzerland and in Germany, the president of the latter, Pastor Dürselen, writing from Ronsdorf in March, 1854, the sixth year of that Alliance:

We have found that forming the Unions into an Alliance, at the head of which stands a central Committee, of which the writer is the President, has contributed essentially to give strength and vitality to the cause of the Unions. We would therefore suggest that your Associations also form themselves into an American Alliance. In that event, it would give us great pleasure if the American Alliance would enter into an intimate and fraternal communion with our own, and furnish us the addresses of the allied associations, and thus enable us to furnish directions to any of our young men traveling in your country. We on our part, would do the same.<sup>4</sup>

In his report to the Washington Association in October, 1853, Langdon had asked for authorization to solicit the co-operation of other Associations in the calling of a conference to which the plan for the journal and other matters might be referred, but especially was he anxious that it look toward an alliance on the pattern of those abroad.<sup>5</sup> He now renewed his approach to other Associations and was for the fourth time refused by New York, which Y.M.C.A. was content with "effort, attention and interest" at home. For some weeks no reply came from Boston. He then turned to the western Associations, receiving at once a cordial response from Buffalo that included an invitation to hold the proposed convention there. Together with Oscar Cobb of that Association, Langdon sent on February 28, 1854, a circular to the thirty-two American Y.M.C.A.'s known to him.



The document was hardly in the mail when Boston's approval was received and a supplementary letter released. Shortly afterward "cordial concurrence" came from Cincinnati and St. Louis; by April 12 Langdon was able to issue a definite call to a convention to meet at Buffalo on June 7. Twenty Associations had been heard from. Sixteen of them were in favor of the move, and the other four would probably send delegates "to confer relative to the formation of an Alliance, to secure such uniformity of organization and action as may be thought desirable, and to consider such other questions" as might arise. The initiative of the Washington group was completed with the action of its delegates, soon appointed, in approving a group of propositions drawn up by Langdon that they hoped would obviate "all the difficulties and objections which had been urged against the plan of a confederation." This was then sent to the Associations expected to attend the Convention.

#### THE BUFFALO CONVENTION, JUNE 7-8, 1854

From the second-story windows of the modest rooms of the Buffalo Young Men's Christian Union at the corner of Main and Mohawk Streets, on a morning in early June, a group of men watched anxiously in the streets below for delegates to this first "conversational convention," wondering "if any would come and eager for the meeting." Representatives of fifteen Associations did arrive that morning, noticeable in the street as they scanned the buildings for a corner room. The first greetings, wrote one of them long afterward, "were as those of a band of brothers returned from far journeys."<sup>6</sup> Four delegations arrived later: seven men represented the Buffalo Association, four came from Washington, three from Boston, and three from Cincinnati—Samuel Lowry, J. H. Marshall, and William H. Neff. Two men each had journeyed from Portland (Maine), Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland; one each represented the Associations at San Francisco, Quincy and Peoria (Illinois), Worcester and Springfield (Massachusetts), Louisville and Lexington (Kentucky). The president of the New Orleans Association, George W. Helme, had come with a companion via steamboat and train, while John Holland, a charter member of the Montreal Association and now president of the Toronto Y.M.C.A., represented Canada<sup>7</sup>—altogether thirty-seven from thirteen states and provinces. Conspicuously absent were representatives from New York and from the deep South except for the men from New Orleans: it

was almost a western gathering.<sup>8</sup> The delegates were, as one of them said, "of seven denominations, of all occupations—the clergyman, mechanic, lawyer, artist, teacher, merchant, scientist, editor stood side by side, united in fraternal love; the calm and temperate, the earnest and sanguine, of two nations—there seemed but one thing in common to all . . . the love of Christ." No one was over forty. Most were under thirty. The leaders were in their early twenties.

The Convention was called to order by Jesse Clement, president-elect of the Buffalo society, who proposed the Reverend W. T. Smithett of Boston as temporary chairman. William J. Rhees of Washington was "requested to act as secretary." He set a standard for complete and accurate reporting. After lunch the committee on nominations brought in the name of George W. Helme of New Orleans as president,<sup>9</sup> thus giving to those who had questioned the possibility of holding such a gathering without disruption over the issue of abolition "a tacit pledge of that political neutrality in which they had trusted and which was, at that time, so essential to any common relations between them." A Bostonian proposed that in appealing a vote, delegates should cast votes in numerical proportion to the membership they represented; this was tabled. The St. Louis representative read a letter from his Association endorsing the idea of an alliance and of regular conventions, but stipulating that whatever form the organization might take, such a federation ought not to have conferred upon it "any authority over the separate Associations, nor any right of control or interference with their internal affairs or management." This was referred to the business committee and the president then read a letter from his own Association inviting the next Convention to meet in New Orleans and repeating the strong endorsement of an alliance that had been previously emphasized in *The Companion*.

A potential bomb was thrown into the discussion at this point by the abolitionist delegate from Toronto who asked the Convention to endorse "the Christian sentiment, that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free' " and to go on record in favor of inviting "all Christian young men, of whatever degree or condition in life, to an equal participation in the advantages these Associations are calculated to afford." This, too, was referred to the business committee without discussion; it was not reported out. Langdon had foreseen that the antislavery issue would arise; his later comments upon this disposition of the matter stated the early attitude toward controversy. It was, he wrote,

. . . the only course which could possibly have been taken. As long as slavery existed, certain social results followed. The Young Men's Christian Associations neither could nor did they propose to deal with the institution itself. To what practical purpose were any resolutions of protest or non-recognition of those social results?

Had this resolution been debated it is doubtful that there would have been another Convention; the Toronto Association later withdrew from the Confederation over the issue.

The business committee then brought in its report that the Convention recommend to the Movement the holding of an annual convention to which local Associations would report their programs and progress, that there would be a three-man committee to publish such a report, "and that one of them shall be a general Corresponding Secretary, to send and receive communications from all similar Associations in this and foreign countries." With only two delegates making remarks to the motion, some of those most concerned being in committee, this proposal was adopted.<sup>10</sup> The discussion then moved on to several matters related to religious work, the most significant of which was a proposal by a Cincinnati delegate—whose society was deeply involved in such operations—that the Convention recommend to every Y.M.C.A. the aggressive pursuit of "efforts of a practical missionary character." The evening of the first day was devoted to a public session at the First Presbyterian Church. It opened with the singing of "Blest Be the Tie that Binds," which became the "Association hymn" of the nineteenth century. This session was devoted chiefly to informal verbal reports by the delegates on the history, status, and programs of their Associations.

The Cincinnati delegation was deeply disappointed with the Convention's choice of annual conventions rather than an alliance. William H. Neff,<sup>11</sup> who was charged by his home union to push for a confederation, asked the president if in view of his having been out of the room on committee work at the time of the discussion, the vote might be reconsidered next day. Helme gave his approval. As Neff recalled it long after, "then we went to work":

Lowry and Marshall buttonholed the delegates. I began work on the resolutions. We had ascertained the objections and knew the rocks to be avoided. That night I spent in prayer and preparation for the morrow. When the resolutions and the address with which I intended to support them were ready, the gray dawn of the morning was appearing in the East. A short rest, a hurried breakfast and we were ready for the battle.<sup>12</sup>

Langdon, whose train had failed to connect with a lake steamer, arrived early and hurried to the Association rooms where he met his Washington colleague Rhees, together with Lowry and Neff, who explained that the original plan for an alliance had been opposed by the Boston delegates, especially after the defeat of their scheme to give the larger Associations a *pro rata* voting power. In the desire to conciliate them the business committee, although it had before it in writing specific recommendations for an alliance from the Associations of New Orleans and St. Louis, had recommended merely annual conventions and a committee to publish the report.

When the Convention was called to order, Langdon and one delegate each from Lexington and from San Francisco were seated, and almost at once Neff put his motion to reconsider the previous day's action "respecting an annual Convention." Nine men spoke in favor, and two opposed the action, but the vote was fourteen yeas and six nays, many having left. Neff then proposed nine resolutions that embodied essentially the propositions that the Washington delegation had circulated in April, and supported them with an eloquent, brief address seconded by Langdon "in remarks at some length." The resolutions were referred to the business committee and Neff and Langdon were appointed to vacancies upon it created by the departure of two New England delegates. Neff immediately suggested to the committee that they should recommend only those propositions upon which they were unanimous. This, he recalled afterward, "gave each one a veto power and disarmed opposition at once." In two hours—while the Convention discussed Sunday School and mission work—they hammered out a scheme that they believed both secured the essential features of a confederation and met the objections to such an organization.

In mid-afternoon, after seating a delegate from Chicago, the Convention accepted, discussed *seriatim*, and adopted seven resolutions. The vote was by delegation, sixteen in favor and one against. When the count was taken, that one "cheerfully and heartily" voted *yea* and "requested that it should so be entered on the record":

1. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and British Provinces the formation of a voluntary Confederation for their mutual encouragement, co-operation and usefulness, and that they recommend, when twenty-two Associations shall concur in the plan hereinafter suggested, the said Confederation shall go into operation.

2. *Resolved*, That a Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associa-



tion of the United States and British Provinces be held annually at such time and place as may be determined.

3. *Resolved*, That while it would oftentimes be judicious to discuss in Convention principles of organization and action, this body shall have no authority or control over the local affairs of any Association.

4. *Resolved*, That a Central Committee be appointed, to consist of eleven members, five of whom shall be residents of the city, where the committee shall for the time being be located, and shall be members of different religious denominations; the remaining six to be selected from the Associations generally, not more than one member from any one Association.

5. *Resolved*, That the Central Committee shall maintain correspondence with American and Foreign kindred bodies, promote the formation of new Associations, collect and diffuse appropriate information, and from time to time recommend to the local Associations such measures as may seem calculated to promote the general object; but it shall not have authority to commit any local Association to any proposed plan of action until approved by said Association, nor to assess any pecuniary rate upon them without their consent.

6. *Resolved*, That the Central Committee be appointed by this Convention, and continue in office until their successors are appointed by a subsequent Convention.

7. *Resolved*, That the Central Committee shall ascertain the wishes of the different Associations in regard to the time and place of holding each annual Convention, and shall issue the call as nearly as possible in accordance therewith.

This was the constitution of the first Confederation of North American Y.M.C.A.'s. Letters of regret but promising co-operation were then read from Associations at Manchester, New Hampshire, and Charleston, South Carolina. A monthly hour of prayer was adopted.<sup>13</sup> The Central Committee was appointed and located at Washington. Langdon made an address on one of his favorite themes—the inadequacy of the evangelical test and the cumbersome nature of Association organization.

Active members, he believed, as members of evangelical churches, may be so; "they ought to be those only who *are* and *must* be active," who have "this work enwrapped in their very souls." The Convention then voted its thanks to the Buffalo Association, to President Helme, to the railroad and steamboat companies that had reduced fares, and to the business committee for "the very able and efficient manner" in which it had discharged its duty. In conclusion it was

*Resolved*, That it is a matter of deep and humble gratitude to God, that

so much harmony has prevailed in our deliberations, such unanimity attended our actions, and so much Christian love pervaded all our hearts during the sessions of this Convention.

An evening session at the Washington Street Baptist Church continued the presentation of reports on local Associations, during the course of which Langdon gave a résumé of the world-wide Movement, estimating that there were "about 250 such brotherhoods, scattered throughout every nation, people, kindred and tongue." The Reverend Byron Sunderland, of Washington, spoke eloquently endorsing the Movement; President Helme, deeply moved on "this the happiest day of his life," rejoiced "at the successful issue of the Convention"; he was certain that "should the Associations persevere in their annual assemblage, the Seventh of June, 1854, would be remembered with pride and gratification." After singing

From all who dwell below the skies,  
Let the Creator's name arise,

the Convention adjourned, *sine die*. Some of the delegates stayed over the next day to enjoy, as guests of the Buffalo Association, a trip to Niagara that included a sumptuous dinner and was "an occasion of great excitement and unbroken delight." Too late to be read at the Convention cordial letters arrived from W. Edwyn Shipton and T. Henry Tarleton of the London Association, both of which were printed in the *Proceedings*; two American Associations had already passed the 1,000-member mark then reached by the parent society.

#### THE CONFEDERATION OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND BRITISH PROVINCES

The resolutions of confederation were to become effective when twenty-two Associations had ratified them. The Cincinnati delegation rushed home, called a meeting the next evening, and was the first to approve—unanimously. A week later the Washington and St. Louis Associations took the same action. On June 26 the Central Committee met, organized, and issued its *Circular No. 1*, which Langdon—at once chosen "General Secretary"<sup>14</sup>—had previously prepared, officially announcing the Buffalo resolutions and requesting action upon them. Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Louisville soon ratified, but Brooklyn categorically refused. The New York *Independent* condemned the whole procedure in terms that seemed to reflect the viewpoint of the New

York Association. Then the Boston Association repudiated the vote of its delegates at Buffalo. Langdon and Neff met with leading members of the New York society but obtained no immediate results.

Underlying the excuses the New York men gave about their preoccupation with a purely local work were the fear that discussion of abolition would find its way into the Conventions, and apprehension lest rivalry develop between themselves and the Boston Association for local leadership on the London pattern, where the remaining Y.M.C.A.'s were regarded as branches of the parent organization.<sup>15</sup> In September, the Philadelphia Association, at its organizational meeting, joined the Confederation; Toronto, New Orleans, and Peoria soon followed. Matters then were at a standstill with other Associations hesitant. The Central Committee then sent a circular letter that was the result of consultations between themselves and those individuals in New York who favored the Confederation. It clarified the fact that the Buffalo resolutions were the entire constitution that was to be established or contemplated, that the Central Committee was but a creature of the confederated Associations for definite and limited purposes and had of itself no governing function nor was it authorized to "assume any control."

This convinced the New York Association, which at once ratified, on November 20, 1854, though with reservations; Concord, New Hampshire, joined the same day. New York's example proved to be exactly what Neff and Langdon had hoped for. By the end of the year twenty Associations had joined. On January 15 Charleston and San Francisco ratified, to be followed shortly by Montreal. When Langdon joyfully issued his official announcement of the organization of the Confederation, on February 20, 1855, twenty-five Associations had been heard from in favor of the proposition.

They were grouped in seven districts with a member of the Central Committee in each. The influence of the Committee was already being felt in the adoption of program suggestions made by it or gleaned from the *Proceedings* of the Convention, of which one thousand copies had been printed. Toronto soon withdrew but Montreal was one of four Associations to invite the second Convention to meet with it. Personal criticism of Langdon by some of the foes of the alliance prompted him to attempt to withdraw from the Committee, but his friends rallied to his support. Lowry<sup>16</sup> wrote that for him to follow such a course would be "fatal to the cause of our Associations." The Cincinnati Asso-

ciation elected him an honorary member. Neff visited Langdon and the latter agreed to remain through the next Convention if the Committee would be removed from Washington.

The last major service rendered by the Washington Central Committee was to arrange for the second Convention, which was held at Cincinnati on September 19 and 20, 1855. In recognition of his services to the Movement, it elected Langdon president, an office carried out with decision and the utmost fidelity to the principles that had been established at Buffalo, several of which he was called upon to clarify in parliamentary rulings. A proposal was made that the Convention recognize only as active Y.M.C.A. members those persons in fellowship with evangelical churches. Langdon promptly ruled this out of order on the ground that the Buffalo resolutions had expressly denied to the Convention any authority to legislate "with reference to the local affairs of any Association." Neff, in reply to objections to Langdon's position, declared that this would but open the door to all kinds of infringements upon local autonomy. The appeal to the president's ruling was withdrawn and the resolution changed to a recommendation—which probably saved the youthful organization from serious disruption if not dissolution.

Twenty-eight confederated Associations were represented at Cincinnati by some fifty delegates. They heard in Langdon's report the most complete survey of the world-wide Association Movement that had yet been made. Resolutions establishing the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, recently organized at a conference in Paris, were ratified. The Convention rejected the offer of the New Orleans Association to make its *Companion* the Movement's mouthpiece, deciding to establish (as of the next January) a *Quarterly Reporter* "for the purpose of affording a means of communication between the Committee and the local Associations, to give information respecting the formation of new Associations, notices, statistics, etc." The delegates heard a lengthy letter from Pastor J. P. Cook, president of the Paris Union and of the recent Paris Conference, and listened to a sermon by the Reverend William Arthur, a vice-president of the London Association and the first emissary of the parent organization to address an American Convention.

Resolutions were passed supporting Sunday observance, setting up a lecture bureau, for the publication of a circular "containing hints for the formation and guidance of Y.M.C.A.'s," and providing for "an



order of business" at the next Convention, which was to be in Montreal. A Y.M.C.A. was declared to be "a society which has for its object the formation and the development in young men of Christian character and Christian activity." Those Associations not yet members of the Confederation were invited to join and to send delegates to the next Convention. The proceedings and reports of the Cincinnati Convention filled a booklet of 114 closely printed pages, twice the size of that describing the Buffalo meeting. The pattern for American Y.M.C.A. Conventions was thus set; those of the Confederation would adhere closely to it; and the new organization after the Civil War would develop a remarkably similar methodology.

Langdon was given a unanimous vote of thanks for his "valuable services as General Secretary," and in accordance with his wishes the Convention moved the Central Committee to Cincinnati, where it remained two years. H. Thane Miller became its president, Neff was the secretary for home correspondence, and Rhees of Washington for foreign correspondence. The *Quarterly* was a boon to the Movement but could never pay its way. Changed to a monthly in January, 1859, and renamed the *Young Men's Christian Journal*, this first Movement effort to maintain a periodical failed for lack of interest and was discontinued by the Convention of 1860. The next achievement of the Cincinnati Committee was the Convention of 1856, held in Montreal with some ninety delegates, some of whom came on their own initiative from Associations that had not joined the Confederation. "The attention of this Convention," wrote a delegate in summary, "was wholly taken up by plans of work and schemes of activity. It was specially characterized by its enthusiasm, and, in fact, the multiplicity of the subjects brought up before it involved a serious loss of thoroughness and—perhaps, by way of reaction—a period of comparative inaction after it." Yet it authorized a delegation to visit European Associations, enlarged the Central Committee, and heard a significant address by Thomas H. Gladstone, a vice-president of the London Y.M.C.A.

At the low point of this period the Convention of 1857 met at Richmond, Virginia. A delegate commented that by then the machinery of the Confederation had reached its "dead center," as sometimes did the driving rods of locomotives of that day, with consequent delay to travelers. Of this convention, Langdon wrote that it had been "characterized by steady purpose; it revised and greatly improved the methods of the Convention itself; it rearoused flagging interest and brought

the institution down to calm and sober work; so that by the time of the Charleston Convention, the organization of the confederation, in all its parts and functions, had been about perfected."<sup>17</sup>

Yet at Richmond "the different sections of the country were well represented" and the brethren expected to be "cheered and encouraged for many days to come with the remembrance of the brotherly love, Christian activity, and zeal in the work of the Lord which they saw exhibited on every side."<sup>18</sup> The next year was one of distinct gain, due to the effect of the prayer-meeting revivals, to be described later in this chapter. The Central Committee was moved to Buffalo with Oscar Cobb as chairman, whence it issued the calls for the Convention of 1858 at Charleston, South Carolina.

This was the largest Convention yet, with ninety-eight delegates from twenty-four Associations in twenty states. Wrote the president of the Troy, New York, Association of impressions there made upon the hearts of the delegates "never to be effaced":

Here, north and south, east and west, came together, and talked of the same Saviour; bowing before him in humble prayer; and though at home we were called by different names—here all was swallowed up in the common name of "*Christian*." It is this spirit of Union which has thus been proved to exist among the Christian young men of our land, which promises to my mind so much of usefulness in the future; for it is, as St. Paul has said:—although the church is slow to believe it, and slower still to act upon it—"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal."<sup>19</sup>

Rhees of Washington proposed that the members of the Central Committee be authorized to visit in unorganized towns as well as to strengthen existing Associations. Thus was laid the basis for the supervisory function of the central agency, later developed with a paid staff of traveling secretaries. By this time there were 102 Associations with an estimated 16,000 members. The quiet perseverance of the Central Committee had enlisted an increased number in the Confederation, but quickened interest and the expansion of program everywhere were due chiefly to recent revivals.<sup>20</sup> That fall the Central Committee, in proposing a new constitution for the Confederation, stated well its philosophy and that of the International Committee, which followed it a decade and more later:

We do not aim at a great central power to absorb the energies of young men, or take them from their own home work, but the one idea and object is to *perfect and make more and more efficient the local Associations*.<sup>21</sup>

The climax of the Confederation period was reached at the Troy Convention of 1859, to which there came 237 delegates from sixty-eight Y.M.C.A.'s. Among them were most of the leaders of the Movement, virtually all of its pioneers, and a large group of those who would assume positions of importance in the future. There were a hundred new Associations that year, and membership had soared to something like 25,000. A careful agenda had been worked out, with a few topics presented in prepared papers. The new constitution was adopted and during the ensuing year ratified by the requisite number of Associations.<sup>22</sup> Its seventh article, defining the duties of the Central Committee, both outlined the growing functions of that body and revealed an increasing centralization and the need for supervision:

The Central Committee shall maintain correspondence with American and foreign kindred bodies; promote the formation of new Associations; collect and diffuse appropriate information, and from time to time recommend to the local Associations such measures as seem calculated to promote the general object. They shall collect and disburse the funds of the [Confederation] and make all needful preparations for Conventions. They may admit Associations to the Confederation; fill vacancies in their own body, and adopt rules, not inconsistent with these articles, for the government of the same. They shall ascertain the wishes of the different Associations in regard to the time and place of holding each annual Convention, and shall issue the call as nearly as possible in accordance therewith.

Membership in the Confederation was limited to Y.M.C.A.'s adopting the Articles and admitted by the Central Committee, but local Associations were still declared to be autonomous, particularly in the realms of action and finance.

The enthusiasm engendered by the nation-wide prayer-meeting revivals created a Convention atmosphere in which the very reasons for the existence of the Movement were questioned. In fact, that debate had already begun in the *Journal*, Langdon (who had recently taken orders in the Episcopal Church) having written that the revival had "subjected cool heads to warm hearts," until they were near to forgetting the true purpose of the Associations:

. . . there is a danger before us in America, and danger too, the more to be feared, that it comes to us in the noblest and holiest impulses. The Bible Society, the Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union, those great societies which have so long and so harmoniously united Christians of various communions, have done so because they have a clearly defined object and sphere to which they are limited, and in which all can labor, because they are thus preserved clear in their joint action from all contact with denominational principles. But a platform erected upon the dis-



tinctions, and involving the abandonment of denominational principles is a very different thing; and our societies should see well to it, that by the preservation of distinctly defined objects, and a rigid adherence thereto they do not learn it at the expense of a sad experience. The Young Men's Christian Association is *not* an institution for the general promulgation of the gospel, but an institution to fit young men to be, "in the spheres of their daily calling," efficient supporters and members of the institution which was divinely appointed for that work. . . . <sup>23</sup>

Others who thought the Association *was* "an institution for the general promulgation of the Gospel" replied. The debate broke out on the floor of the Convention where Langdon, who had now removed to Philadelphia where the Association under the leadership of George H. Stuart was devoted to "any and every good work," was surprised and hurt to find himself virtually alone in championing the view that he had been asked to set forth in an essay on "the relation and duty of Associations to young men."<sup>24</sup> He concluded his paper with a group of resolutions that summarized the position from which he had never swerved and now held with increased tenacity because he saw the current vogue of general religious work as a threat to the Church in which he had recently been ordained. There could, in fact, have been at this point a great schism from the churches in the direction of a Y.M.C.A. denomination, had leadership been at hand to precipitate it. Langdon placed the whole matter in the context of the relation of the Associations to the churches, believing that

. . . no Association has any Constitutional right to pursue any course whatsoever contrary to the denominational principles of any one of the said ecclesiastical organizations, and that this obligation is beyond the reach of the power of majorities.

3d. *Resolved*, That the Young Men's Christian Association is not an institution for the general propagation of the Gospel; it is not hers to enter upon the work of evangelization, nor upon the independent exercise of any of the functions of the visible Church of Christ . . . .

4th. *Resolved*, That the institution abides by its historical position, that it is an institution for the "formation and development in young men of Christian character and Christian activity," and that it deprecates any departure from this limitation of its sphere as greatly detrimental to its influence and usefulness.

Langdon was treated kindly, but no one agreed with him. A reporter wrote that he was "like a lone sheep among three hundred ravenous wolves"; all the speeches could be summarized in the statement that they were against his resolutions. I felt, he wrote in retrospect,



that I was contending not merely for my own footing in the Associations—which was, of course, involved—but for the whole future of the Associations themselves; for their relations to those in the Old World, and for their place in respect to the Church of Christ. The rule, restricting a member to a single speech was suspended in my favor. Standing at bay, as it were, at the foot of the pulpit stair, I made nearly every other speech, contending for hours practically against the whole convention. I spoke with all the powers of my intellect, with all the energies of my soul. I was forced back, step by step and hope by hope, from the institution for which I had labored so long, which I loved so truly, and for which I had expected so much.

When the debate seemed interminable, a young lawyer from New York, Cephas Brainerd, attending his first Convention, “after brief remarks complimentary to brother Langdon, and generally conciliatory,” moved that the various resolutions before the house be taken up. The Convention, as a committee of the whole, then adopted a simple compromise declaring

. . . that while we should work specially in behalf of young men, for the sake of our Associations, as well as for the sake of our Master’s cause, we should be ready to enter upon any work which He shall open before us.<sup>25</sup>

This caused Langdon to declare that he must break with the Movement. The session closed a few moments afterward and President Stuart graciously called upon “Rev. Mr. Langdon” to pronounce the benediction—his last service to the organization he had created. A considerable number crowded around their repudiated leader and some thanked him for his stand, assuring him, as history would, that he was right. “The scene,” commented a religious journal, “was very affecting, nearly all the delegates being in tears at parting with their beloved brother.”<sup>26</sup> Langdon went abroad that autumn for a prolonged stay, during which he devoted himself to another ecumenical venture, the “Old Catholic” movement. He worked many years in the hope of reuniting Catholic and Protestant Churches. In his later years he wrote his memoirs and presented to the Bowne Library the documents and papers upon which much of the knowledge of this period of the first century of the Y.M.C.A. rests.

The Troy Convention elected as Langdon’s successor, in the office of foreign corresponding secretary, Richard C. McCormick of New York, world traveler, editor of the *Young Men’s Magazine*, and then corresponding secretary of the New York Association which was by this time strongly supporting the Confederation. The Central Com-

mittee, moved to Richmond, Virginia, took its responsibilities very seriously, declaring in the *Young Men's Christian Journal* that the central agency stood in a relation to the Confederation much as did "the Ark of the Covenant to the Tribes of Israel." It ably edited the magazine and set up what proved to be the last Confederation Convention.

This met at New Orleans in April, 1860, attended by 128 delegates from thirty-eight Associations in seventeen states and provinces, many of whom were a day late because they insisted upon laying up their river boat over Sunday. The editor of the *Journal* had earlier hoped that this intersectional meeting would illustrate the brotherhood of a common creed. "The commingling of men of Christian character and Christian views and hopes," he wrote in the early spring of the fateful year in which secession was to be openly threatened, "may serve to break down the prejudices which are too apt, for want of a better knowledge of each other, to disturb and pervert their mutual impressions and opinions of things." The delegates marched through the streets of the city, eliciting favorable comment from local newspapers. They voted the first resolutions favoring physical work to be passed by an American Convention, discontinued the Movement periodical which had not paid its way, and moved the Central Committee to Philadelphia with George H. Stuart as chairman.

A Convention was set for St. Louis in the spring of 1861, but the outbreak of the War between the states prevented holding it. The Central Committee devoted itself to War work, becoming almost entirely identified with the United States Christian Commission, of which Stuart was also chairman. In 1863 it called a Convention to meet in Chicago, primarily to discuss the war work but also to consider "remodeling the national organization, uniting the Associations," and rekindling "the old fires which once burned so brightly." On the assumption that the War "had broken up the old Confederation," the Committee issued its invitation to "*all* the Associations of the loyal States and British Provinces," and the Convention, by test vote, refused to recognize the qualifications for membership that had been established by the Confederation.<sup>27</sup> Thus War and the assumption of authority that followed in its wake, leading well-intentioned men to unconstitutional measures, ended the first alliance of American Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>28</sup>

## SHARING IN THE CREATION OF A WORLD MOVEMENT

From their birth the American Associations were acutely aware of being the offspring of a Movement destined to encircle the globe. They were, in fact, brought into being through foreign travel and never failed to refer to their British ancestry when called upon to explain their origins. Such contact was fostered through visitation and correspondence, several Europe-bound travelers being commissioned in the summer of 1853 to visit Associations there. One of them subsequently reported at length upon the London society's Bible class, which had especially impressed him.<sup>29</sup> The fraternal relations thus inaugurated were strengthened during the 1850's through visits to the parent Y.M.C.A. by almost every American leader mentioned in this chapter, one historian remarking that they saw more of European Associations than of American.

The first and most influential early tour was that of Richard C. McCormick, who included Y.M.C.A.'s in Great Britain, Paris, Genoa, and Turin in an itinerary that took him from Scotland to Constantinople in 1854-55; he later traveled widely in the United States and described the "condition and prospects" of these societies before Association audiences. When Langdon visited European Y.M.C.A.'s in 1857, he was deeply convinced of the ecumenical potentialities of the Movement. He brought from the secretary of the Dublin Association an assurance that "all the water between us could not extinguish the fraternal flame that burns in our bosoms."<sup>30</sup> Several British men reciprocated—notably William Arthur and T. H. Gladstone, both vice-presidents of the London Association—and were received with cordiality and interest.

A more fruitful source of information and inspiration was the widespread exchange of letters between the corresponding secretaries of American and European Associations, including not only Boston, New York, and Washington, but New Orleans and San Francisco. They corresponded with Association men in London, Geneva, Amsterdam, Elberfeld, and Paris. The first annual report of the Brooklyn Association (1853) said that its corresponding secretary had

already opened, and shall hereafter extensively maintain, fraternal correspondence with these brethren of many climes. In thus receiving and transmitting intelligence of the progress and success of the cause, and in taking sweet counsel together, we may mutually help to strengthen and enlarge this catholic fellowship of oneness in Christ.

Copious excerpts from such correspondence were published in the first Association magazines and served to keep the American fellowship aware of the growth and activities of Y.M.C.A.'s around the world. On the other hand, the London Y.M.C.A. annual reports, beginning in 1852, and the Geneva circulars, from 1853, carried news of the American Associations. The first issue of the *Quarterly Reporter*, in 1856, established the custom of placing news of the London Association at the head of its column of foreign Y.M.C.A. affairs. A directory of world-wide societies was a regular feature. Two years before the *Quarterly*, the New Orleans *Companion* had begun reporting universal Association news, receiving much of its data from Langdon; it exchanged with the *Young Men's Magazine* of the Glasgow society, to which Langdon sent a club of twenty subscriptions early in 1854.

The ecumenical and international character of the Y.M.C.A. idea was strikingly evidenced in the fact that wherever it took root during the first half of the 1850's its leaders sought a universal fellowship. This spontaneous expression of Christian brotherhood, which laid the foundations of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s to be organized at Paris in 1855, was much of it originally without the knowledge that other young men were seeking the same goal. While the part played in this international drama by William Chauncy Langdon was large, the chief role was enacted by the Geneva (Switzerland) Association. At the heart of its activity was a young Genevese bank clerk, Henri Dunant, later to found the International Red Cross and to be the first recipient of a Nobel peace award. In ceaseless travel across Europe and North Africa and through warm and converting letters, Dunant shared with scores of groups of young men in village and city his dream of an interconfessional and international Y.M.C.A. Movement.

Like Langdon of Washington, Dunant, beginning in 1850, worked feverishly to realize his prophetic vision. Professor Clarence P. Shedd, who has contributed these fresh insights to this History from his recent discovery of hundreds of the original letters sent to Dunant across a score of national frontiers, will recount this fascinating story in detail in his history of the World's Alliance, to be published at the time of the 1955 centennial.<sup>31</sup> Dunant's influence was amazing. When Langdon discovered him, it was the meeting of one great trail-blazer with another. The letters that followed were affectionate and filled with passion for the world-wide extension of the Movement. Shedd feels that Dunant's greatest letters were written to Langdon, with whom he



confessed a closer kinship than with any other correspondent. It was through Langdon that Dunant gained his contacts with the youthful leaders of the North American Movement, while Langdon obtained the addresses of continental Associations from Dunant, thus bringing the burgeoning American societies into fellowship with those of Europe.

The Geneva group made contact with Associations in many countries and urged the establishment of centers of international correspondence. As his list of correspondents grew Dunant shared it with Paris, Amsterdam, Nîmes, Lausanne, and London, as well as Washington. With such a vast network of correspondence between 1851 and 1855, the creation of a world organization at the Paris Conference was inevitable. The full story, which will be told in Professor Shedd's book, will name other young men with whom Langdon shared the ecumenical dream: Max Perrot, president of the Geneva Y.M.C.A., Pastor Dürselen of the German Westbund, Tarlton and Shipton of London, Jean Paul Cook of Paris, E. Laget of Nîmes, M. Van Oosterwijk Bruijn of Amsterdam, Frédéric and Edouard Monnier of Strasbourg and Paris, and Charles Cuénod of Lausanne. When the Paris gathering assembled no other young man in the world had so many Association contacts or knew so much about the state of the Movement as Henri Dunant. Next to him in knowledge and in passion for a world brotherhood was William Chauncy Langdon, who wrote that "many of our young men would go as far as to Siberia to be present at a meeting of this sort." But he was prevented from attending the Paris Conference.

The idea of systematizing the international correspondence, a plan for which became an integral part of the Alliance established at Paris, occurred to Langdon in the late spring of 1853. Shortly after writing to Shipton in early March—the letter was carried by Butler and a response received at the end of May—Langdon answered Dunant's offer, which had been published by the London Association, "to place sister associations in correspondence." He expected that the Washington Y.M.C.A. would receive "ere long direct information and cheering" from "Christian young men banded in the same work in Paris, Amsterdam, Strasbourg, Nîmes, Lausanne, St. Foy, . . . and other cities of continental Europe." Having obtained addresses from the annual report of the London Association, Langdon also looked for correspondence with "no less than twenty-two Associations in the British Empire,

including one in Melbourne, Australia."<sup>32</sup> From this time on the idea of a planned international exchange of information rapidly took form in his mind, especially after a reply from Dunant and the many other letters of the summer of 1853. For the first annual meeting of his Association, in January, 1854, he prepared a report on the world Movement that in fully edited form released the next May required forty printed pages and set the background for the Buffalo Convention.

The desirability of an established system of communication was suggested in this document, but it required the organization of the American Confederation for its articulation. Following the Buffalo Convention, Langdon as American secretary was in a position to press his idea. Extended correspondence followed with continental leaders, especially Dunant, extracts from which were published in the *New Orleans Companion* and subsequently in the *Quarterly Reporter*. Dunant thought Langdon's "idea of establishing a regular correspondence between certain points, as centers for our Associations," excellent, and named the appropriate European cities. By January of 1855 Langdon could write to Neff that his system was completed as far as Europe was concerned. He had heard from Amsterdam, Ronsdorf, Paris, Geneva, and Lausanne directly, and indirectly from Sweden, Italy, and Algiers.<sup>33</sup>

Two months before this, Langdon had been asked by J. P. Cook, president of the Paris Association, to make up a comprehensive report on the American Movement in preparation for "a general or Ecumenical Conference of all Young Men's Christian Associations, to be held in Paris, the summer following." Although he demurred, Langdon did write this, bringing up to date the material he had compiled for his own Association the previous winter. Again, there resulted a document of primary historical value. Published in French and German as well as English, it was of considerable stimulus to the American Movement in addition to being an astonishing revelation abroad, where it made a deep impression upon the Conference for which it was prepared.

Except for George H. Stuart, who took little part in it, none of the recognized American Association leaders attended this first world meeting of Y.M.C.A.'s, although they had been invited. A world's fair attracted many visitors to the French capital in the summer of 1855, and a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance was also scheduled there that season. This seemed a strategic moment to call together leaders of the new young men's organization, for few of them could expect

to make a special trip for such a purpose. The Conference met with the Paris Association in an obscure Wesleyan Chapel, August 19-24. Its announcement indicated that opportunity would be given to consider an American proposal for a system of international correspondence. Almost a hundred delegates assembled from eight countries. Seven were from North America—three each from New York and Philadelphia, and one from Newark; a representative accredited by the Halifax Association did not reach the Conference.

The Reverend Abel Stevens (1815-1897), a charter member of the New York Association and a prominent Methodist editor, was spokesman for the American delegation.<sup>34</sup> Early in the sessions he gave a résumé of Langdon's report, which did not arrive until later in the Conference. In response to considerable concern among European leaders, he added to his first remarks a statement to the effect that "the question of slavery was one of so difficult a character, as almost to endanger the unity of the Associations in the States." He hoped that if the deliberations had "for their fruit the union of all the Associations of the old and the new world in confederation" that the Conference would find a basis that would "exclude every subject foreign to their legitimate and common aim."<sup>35</sup> Stuart, who arrived late and expressed his pique at experiencing great difficulty in locating the meeting ("it was otherwise . . . in his own city"), was happily surprised "to find that Young Men's Associations" existed so largely in Europe and "fervently hoped their work might be crowned of God with rich success."

At the fourth session of the Conference, the evening of August 21, Charles Cuénod of Lausanne, in the words of the English report, "proposed the adoption of the system of general correspondence first suggested by Mr. Chauncy Langdon, of Washington, United States," which had been "brought before the notice of the Associations generally, in the last circular issued by the Association of Geneva." The essence of the plan was that "a centre in each country should receive, at a stated time, intelligence from the Associations it represents, and should communicate a résumé of the same to the other countries," receiving in turn the same from them and relaying these to its Associations. The idea was warmly supported and unanimously adopted in principle. Shipton then proposed a specific arrangement that was "passed by a large majority."

At the sixth session, on the afternoon of August 22, Stevens "was

invited to lay before the meeting" his proposition for an alliance. He began by "showing the desirability of some bond of union between the different Associations," especially its importance to America, where it might help to remove the current stumbling-block (of abolition agitation); he also spoke of its value as an expression of the inestimable truth of "the sacred unity of the Church of Christ." Challenging the delegates to show that they had met "not so much to congratulate each other on the past [much of the time of the meetings had been devoted to surveys of the Movement in the countries represented] as in God's name to determine and lay a permanent foundation of good for the future," Stevens then set forth five articles:

The 1st provided that the Associations should be managed by members of Evangelical Churches. By the 2nd, the admission of a second order of associated members was provided for, in those cases in which it might be desired. The 3rd article provided that no difference of opinion on points not comprehended in the immediate aim of the Association, should be permitted to interrupt their harmony. The 4th proposed a certificate of membership, which should be available in instances of Young Men travelling from one Association to others. And by the 5th article, the plan of correspondence already determined on by the Conference was to be applied to the Alliance now proposed.<sup>36</sup>

The plan was heard with careful attention. "It is not ours at this moment to organize a Union; it already exists," declared Frédéric Monnier of Strasbourg, going on to point out the incongruity of the evangelical basis in Europe with its state churches in which membership was by birth. Instead he proposed that the members of the Conference suggest to their respective Associations the recognition of their tacit unity and form "one united Association on this general principle"—the original statement of what came to be known as the "Paris Basis":

The Christian Associations have for their object the union of those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His kingdom amongst young men.<sup>37</sup>

The group responded enthusiastically to this proposal, and Stevens acquiesced in it. The Conference, "impressed with the importance of the act in which it was engaged, joined in prayer to supplicate the presence of the Most High and to entreat that He might Himself dictate their procedure." Then, after some remarks, the revised proposition was read "as the fundamental principle of the Alliance of Young Men's



Christian Associations, the meeting all standing; in which position, it was then solemnly passed by the unanimous vote of the whole assembly." They then knelt again in prayer, following which the remainder of Stevens' propositions were examined, the second article having been withdrawn.

At a concluding session on August 24 the final version of the basis as reworked by an editorial committee was presented and approved:

The delegates of various Young Men's Christian Associations of Europe and America, assembled in Conference at Paris, the 22nd August, 1855, feeling that they are one in principle and in operation, recommend to their respective societies to recognize with them the unity existing among their Associations, and whilst preserving a complete independence as to their particular organization and modes of action, to form a Confederation on the following fundamental principle, such principle to be regarded as the basis of admission of other Societies in future:—

*The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their faith and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His kingdom amongst young men.*

This fundamental principle being admitted, the Conference further proposes:—

1. That any differences of opinion on other subjects, however important in themselves, but not embraced by the specific designs of the Associations, shall not interfere with the harmonious relations of the confederated Societies.
2. That a traveling certificate of membership be designed, by which members of the Confederated Societies shall be entitled to the privileges of any other society belonging to this Confederation, and to the personal attentions of all its members.
3. That the system of correspondence adopted by this Conference, shall apply to the Societies of this Confederation.<sup>38</sup>

Some of the English delegation may have left before the final version of the Basis was adopted, taking with them the original. They were thus not aware that the editorial committee had struck out the French word "doctrine" and substituted for it "foi" (faith). The French version so read then and afterward. The form in which the Basis was adopted used the word "foi."<sup>39</sup> Although the draft of the document as adopted was to be reproduced scores of times by the Movement the world around, the American Associations held to "doctrine" as their translation throughout the century described in this History. During

*Alliance & ~~Confédération~~  
des  
Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens.*

Nous, Délégués des <sup>diverses</sup> Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens d'Europe & d'Amérique, réunis en conférence à Paris le 22 Août 1855,

reconnaissons que ~~les Associations travaillant~~  
~~vaillent~~ à une même œuvre dans le même esprit évangélique,  
pénétrés du devoir de manifester cette unité  
tout en conservant dans l'organisation une complète  
indépendance <sup>personnelle</sup> ~~et d'indépendance~~

~~et nous sommes~~ <sup>personnelles</sup> ~~qu'aucune divergence~~  
d'opinion ou d'opinion, étrangères à notre centre <sup>ne soit venue</sup>  
troubler notre accord fraternel : en tout point d'accord sur la  
doctrine

- Proposons à nos sociétés respectives de s'unir  
en confédération sur ce principe fondamental -

<sup>dit</sup>  
« Les Unions Chrétiennes réunissent dans une  
même association les jeunes gens qui regardent  
Jésus-Christ comme leur Sauveur & leur Dieu  
selon les Écritures, veulent être ses Disciples, Ten,  
leur doctrine & dans leur vie, & travailler  
ensemble à l'étendre parmi les jeunes gens le  
regne de leur Maître. » -

Fait & signé à Paris le 22 Août 1855.

FAC-SIMILE OF ORIGINAL OF PARIS BASIS.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL COPY OF THE "PARIS BASIS"

Note cross-out of "doctrine" and substitution of "foi"

the nineteenth century, while the American Movement clung tenaciously to its own highly doctrinal evangelical basis, the perpetuation of this error was understandable, but in the fifth decade of the twentieth century it appeared somewhat antiquarian. The Basis anticipated by eighty years Western Christendom's next great ecumenical statement, that of the World Council of Churches, promulgated in 1938: The Council, it read, "is a fellowship of Churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." The first article of the Paris statement, with its declaration that "differences of opinion on other subjects" than the great and simple statement of belief should not break harmony, was also in the same spirit with the declaration of the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948: "We intend to stay together." As Stevens journeyed home from the Paris Conference he must have felt reassured that a solution had been found to the vexing problem of the New York City Y.M.C.A.—how Associations could unite in a Confederation without risking disruption and argument over slavery.

The Conference report was rushed to the Cincinnati convention of the Confederation, meeting less than a month later, where in the absence of any of the Paris delegates the alliance resolutions were unanimously adopted.<sup>40</sup>

During the following year the Basis was studied carefully, and no objection was raised to it by any American Association. The Convention of 1856 regarded the action at Cincinnati as provisional and, after observing that the Paris Basis with its three appended articles had "by unanimous consent, been engrafted upon our basis of Confederation," resolved on Langdon's motion that these were thenceforth "binding upon the Confederation and upon its Central Committee."<sup>41</sup> Three years later the Basis was incorporated into the preamble of the revised Articles of Confederation adopted by the Troy Convention. The second article of this document embodied Stevens' proposal concerning controversial issues which has been quoted in Chapter 1. Unfortunately this constitution had scant influence, the organization for which it provided being obliterated by the Civil War Conventions.<sup>42</sup> There was no similar constitution of the American and Canadian "International" organization after the War, and the Paris Basis was almost completely eclipsed in the nineteenth century by the evangelical test promulgated by the Conventions of 1868 and 1869.

What was announced by the *Quarterly Reporter* as the "Second Ecu-



menical Conference" of Young Men's Christian societies was held in Geneva in the summer of 1858. A careful paper on the American Movement had been prepared by N. A. Halbert of Buffalo and was read before the Conference, its account of the recent revivals exciting much interest. None of the appointed delegates from this side of the Atlantic reached the Conference, but details concerning the revivals were supplied by two American clergymen who happened to be traveling that summer.<sup>43</sup> Two Americans attended the third World Conference that met in London in 1862, but American Associations were then engrossed in religious and humanitarian work for the armies of young men engaged in a Civil War and could give little attention to anything else.

#### THE PRAYER-MEETING REVIVALS OF 1857-58

The prayer-meeting revivals that swept the country in 1857 and 1858—frequently mentioned in this chapter and that preceding it—were originated by the New York City Y.M.C.A. and fostered in a score or more cities by the Associations. They were a new phenomenon in America, being virtually without emotional excesses such as had accompanied much frontier preaching. They were also almost entirely the product of lay concern; few clergymen were directly instrumental in promoting them or in speaking before them, though they attended and endorsed them. The times were those of great, but at the moment, suppressed political excitement, with the slavery issue providing an undercurrent of apprehension. It had also been an era of quite unprecedented prosperity: the discovery of gold, the opening of vast new sections of the West, the construction of railroads, and the beginnings of the industrial revolution—until the panic of 1857 paralyzed the money system of the country and drove thousands of businesses into bankruptcy.

The depression was especially devastating in New York, where in September of 1856 a few members of the Y.M.C.A., under the impetus of Richard C. McCormick who had gotten the idea from the London Association, had started a noon prayer meeting in the consistory rooms of the Dutch Reformed Church on the corner of Fulton and William Streets, a few moments' walk from the financial district. Regarded by the Association as a "downtown" effort and quite definitely as an experiment in behalf of young men "doing business and boarding in that section,"<sup>44</sup> it was begun as a weekly evening gathering. Upon experiment the noon hour proved a better time and there came to be



three meetings a week. The method of conducting the affair was novel—"come and go as you like, and stay no longer than suits your convenience." During this first year many of the leaders of the New York Association were active in promoting the service, distributing announcements throughout the neighborhood. Among them was Robert McBurney who worked in a hat shop on Eighth Avenue some distance away. With the coming of summer the meetings were suspended.

In August, 1857, the panic struck on "Black Friday." Six persons came to the first prayer meeting soon after, twenty to the second a week later, and forty the third Wednesday, when it was proposed to make the affair daily. The first week in October it became necessary to move to a larger room. "The great financial crisis which paralyzed the commercial heart of the nation," wrote a contemporary, "caused the active currents of business life to stand still . . . [and] left the minds of men free for a moment to higher considerations than earthly treasure and showed them that there is nothing reliable but heaven, nothing immutable but God."

The meetings in the Old Dutch Church now required the entire space available in the building except the sanctuary, which was too large for the small groups being fostered—"all the rooms, with the halls and the stairways leading to them, filled to repletion." Fairly strict rules that had early been established for the conduct of the service were posted on the wall:

PRAYER AND EXHORTATIONS  
NOT TO EXCEED FIVE MINUTES  
IN ORDER TO GIVE ALL OPPORTUNITY  
  
NOT MORE THAN 2 CONSECUTIVE  
PRAYERS OR EXHORTATIONS  
  
NO CONTROVERTED POINTS DISCUSSED

A bell was rung if a speaker transgressed. The general custom was "to let the meeting conduct itself." Spontaneity was stressed, as was catholicity. Leaders from all denominations were enlisted, an interdenominational hymnal was used, no church affiliation was asked. The meeting was opened promptly, closed at the exact time announced, and the rule of brevity was enforced. Lists of names for prayers were read and specific individuals were prayed for, providing a highly emotional content to the meetings, but there was no extreme expression of this.<sup>45</sup>

The daily papers began publishing a column on the "progress of the revival," and of course put the news on the wires. The young men of the New York Y.M.C.A. opened another meeting in the Old John Street Church around the corner, then in a nearby Methodist Church.<sup>46</sup> Twenty meetings were reported; later, one hundred and fifty. A converted youth from Philadelphia went home to discuss the project with fellow members of the Y.M.C.A. and there began an outpouring of the revival spirit that overflowed the largest hall and ultimately spread to meetings, sponsored by the Y.M.C.A.,<sup>47</sup> in every church and firehouse in the city. The Philadelphia Association later published an eighty-page account of the revivals under its aegis as *Pentecost; or the work of God in Philadelphia, A.D. 1858*. Ten thousand copies were printed in the first edition. The booklet was prepared by a committee of fifteen representing "each evangelical denomination"; it was expected that the sales would run into hundreds of thousands of copies, and thereby "stimulate our brethren in Christ everywhere to more fervent prayer and increased zeal" in addition to "replenishing an exhausted treasury."<sup>48</sup> At the height of the fervor, in the spring of 1858, wrote a contemporary, "the public interest in religion was unprecedented. The entire nation seemed to be the scene of one vast revival."

In the midst of all this were the Y.M.C.A.'s. On the crest of the wave the Chicago Association was launched a second time.<sup>49</sup> Two thousand persons attended the daily meetings of the Cleveland Association.<sup>50</sup> In San Francisco the prayer service that commenced in the rooms of the Association had to be transferred to a church and "many souls [were] hopefully converted."<sup>51</sup> The same occurred in Charleston where a large hall was necessary. The Milwaukee Association was organized as "the result of the religious awakening."<sup>52</sup> Y.M.C.A.'s in several cities—such as Springfield and Cincinnati—worked out elaborate deputation plans to extend their coverage.<sup>53</sup> The Baltimore Association had five early morning meetings with four later in the day. Boston's services were "crowded to excess,"<sup>54</sup> and at Andover, Massachusetts, the influence was felt powerfully among a class of academy boys. Under it one of them, Richard C. Morse, was moved to commit his life to the Christian venture.<sup>55</sup>

Although the revival fervor cooled quickly in some cities, its effect upon the Y.M.C.A. Movement was pervasive and far-reaching. Of the ninety-eight Associations reported to the Troy Convention of 1859 as new that year, most had come into being because of it. It had strength-

ened the position of the Movement in the eyes of the churches, and demonstrated its ecumenical intentions beyond doubt. The great meetings in many cities and the exchange of greetings between them established a precedent that was later followed by the Christian Commission in promoting public interest and raising funds for its work. The revival created a background of religious interest that made it possible for the Christian Commission to obtain entrée into the camps and lines of the army; and it deflected the Movement away from its unique work for young men toward general religious and humanitarian activity. At the same time it acted as the most powerful unifying force the Movement had yet experienced—ininitely more effective as a common bond than all the Conventions and the Confederation. Without it the Movement might have dwindled out during the Civil War, for it was definitely on the decline in 1857. But the War work of the Associations, directed as it was to the young men who made up the armies of blue and grey, and conducted to a remarkable extent in the revival spirit, not only redirected the Movement toward youth but provided a powerful incentive and prestige for its own renewal after the War.

#### THE Y.M.C.A.'S AND THE CIVIL WAR

The outbreak of hostilities in April of 1861 immediately caused the cancelation of the Convention planned for St. Louis. As men responded to Lincoln's call for volunteers the most active members of local Associations were in many cities among the first to respond. At least two thriving Y.M.C.A.'s raised troops from their membership. The "Iron-sides Regiment" (176th) of New York State Volunteers was largely composed of men recruited by the New York City Association; its object was to make up a regiment of Christian men who would "preserve their good habits and self-respect as citizens . . . while defending their country as soldiers." Four qualifications were set up for joining this group: moral character and habits, abstinence from habitual use of intoxicating drinks, freedom from profanity or coarseness of language, and habits of personal cleanliness and order. Appeals were sent to churches and to the community at large and 750 men were mustered in.<sup>56</sup> The Chicago Y.M.C.A. raised five companies "and could have raised five companies more" but decided to join with the Board of Trade and the Mercantile Association in the 72nd Illinois Volunteers, of which one of the companies raised by the Y.M.C.A. gained

the premium for being the first filled to the maximum and in camp.<sup>57</sup>

This drain upon their membership soon paralyzed many Associations. In the spring of 1862 the corresponding secretary of the New York Association wrote to the forthcoming World's Conference in London that "scarcely twenty" of the two hundred American Y.M.C.A.'s could be "named as active and prosperous." The membership of his own Association was down to 151. Several years later George Stuart described the effect of the War upon the Movement with the remark that "many of the country Associations were entirely broken up, almost every member responding to the call of Abraham Lincoln to go forth and stand by the Government." Some Associations, he added, "formed entire companies out of their ranks."<sup>58</sup>

Upon the outbreak of the War the Movement divided its loyalties between North and South over the then indivisible issues of abolition and the preservation of the Union. No effort (of which any record has been preserved) was made to organize a southern federation, as had happened with the major denominations. It would be interesting to speculate on whether the second article of the revised Articles of Confederation adopted in 1859, with its proscription of differences of opinion "not embraced by the specific designs of the Associations," influenced southern Associations against forming their own union. The recent expressions of brotherhood and Christian fellowship which Convention oratory at Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans had echoed, were forgotten in an exchange of letters affirming the full allegiance of Associations, south and north, to their popular causes. At least two southern Associations sent circulars "to the Y.M.C.A.'s of North America" in May of 1861 when "a war of brother against brother, of father against son, of father-in-law against son-in-law" had come upon the nation.

The Richmond Association took the initiative in this move, addressing their brethren "in the character of peacemakers," with the hope that "the confidence and love" developed through the Conventions might stand as a foundation upon which mutual "prayers and efforts for the restoration of peace and good-will between the Northern and Southern Confederacies" might rest. Because of the "distorting medium of the press" there had arisen "a misunderstanding between the North and the South as to their respective positions," read this circular:

If there could be a fair representation of the sentiments of the better



portion of the people at the North and the South, we should not present the melancholy spectacle of a great nation involved in a civil war, which must be productive of the most disastrous consequences to the material and spiritual interests of each section. The separation of the South from the North is irrevocable, and the sooner this great fact is acknowledged by the nations of the earth the better will it be for the interests of humanity. The conquest of either section by the other is impossible . . . In this community almost every person capable of bearing arms is ready to volunteer in the service of the State. Our Association, and even the ministry, is largely represented in the ranks of the army. The South has no desire to invade the soil of the North, or to take it from any of its rights.<sup>59</sup>

In conclusion, the Richmond leaders asked their northern brethren to discountenance the misrepresentations of each other so frequently made and to labor earnestly for peace, and hoped that they might be able to congratulate them upon such a result at the St. Louis Convention.

The New Orleans letter, sent two weeks later, did not assay the causes of the War but also appealed "to those principles and sentiments in your bosoms, upon which the religion of our Divine Savior is based," and hoped to enlist "active, earnest exertions in the cause of peace." The War, it went on, was "an unnatural and unrighteous" conflict, and it seemed to them to be the duty of every Christian in the land to throw all the weight of his influence in favor of peace:

We in the South are satisfied in our judgments, AND IN OUR HEARTS, that the political severance of the Southern from the Northern States is permanent and SHOULD BE SATISFACTORY. We believe that reason, history and knowledge of human nature, will suggest the folly and futility of a war to re-establish a political union between the severed sections. And we call upon you as Christian brothers to raise your voices, in your own section, for the establishment of peace and of Christian fellowship with us of the South. We implore you to believe that we are men and Christians, and that while we are firm and conscientious in our position, we sincerely desire peace and the restoration of friendly relations. We believe if our Christian Brothers of the North will firmly, and in the strength of God say, "there should be peace between the two confederacies," and will unite with us in prayers and efforts for that purpose, that much good will be done, and that God in his faithfulness and love will incline the hearts of men to peace.<sup>60</sup>

Northern Associations were bitter in their responses to these overtures. The corresponding secretary of the New York Y.M.C.A. replied that in the Richmond letter, as in every document coming from the South, there was "a mixture of truth and error." He saw no mere misunderstanding between the two sections—there was, rather, but one

question: "Have Southrons the right to rule the Union until they lose an election and then destroy it?" To this, North, East, and West say "No":

Slavery is wrong, you have determined to defend that wrong. You have counted no cost in defending it even before it was assailed but have been willing even to destroy our government for fear it might be. May God forgive you; your position is utterly false and my heart bleeds that men calling themselves Christians can connect themselves with so wicked a cause, even calling it holy and daring to compare it with that of our God-protected fathers!!

Your Christians will meet ours in battle. The 7th regiment of New York numbers many of our members; the 12th and the 71st as well; and tomorrow the 9th takes others—active earnest Christians. Doctor Tyng's son is second in command of a company now in Washington. My friend, Mr. Abbot, corresponding secretary of the Trenton Association, is also under arms. Mr. Haddock of Troy writes me the same.

Upon you and your "institution" must rest the responsibility of this fratricidal war, and shirk it or dissemble it how you may, God will require an account of every man who abets the treason of the South. I cannot pray for the Southern Confederacy.<sup>61</sup>

The Oswego, New York, Association replied in the same vein: "It certainly requires the greatest stretch of Christian charity to believe that in this proffer of peace you do not really mean to declare war":

... In all sincerity and truth we affirm, it is not that we now love you less, but that we love our country, our *whole* country, more, and "by the help of God" we mean to perpetuate its unity. The members of your Association and the Ministers, who have taken up arms to strike the *parricidal blow*, will find, ready to meet them, those from our own Association—two of them, beloved Ministers of God's truth—who, if needs be, will pour out their life's blood on the altars of the Union to stay this frantic deed.<sup>62</sup>

A year earlier the Richmond Association had canceled lectures scheduled in that city by Bayard Taylor because of his connection with the New York *Tribune* and his unorthodox theology. Later in the War, it presented a prominent speaker who, like many ministers in the Confederacy, spoke on the theme, "The Southern Church Justified in Its Support of the South in the Present War." At the same time the New York Association sponsored the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher in a rousing antislavery address at Cooper Union in which he defended the "just war." In 1862 that Y.M.C.A. featured "Parson" W. G. Brownlow, one of the most extreme advocates of retribution upon the South, in a public lecture on "The Irreligious Character of the Rebellion."<sup>63</sup>

The Confederation had withstood the stresses of the 1850's much better than had the major denominations, most of which had split into southern and northern organizations, but in view of these exchanges it would doubtless have been under strong compulsion to delineate the issues in such a way as to expel the southern Associations had it met as planned in the spring of 1861. The Convention of 1863 was explicitly a northern gathering, having issued its "call" to the Y.M.C.A.'s "of the loyal States," and its general tone was that of complete approval of the War, together with denunciation of the Southern cause. Its resolutions expressed the highly emotional tone of the rising radical denunciation of the South that was to reach its peak during "Reconstruction."

A week after the guns had opened fire on Fort Sumter, Massachusetts volunteers on their way to defend Washington clashed violently with the citizens of Baltimore. The Y.M.C.A. of that city promptly asked President Lincoln to reroute such contingents, which was done. Three months later the first serious encounter of the War took place a few miles from Washington near a stream called Bull Run. A Union retreat was turned into rout and there quickly vanished from the North all talk of a short war. Less than two days after the battle, the New York City Y.M.C.A. dispatched Frank W. Ballard and Vincent Colyer "to minister to the temporal and spiritual necessities of the wounded and dying men who crowded the hospitals in and near the capital." Finding "everything in confusion" but "an abundance to do," they arranged for representatives of the New York Association to organize a continuing mission, which had as its support their now smoothly functioning "Army Committee" which had been authorized the previous May (1861) and had publicized its program at a mass meeting in June.<sup>64</sup>

The work of this agency had begun the day before the Baltimore riot, as the Massachusetts men went through New York, when Colyer had dropped his business to devote his full energies to their needs. As camps multiplied in the neighborhood of New York the committee extended its labor among them:

... For three months we continued to visit, hold meetings for prayer, singing, and exhortation, distributing tracts, Testaments, hymn-books, to the regiments in and about, or passing through New York City . . .

Many a camp in the vicinity . . . were found places of joy and rich with the presence of the Saviour. . . .

As the War continued, the work by the New York Association increased, extending at one time, for example, to relief of a large contingent of Negro troops that had been recruited in the city.<sup>65</sup> Every major Association and many smaller ones had a program of this kind. The Brooklyn men visited the camps and the Navy Yard. The Buffalo Association established a work at Camp Morgan. The Chicago "Y" held devotional services for the soldiers, helped maintain a "soldier's home" for men in transit, and later for sick, destitute, or wounded. The "gentlemen and ladies of the Y.M.C.A. and Ladies' Christian Union" met together in Cleveland "to make up packages of books and newspapers for the soldiers." The Washington Association's agent had promptly supplied New Testaments to the Massachusetts men who had lost theirs along with their baggage in the Baltimore fracas, and the Boston Association gave aid to the marines and sailors at the Charlestown Navy Yard. Virtually every Association that was not forced to disband carried on such a program.

The "United States Sanitary Commission" had been organized in June, 1861, to minister specifically to the "temporal" needs of the men in uniform. It was the outgrowth of a "Women's Central Association for Relief," which had come into being the previous April, and was a forerunner of the Red Cross and as such represented another expression of civilian support of the army. In the summer of this same year Colyer became convinced that the religious needs were so great that a national organization would be imperative if they were to be even partially met, and so informed his supporters in New York. They agreed and issued a circular letter to the Movement urging the prompt appointment of an Army Committee by every Association and a meeting of these in New York at an early date. Colyer then called on the Confederation officers in Philadelphia, but Stuart doubted the authority of the Committee to call such a meeting and it proved difficult to obtain a quorum. Colyer next enlisted the support of the Boston Association, which unanimously endorsed the proposal. Finally, by October 19, the Committee had met and decided by unanimous vote to call the Convention so earnestly desired by the New York Association.<sup>66</sup>

Accordingly, there met in New York on November 14 and 15, 1861, a special convention of fifty delegates representing fifteen Y.M.C.A.'s. It elected Stuart as its president, reviewed the "army work" then in progress, and established a "Christian Commission" of twelve members



—much like the Central Committee of the Confederation—empowered to “take charge of the whole work” and intended to act as a clearing house for all religious work in the armed forces. Local Associations were to be asked to raise funds, and the government requested to provide the necessary tents or other accommodations “suitable for the holding of religious services.” Most of those appointed to the Commission were Y.M.C.A. leaders: Stuart became chairman and acted in that capacity throughout the War, his name becoming a household synonym for the Commission, relief, and the Association.<sup>67</sup>

This “sturdy child of the Y.M.C.A.” immediately began the organization of work on the national level, encouraging local Associations to support it while at the same time maintaining their own activities. How this was done was exemplified by the Boston Association:

Members of the Boston Association going into the field carried on meetings, and in one regiment they organized a Young Men's Christian Association. In the Summer of 1862 the Association rooms in Tremont Temple were the recruiting station for Company A, forty-fifth Regiment, Massachusetts nine month Volunteers. The enlistments came largely from the Association membership. The rooms were also the depository of stores and reading matter to be forwarded to the destinations designated by the Christian Commission. In the home department of the Christian Commission the Boston Association devoted itself to the stirring up of interest in the work for the soldiers, the sending out of delegates, and the soliciting of funds and supplies. Local organizations were established in the principal towns throughout New England. Two delegates were sent out to hold meetings and make visitations. Almost every community was reached. In many churches the fourth Sunday evening of each month was devoted to a consideration of the army work. The Boston committee raised more money than any other branch office, and was only exceeded by Pittsburg and Cincinnati in the value of supplies forwarded to the army. The committee issued 250,000 copies of an admirable army hymn-book which was widely used.<sup>68</sup>

Many weaker Associations merged into local “branches” of the Christian Commission.<sup>69</sup> Some resolved themselves into army committees in order to facilitate the work of the Commission.<sup>70</sup> In thus losing their life in a sense, they saved it, for they identified themselves in the public mind with the great cause to which the nation was committed. The Associations of Baltimore, Buffalo, Chicago, Louisville, New York, St. Louis, and St. Paul, like that at Boston, became regional clearing houses for the multitude of activities channeled through the Commission.

The national organization, which was perhaps the first American

"alphabetical" wartime agency, soon took the name United States Christian Commission—U.S.C.C.—hired a secretary, and set up an office in New York, shortly moving to Philadelphia which was nearer the center of operations. It promptly obtained Lincoln's approval and that of his Secretary of War, together with the necessary clearances from the Army. Little was accomplished the first year and receipts amounted to only \$5,900 in cash and some \$12,000 worth of books and stores. But as the War progressed and heavy casualties from battle and disease began to impress the public, funds, supplies, and manpower began to be offered in great quantity. Odd as it may seem, there were virtually no connections between it and the Sanitary Commission, which also carried on a large-scale operation.

The method of work that proved most effective was instituted in May, 1862, when fourteen men from the Philadelphia Y.M.C.A. were recruited to go to the front as the Commission's "agents"—they were later called "delegates"—as were B. F. Jacobs, D. L. Moody, and others earlier that year as representatives of the Chicago and St. Louis Associations. This was the beginning of "a unique and mighty movement." Within three months fifty-five had been sent out and by the end of the War, 5,000 men and women had given an average of thirty-eight days apiece without compensation other than expenses and maintenance. Forty men and three women lost their lives in this service, the roster of which listed the names of scores of Y.M.C.A. workers. Five members of the Commission itself were casualties. As an interdenominational venture it administered a powerful shock to the sectarianism of the time. It gave ministers and Y.M.C.A. men experience in dealing directly with individual young men; it identified this humanitarian service with the Movement; and recruited some who were later to distinguish themselves in the secretaryship, notably George A. Hall, who was for many years the state Y.M.C.A. executive for New York.<sup>71</sup>

The activities of the Commission reached their peak in 1864, in which year cash receipts were almost \$1,300,000 and the value of contributed stores slightly less. Publications—Bibles, Testaments, tracts, books—donated that year were valued at \$103,000 and the Boston Association added \$1,800 worth of hymnals. Delegates' services would have cost \$170,000 had they been paid for, while railroad and other forms of transportation utilized represented a gift of \$106,000. Telegrams worth \$26,000 had been sent free of charge, and \$6,750 had been donated in the form of free rent for storage and other facilities.<sup>72</sup>

Diet kitchens to supplement the army's hospital equipment and supplies were invented by Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer of Iowa and managed by 110 "experienced and competent women" who played a significant role through the conflict.<sup>73</sup> Some Christian Commission branches had their women's auxiliaries, but in all the home work women played a large part. The Ladies' Christian Commissions were not organized until late in the War, but they raised some \$200,000 in cash and much greater contributions in stores and "self-denying labor."<sup>74</sup>

The significance of the Christian Commission in creating prestige for the Movement among veterans of the War cannot be overestimated. The experience of the Harrisburg Association, which had the advantage of being close to military operations, may not have been quite typical, but what it accomplished was representative of Association war work at its best:

... Our rooms have been thrown open free of charge to the soldiers of the national army, large numbers of whom have been stationed at this State Capital during the past four years. Our Association has been also the auxiliary of the United States Christian Commission for the central part of the state. Great good has been effected not only among the tens of thousands of soldiers who have been in our camps and hospitals and for the wounded who have been passing through, but in raising funds and supplies for the use of the Commission elsewhere and in sending delegates of its own membership to the field to care for the sick and wounded both of the armies of the west and east. The labors of the Association have been thus widely extended. Many, too, of our young men have gone into the army. Today the Association rejoices in a larger membership, a larger share of public confidence, a more active life than at any time during the ten years of its existence.<sup>75</sup>

The value of these services was recognized by civil and military authorities during the War and afterward, General Grant declaring in 1866 that the Commission had saved much suffering "on almost every battlefield and in every hospital." There was much evidence that this effort, intended "mainly to reach and help the men spiritually," had accomplished a significant humanitarian end, for, as Stuart once remarked, there was "a good deal of religion in a warm shirt and a good beefsteak." Also influential was the unifying tendency of this joint effort, which overcame much of the temporary loss of numerical power suffered by Y.M.C.A.'s during the War. This new cohesiveness was far stronger than that of the Confederation, which was sloughed off without much regret. It was, in a certain sense, a further fruit of the revivals that had begun in 1857 and in many places never died out.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, Dec. 12, 1861.

Rev. George H. Stuart  
Chairman of Christian Commission

My dear Sir:

Your letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> inst and accompanying plan, both of which are returned as a convenient mode of connecting this with them, have just been received— Your Christian and benevolent undertaking for the benefit of the soldiers, is too obviously proper, and praiseworthy, to admit any difference of opinion— I sincerely hope your plan may be as successful in execution, as it is just and generous in conception.

Your Obedt. Servt.  
A. Lincoln.



"This war has been characterized, from the beginning, with a sort of revival power of religion," declared the President of the New York Branch of the Christian Commission.<sup>76</sup> The great mass meetings over which Stuart presided and that raised thousands of dollars were carried on with the same fervor as were his revival addresses at the front. "The relation of piety to patriotism is vital," wrote the historian of the Christian Commission in the introduction to his 750-page description of its far-flung activities. He dedicated the book to the Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States, "by whose action the United States Christian Commission was constituted." The Associations that survived in the Northern states emerged "disciplined and mature . . . anxious to rebuild their national unity, to compose their purposes, and their as yet unmeasured energies. . . ."<sup>77</sup> How that was done is the subject of the remaining chapters of this book.

By the close of the War the southern Associations had been virtually wiped out, there being only two or three that kept up some shadow of existence. Many suffered the experience of the Richmond society in having their entire property destroyed in the course of the War. There was no central agency among southern Y.M.C.A.'s similar to the Christian Commission, but a tremendous program was carried out through the Richmond Association, which, because of its strategic location in the Confederate capital, developed a remarkable relief work, distributing food, clothing, and funds as well as carrying on religious activity.

What the Richmond Association did in the early months of the War is not known, but after the first battle of Bull Run its directors received a communication from the Charleston Association proposing to forward supplies "for the sick and wounded soldiers of South Carolina and other Southern States" and requesting the Richmond Association's co-operation in distributing them. An Army Committee was immediately appointed. It published word that such a service would be available. A large store was rented and a manager retained, this "permanent depot" later being moved to the building where the Association rooms were located. Citizens of Richmond and "Christian Associations in the Confederacy" responded generously with "provisions of all kinds" which were distributed among the crowds that "thronged the hospitals in our city and State" to the extent that the committee was forced to "employ wagons daily for distributing the

many articles of a perishable nature, which were received from our patrons."

In August, 1861, the committee learned that the hospitals of Richmond were inadequate, and established "with the kind co-operation of the ladies in the respective neighborhoods" three private hospitals accommodating a total of fifty patients, which were maintained "for nearly three months free of cost to the government." Doctors who were members of the Richmond "Y" gave their services gratuitously. The Association supply depot aided the many private hospitals maintained by the women of the city. From September until March, 1862, the Association hired a former army chaplain to travel through the South presenting the needs of the work and soliciting funds and supplies, which resulted in "liberal donations." During the winter a lodge was opened for transient soldiers, 4,790 men having been accommodated by the time the report for 1861-62 was compiled. The demands upon the supply depot necessitated hiring two additional men. Free meal-tickets to a "respectable temperance eating house" were available, and the lodge was well supplied with Bibles, Testaments, and tracts. Many who asked for these requested aid in learning to read; the committee enlisted army officers as instructors and printed 2,000 copies of a simple primer. All these services were costing \$300 a month by June, 1862, and some \$4,500 had been received at that time. A considerable additional sum had been used for the purchase of materials that had been "manufactured by the ladies into clothing for the soldiers."<sup>78</sup>

As the intensity of the War increased the Richmond committee was called upon for enlarged services, the generous South-wide support of which demonstrated the confidence generally felt in the Movement. Its report made in April, 1863, recorded an immense activity. Packages valued at "perhaps \$500,000" had been received and forwarded to men in the army; \$41,600 had been received in cash and \$2,010 in goods sold for cash; "4,500 shirts, 9,855 pairs drawers, 3,000 pairs socks, 500 pairs pants, 500 pairs shoes, and 1,000 blankets" had been distributed "in addition to numerous other articles." The previous November the Association had conducted a city-wide drive to purchase clothing for soldiers in the field, with the result that articles valued at \$125,876 were distributed. A depot for the soldiers of North Carolina had been established and turned over to agents of that state; a special depot had been set up at an army hospital and the soldiers' lodge had

been taken over by the government, after accommodating 9,774 men and feeding about 4,000. Sufferers from an explosion had been given relief to the extent of \$12,775 raised by a special appeal.<sup>79</sup>

In the report of the Richmond Association for 1864 inflation and the increasing scarcity of consumers' goods were apparent. Yet \$100,000 worth of packages had been forwarded, while the energies of the committee were being largely dissipated by the unprecedented demands of refugees and soldiers' families that crowded the beleaguered capital. The committee had acted as an employment agency, and had sent numerous appeals to the people of the Confederacy for funds. The City Council had aided in the total situation, but the Y.M.C.A. had "generally been able to supply any deficiency in the distribution of provisions by the Agent of the city." This report accounted for \$72,100 received during the previous year from lectures, church collections, fairs, and concerts; \$10,000 had come from a friend in London. In addition they had distributed 4,000 pairs of socks that had been knitted by the ladies of the city, "1,000 pairs of drawers, and 725 pairs of shoes"—a remarkable record in view of the scarcity of such items by this time. Eight thousand dollars had been expended for fuel for indigent families of soldiers, and \$50,000 for medicines and food for them. Written as Grant's army settled into the siege of Petersburg, this last record of southern Y.M.C.A. War work closed with an appeal for "immediate assistance" at a moment when the hospitals would at any time be filled with wounded soldiers and the destitution of the community increased.<sup>80</sup> Before another report could be written Richmond had been burned and Lee had surrendered.

The only other war work by a city Association in the South of which a record has survived was that of the Charleston Y.M.C.A. Most of its members volunteered for the army, but the rooms were kept open until the end of 1863, though it had been necessary to sell the piano and other fixtures. A Soldiers' Christian Association had been organized in January, 1862, and "wielded an effective influence in personal and relief work and by the distribution of tracts at home and in the field." By combining its dwindling energies with those of the Ladies' Christian Association, a spark of life was kept glowing to survive in a greatly weakened Y.M.C.A. that was somehow able to reopen modest rooms in 1866.<sup>81</sup>

Y.M.C.A.'s and "Christian Associations" appeared spontaneously in numerous Southern regiments, there being records of some thirty such

organizations. That these prayer and revival bands took the name of Christian Associations was perhaps more because of the reputation of the Association name than from familiarity with its methods or organization. Waves of revivals swept through Lee's armies quite as they followed the Christian Commission delegates among the Northern troops. An Association was formed among the soldiers encamped around Charleston, with a total membership of 184: "these men came out not only to fight, to suffer, to die for their country, but to work for God and the truth in the midst of all the evils and corruptions of the camp."<sup>82</sup> Some of these groups printed their constitutions and statements of faith. The Christian Association of the First Regiment of Virginia Artillery felt themselves and their nation under the judgment of God—quite unlike their Northern enemies:

We believe this war which is now desolating our land is a righteous judgment and chastisement from the hand of a just God for those various sins of which we have been and are still guilty; and we cannot believe, either from God's revealed word or from the dictates of our consciences, or from the teachings of those principles of right and justice and morality which have been implanted in our breast in the wise and merciful providence of God, that it is right or proper thus to answer God's call upon us for mourning by sounds of joy and rejoicing.

The weary Southern youth confined in the Federal prison at Johnson's Island, Ohio, organized a Y.M.C.A. through which a hundred men were converted—"colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants, being among the number."<sup>83</sup> Representative of "all persuasions of orthodox Christianity, and almost every part of our southern country," this band had as its chief interest looking after the prison hospital, being allowed to purchase special supplies for the sick. It had, in addition to religious interests, a weekly lecture meeting at which some members presented a carefully prepared original address or essay, one of which has survived in the form of a valedictory poem, read at the last meeting, May 19, 1865.<sup>84</sup>

Another soldiers' group that used the full Y.M.C.A. name invited distinguished gentlemen from nearby communities to lecture during their winter encampment on "the twin duties—Piety and Patriotism." The Y.M.C.A. in a Georgia Brigade was said by a soldier to have "drawn out and developed all the religious element among us. It has created a very pleasant, social feeling among the regiments, and has blended them into one congregation."<sup>85</sup> In the winter of 1863-64 the Y.M.C.A. of a Mississippi brigade resolved to fast one day in every



week in order that they might send that day's rations to the suffering poor of Richmond.<sup>86</sup> It has been claimed that as a result of these war-time experiences, scores of Associations sprang up in every town in the post-War South. This may well have been the temporary result of war weariness and of experience in the army, as it was in the North, but this rumor has in no wise been authenticated, all records showing only two or three active Y.M.C.A.'s in the late 1860's. There were a few regimental Associations among Union troops, but these were apparently not as widespread as in the Southern armies.<sup>87</sup>

Even in the North only a fourth of the Associations were still functioning in 1865. This numerical decline was less serious than it might appear, for the Christian Commission had brought the Movement great prestige. Veterans revived the Associations which rapidly regained their losses and went on to new growth that built toward the modern Y.M.C.A. Yet the foundation of that super-structure had been set down in the years before the War. In the period after it these pre-suppositions would be re-examined but for a long while the renascent Movement was to bear a marked resemblance to its pioneer features.

*Part II: 1865-1895*

THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT FINDS ITSELF



## Introduction:

### America and the Y. M. C. A. Come of Age

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT grew to maturity in the last third of the nineteenth century. This was the most dynamic period of economic and social change in the history of the United States, for during it the gigantic forces of capital and industry transformed the essentially rural nation of the pre-Civil War era into the modern America of factories, cities, and rapid communication and transportation. Stimulated by the demands of the Union armies, the northern economy grew by leaps and bounds while the South recovered slowly from the devastating effects of the conflict. Completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869 forecast the achievement of a national rail network by the turn of the century. Investment and speculation went hand in hand, checked only temporarily by the devastating depression of 1873. A California delegate remarked at the International Y.M.C.A. Convention of 1885 that the country was "booming." Free western land drew millions from the older regions of the country while the promise of riches and freedom brought myriads of migrants from every nation of the world, creating in the industrial cities labor surpluses and unspeakable slums. Technical and scientific advance lured the American people to trust in infinite progress and unlimited wealth as corollaries of Christianity and democracy. The last years of the century witnessed the rise of the giant corporation to billion-dollar status and the widespread acceptance of Andrew Carnegie's paternalistic "gospel of wealth."

The Y.M.C.A.'s mirrored all this and set themselves to bettering the



lives of thousands of young men who sought their fortunes in the cities. Primarily the offspring of the Protestant life of the country (religious aspects of their growth will be described in detail in Chapter 9), the Associations also reflected the economic and social folkways of the business groups with which they were intimately related. Both locally and nationally they developed forms of organization closely resembling the companies directed by their leaders. They were counseled to manage their affairs like those of "large manufacturing" interests. Communities were urged to construct Y.M.C.A. buildings and maintain their programs because to do so was a "good investment." At the time that Association work for railroad men became a successful branch of the Movement, it was subsidized by interests that were still operating on a "public-be-damned" policy. Few if any questions were raised by Association leaders in this period concerning the ethics of the "Great Barbecue," as one critic characterized the exploitation of natural resources and private privilege of this era of the "Robber Barons," although the voices of church leaders were beginning to be heard in protest. The riotous strikes of 1877 and the rise in the next decade of the country's first great labor union made little if any impression upon the Associations—but this is to anticipate subsequent chapters.

In Part II of this History the development of the essential structure of local, state, and "International" North American Associations and their interrelationships will be described, together with a general survey of the growth of the Movement in numbers and prestige to the mid-1890's, at which time it was solidly established in both Canada and the United States. Paralleling this growth was a tremendous acquisition of buildings and the emergence of the professional worker or secretary; these will be the subject of Chapter 4. During this eventful era the Movement, which in the years before the Civil War had been uncertain as to its exact intention, clarified both purpose and program, directing them toward the specific needs of young men and boys. Concern spread to college students, railroad workers, the Negro, and rural young men, as will be indicated in Chapters 5 and 7. The Movement was greatly interested in rebuilding the Associations in the South, and years of painstaking cultivation brought up flourishing Associations throughout the Midwest. In Chapter 6 the formative period of Association physical work will be described. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the entire American Y.M.C.A. century was the inauguration at the end of the 1880's of an aggressive foreign missionary program,

to the beginnings of which Chapter 8 will be devoted. Thus the foundations of the twentieth-century American Y.M.C.A. were laid in the turbulent years between Appomattox and the end of the nineteenth century.



## Chapter 3 The Movement Develops a Structure

Our future progress rests upon a hearty adoption of certain obvious and unquestioned propositions. . . .

—CEPHAS BRAINERD, at the Albany Convention of 1866.

One fixed principle of Association work is, that the Associations are to reach young men and to do this through agencies addressed to them physically, intellectually, socially and spiritually.

—ROBERT R. MCBURNEY, 1887.

IN THE THIRTY YEARS following the Civil War the American Y.M.C.A.'s fully articulated their local, state, and International organizations. By the mid-1890's, when the pioneer generation began to hand on the leadership to younger men, the geographical possibilities of expansion had been approximated, the Movement had virtually accepted itself as an urban phenomenon, and, within the limitations of the clientele that it had selected, the major strategies of the Y.M.C.A. century had been explored.

The Reconstruction years witnessed Y.M.C.A.'s springing up in small towns and in cities, borne on the prestige of the Christian Commission and upon the revival conducted in its wake. But as normal conditions returned and enthusiasm diminished most of these small Associations of praying or seeking veterans and their fellows died.

In certain larger cities and a few smaller ones, some who had caught a vision of a great work for young men gave themselves to effecting it through personnel, buildings, and new techniques. As a matter of course Conventions met again, emphasizing evangelism and the recounting of their blessings by Christian Commission veterans, and displaying an interdenominational unity that astonished even themselves. The aggressive devotees of a unique work directed toward young men soon obtained control of the Conventions and forged their interim body into an aggressive promotional agency. The American Y.M.C.A. is largely the result of the labors of that determined group, who spared neither time, health, nor money to actualize their dream of a continent-



wide agency devoted to the spiritual, social, mental, and physical welfare of young men. Few if any local Y.M.C.A.'s were uninfluenced by the idea and its promoters. State Associations emerged from state conventions— at the suggestion of the International body—and moved to implement the fourfold plan. In the thirty years covered in Part II of this History the Movement decided that these leaders were right and the Associations developed programs, facilities, and staff so oriented.

### THE RENASCENCE OF LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

Langdon had remarked in 1854 that the Y.M.C.A. of New York City "is and ever must be, in many respects the most important in the country."<sup>1</sup> These words were prophetic of the leadership continued after the War and long maintained by a group of strong-minded and well-to-do members of the New York Association, who became convinced of the unique promise of the Y.M.C.A. idea and added to it the concern for the physical, so that it came to be known as the "fourfold" program. They backed their vision both with money and with an extraordinary man who "created the general secretaryship, and thus constituted a new office in the modern church." They forged the International Committee into an aggressive agency for the promotion of the fourfold idea and housed it in the new New York building, where the International general secretary also lived for several years.<sup>2</sup> As the reputation of this model program spread, foreign secretaries and lay leaders, as well as Americans, came to observe its work.<sup>3</sup>

From a membership of 1,600 before the War, the New York Y.M.C.A. had fallen to a tenth of that number but recovered rapidly to a roll of 700 by 1865, a pivotal year in its renascence. William E. Dodge, Jr. was elected president, Morris K. Jesup vice-president, and J. P. Morgan treasurer. James Stokes, Jr. was added to the board and Cephas Brainerd, in a variety of services, continued to exert the leadership he had previously shown. William Earl Dodge, Jr. (1832-1903) merchant and philanthropist, "the ideal layman," whose name was to be a synonym for charitable, reform, and interdenominational movements, soon became the most prominent member of the board, which he chaired until 1876. It was said of him in 1894 that "to no single individual do the young men of America and other lands owe so much."<sup>4</sup> In 1866 he proposed that the Association's statement of purpose be expanded to include the word "physical," thus for the first time defining the

object of a Y.M.C.A. to be "the improvement of the spiritual, mental, social and physical condition of young men."<sup>5</sup>

The Board now turned to plans for the implementation of this new idea in a building that "would be so novel and of such dimensions that an intelligent, stimulating conviction of the need for the work in it must be created,"—a procedure subsequently followed by hundreds of Associations. Brainerd and McBurney made a survey of the factors influencing young men in New York and concluded that the "facilities for the moral and religious culture of this most important class of the population" were fearfully inadequate in comparison to "the agencies whose influence is questionable, or positively injurious." They submitted that

the new York Young Men's Christian Association is the only organization in the city which, in its scheme of effort and services, contemplates this *especial* field in all its metes and bounds.<sup>6</sup>

The favorable response to this analysis and challenge—not the first of its kind but the most significant among Y.M.C.A.'s—led to the construction of the Twenty-third Street building, which for a quarter of a century stood as a pattern and stimulus to the Movement.

Robert Ross McBurney (1837-1898), "the ideal secretary" of the New York Association, was doubtless the most creative individual in the Movement in the nineteenth century. The half-million dollar Twenty-third Street building (1869) was significantly of his design. Whether brooding over its teeming life from his "Tower Room" or administering the fourfold program in the central lobby, McBurney, with his genius for friendship, "heard every tale of human joy and tragedy." His Irish genius not only laid "plans which have been creative in the life of the Association," but put them into effect—behind the scenes or on the floor of state, International, and World Conventions, in widespread expansion that fulfilled Langdon's prophecy for the New York Association, in a host of friendships, and through numberless committees, including the International of which he was a member for twenty-six years. One biographer has claimed that the influence of McBurney upon the Movement was "profound, exceeding that of any other man."<sup>7</sup> His most intimate friend and colleague once remarked on "the blessing it was to the whole brotherhood"

that at this crisis such an exceptional board of directors, located in so commanding a city as New York, secured as the Association employed officer a man of qualification and ability equally exceptional. In those early days



ROBERT ROSS MCBURNEY

he was easily the first, when such officers on the continent numbered less than a dozen. Thirty years later, at the time of his death, when instead of thirty there were over twelve hundred secretaries . . . he was still as easily the first among them. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Of this great Association and its lay and secretarial leadership in this formative period, it was said by an unquestioned authority:

It is difficult to overestimate the value to Association work the world over of what was accomplished within, and proceeding from the New York City Association, during the eventful years from 1865 to 1870. These years constitute perhaps the most important germinal era in the development of Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>9</sup>

Further, wrote Morse in 1901, "It might be said with some fairness that the history of the development of the New York City Association is the history of the North American association movement."<sup>10</sup>

Although New York led the advance guard, other Associations marched in the procession to a somewhat different rhythm. The Chicago Y.M.C.A., typified by Dwight L. Moody and John V. Farwell, saw its duty in evangelistic and welfare activities primarily for young men, though for a time others were included. Its first building, erected in 1867 though burned shortly after, contained both a gymnasium and a dormitory, but the second and third structures, which more nearly reflected the program, omitted these features until renovated, to give space to a much-used auditorium slightly larger than that of the New York building. The principal contribution to the growing Movement by the Chicago Association was Moody himself, who found his career in its service. Less fortunate than New York in its secretarial leadership until the 1890's, when it obtained McBurney's equal in L. Wilbur Messer, the Chicago Association nonetheless exerted a significant influence throughout the West and brought to the growing brotherhood an evangelistic zeal for good works that made up in energy for what it omitted from the fourfold program. During these formative years it is doubtful whether the New York idea would have obtained Protestant approval; the Chicago Association and hundreds like it that slowly accepted the fourfold program for young men exclusively were typical of the conservative religious outlook in both the United States and in Canada.

Of the revival of scores of Associations and the formation of hundreds of new ones in these germinal years it is impossible to treat. Some of those whose influence had been provocative in the Confedera-



tion period fell behind while newcomers forged ahead. As their contributions were made to the moving stream of Association events, or as outstanding laymen and secretaries left their mark upon the record of the Y.M.C.A., they will enter these pages.<sup>11</sup> The fifty-nine Associations that reported in 1865—all but two of them in the North—represented less than one-third the number that had been active prior to the War, but so rapid was the renaissance of the Movement that 659 were listed in 1869.<sup>12</sup>

Although Chapter 5 will be devoted to a detailed analysis of the activities of these Associations, some suggestion of their interests may clarify the reasons for this rapid growth, which was built largely on pre-War foundations of religious and welfare work and the enthusiasm of veterans who had benefited from the war-time program. With the exception of Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, and New York, the larger Y.M.C.A.'s were in 1870 still tenants of "halls used at times for other purposes, business offices, generally contracted and not always cleanly, rooms in out-of-the-way buildings." Only half-a-dozen smaller Associations had achieved buildings by that time though it was estimated that a million-and-a-half dollars were so invested or pledged.<sup>13</sup> A well-known journalist wrote that the facilities of the New York Association were but a magnificent exception to the rule:

An Association which has two rooms, one for reading and study, and the other for conversation, considers itself fortunate.

More frequently one room serves the purpose of library, reading-room, place for quiet conversation, with perhaps occasional games of checkers or backgammon, and on occasions, regularly and pretty frequently recurring, for prayer-meetings, Bible-classes, secular lectures, literary exercises, and social reunions.<sup>14</sup>

But many Associations did not confine themselves to "the work of a Christian club," as we shall see in Chapter 5.

Certain administrative devices that had appeared before the War became fixed features of the revived Movement, notably the board of managers or directors who, as buildings complicated the affairs of local Y.M.C.A.'s, held and managed the property. Boards were seldom set up with rotating terms of office; in this respect individual Associations differed conservatively from supervisory agencies. They tended to select men of means, prestige, or acumen, and gradually came to occupy a unique position of authority and control.<sup>15</sup> It was found now,

as in the earlier period, that the conduct of business interfered with the devotional or social meeting, and that the general membership was not skilled in management. As the years passed, many a Y.M.C.A. "became more and more exclusively an institution controlled by the small group of earnest men who were willing to carry the burden of financing it."<sup>16</sup> The summit of this development toward the end of the century was the "metropolitan" organization of the large city Y.M.C.A.'s, having several branches under a central board that delegated responsibility and authority to branch boards and executives. Likewise significant in this period was the rise of the professional secretary, to which much of Chapter 4 will be devoted.

### THE CONVENTIONS MEET AGAIN

The post-War era saw the rapid completion and consolidation of the essential railroad network of the United States and Canada, which opened a new and exhilarating opportunity to attend great national meetings. Religious gatherings in the Gilded Age were understandably sentimental and excitable to the point of tears. Conventions reported every word, in order that delegates might have a full record of the transactions, orations, and discussions which they would translate into action at home. As the hatreds of the War subsided, the Conventions demonstrated to the nation and especially to the denominations that the Y.M.C.A. could heal its broken fellowship, for no southern organization was proposed, and, only two years after Appomattox, New York funds made it possible for southern delegates to attend the Montreal Convention, though not until 1875 did a Convention again meet in the South. These meetings provided a national platform for the spontaneous expression of the Y.M.C.A. idea in all its ramifications; they gradually focused upon the fourfold scheme and became an active instrument to that end.

It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that the Conventions had been interrupted by the outbreak of hostilities not long before the session scheduled for St. Louis in the late spring of 1861. This made the meeting of the previous year at New Orleans the last Confederation Convention, for the next one, held at Chicago in June of 1863, refused to recognize the membership qualifications previously established, and so ended the Confederation. In calling the Convention of 1863, the Central Committee (still resident in Philadelphia, with George H. Stuart as chairman) assumed an authority it did not possess. The action

was summarily recorded and we have no further knowledge of it, the Philadelphia Committee having lost the Confederation archives as well as its own:

The civil war having broken up the old Confederation, it was thought proper, by the Central Committee, to reorganize upon a new basis, by inviting *all* the Associations of the loyal States and British Provinces to send delegates to this Convention.

The Convention, by a test vote . . . refused to recognize the qualifications for membership established by the Confederation.

This assumption by a central agency and a Convention of power not delegated to them by sovereign local Associations not only closed the Confederation era but marked the beginning of the concentration of Movement authority. The earlier period had been characterized by *laissez-faire* growth, the loosely constituted Confederation being little more than an advisory body. The step thus taken, and furthered by subsequent Conventions and Committees, may be compared to the action of the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787 in abandoning its instructions to revise the Articles of Confederation in favor of drafting a new instrument of power, the Constitution of the United States, which set up a unified government capable of great centralization.

The Conventions at Chicago (1863) and Boston (1864) heard eloquent pleas in behalf of activities directed toward raising up "for the defense of truth and freedom and the cause of Christ, a mighty and resistless host of regenerate and Christian young men," the Reverend H. C. Potter, later Episcopal Bishop of New York, speaking strongly on this point to both gatherings.<sup>17</sup> At Boston the nonevangelistic party succeeded in electing the presiding officer, but the War effort was still all-absorbing and these two Conventions were little more than religious rallies fired by patriotic fervor and evangelism. The Philadelphia Convention of 1865, McBurney declared, "assumed more the shape of a religious mass-meeting" than a Y.M.C.A. gathering. This was his first Convention. The New York secretary saw its tremendous potentialities for work among young men, but like others of his delegation found its program almost entirely unproductive. They realized that their home Association was "far in advance" of the others there who represented a Movement that as yet had no clear conception of its unique mission.<sup>18</sup> A night caucus in their hotel—the first of few on record—resulted in an agenda of distinctly Y.M.C.A. topics for the

last evening session that produced an "exceedingly interesting" discussion in which several dozen delegates participated. Still the New York men left Philadelphia feeling that the gathering had been "more useful in showing how a convention of Y.M.C.A.'s ought not to be held, than of how it should be held."<sup>19</sup> McBurney had tasted his first success in convention politics: as chairman of the nominating committee he had secured the nomination and election of Brainerd as president of the Convention, against strong opposition. The Executive Committee was established in Philadelphia for the ensuing year. Its chairman was the Reverend Alfred Taylor who had been active in the Charleston (South Carolina) Association and had represented it at the New Orleans Convention of 1860.

The Albany Convention of 1866—truly "a turning point in the history of the American associations"—was the initiator of so many novel developments that it came to be referred to as the "convention of new departures." Attended by some 250 delegates from fifty-three Associations in nineteen states and provinces, its attention was forcibly directed toward work for young men by Brainerd's powerful opening address which "made a lasting impression on the work of the societies in North America":

... We seek for greater things, we ask a larger usefulness. Then let us not forget that the maintenance of our present condition of prosperity, and our future progress, rests upon a hearty adoption of certain obvious and unquestioned propositions:

1st. An unswerving devotion to the primary objects and aims of these Associations: the social, mental, and religious improvement of Young Men. As organizations with these avowed objects, we challenge attention; as seeking these ends, we are prominently before the world; because of these things, we are what we are. When we deviate from them, we trench upon ground assigned to others. . . . <sup>20</sup>

Langdon, now in Europe, might well have felt vindicated.

McBurney had brought a list of fourteen topics designed to raise critical issues, and as the deliberations proceeded they did exactly that. Moody urged general evangelism but was so vigorously opposed by the New York City executive that he took it as a personal affront. A delegate from New Orleans was welcomed "with special delight" and his home Association extended the "warmest sympathies" and "fervent desires" for success; he was commissioned to bear "kindly greetings to the Y.M.C.A.'s of the South, and request them to send delegates to our next Convention."<sup>21</sup> Upon McBurney's suggestion a committee was



appointed to consider and report back to the Convention on the annual report of the Executive Committee; it became "the backbone of this and succeeding conventions." McBurney was its chairman then and many times after; later he developed the same procedure for the World's Conferences. His committee, he wrote afterward, "introduced a number of recommendations at my own suggestion," growing out of the experience of the previous Executive Committee.<sup>22</sup> These "created considerable discussion, and were adopted with one exception." Because of McBurney's influence upon these significant legislative acts, they are summarized in his words:

The first was, the discontinuance of the committee on railway literature; Second, the opening of correspondence with associations in foreign lands;

Fourth, that the Executive Committee be permanently located in New York and . . . consist of five members, [this] was modified afterward to three years;

Fifth, that the Executive Committee establish a Quarterly Journal . . . ;

Sixth, that a collection be taken for the expenses of the committee for the ensuing year;

Seventh, that the Executive Committee be directed to publish reports from the Associations in a condensed form, with statistical table. . . .<sup>23</sup>

That such aggressive legislation could have been enacted only one year after the Philadelphia meeting was due without doubt to planning, persuasiveness, serious commitment, and organization on the part of those devoted to the ideal of a work exclusively for young men. Unquestionably marshaled by McBurney, whose extraordinary tact and wide acquaintance stood him in good stead, these results may be credited to one of his unique talents, hardly matched in the Movement since. "He had," wrote Brainerd many years later,

what the unregenerate characterize in political conventions as management, pipe laying and wire pulling, but which I would characterize in respect of Mr. McBurney's work as upright political management by a consecrated man in the accomplishment of just ends.<sup>24</sup>

The Convention also heard an impressive paper, published with the proceedings and widely circulated in pamphlet form, on the means to be employed "for improving the social condition of young men," by Dr. Verranus Morse of New York. This contended for an expanded program to meet the social, religious, and mental needs of young men, and inferred that gymnasiums might be utilized. An address on the place of amusements in the Y.M.C.A. "created a storm."

Many of the new departures inaugurated at Albany were endorsed

by the next Convention, which met at Montreal and attracted more than twice the number of delegates at Albany. The Executive Committee reported that most of the innovations were producing good results, that across the country more money was being invested and ambitious plans contemplated. "Steady adherence" to the especial work and object was noticeable. Four men from Charleston, whose entire expenses had been provided through McBurney's good offices, furthered "heartly fraternal relations" between North and South. A Negro reported what he believed to be "the first Christian Association of colored young men ever established"—in New York City—and was greeted with "the greatest enthusiasm."<sup>25</sup> The Convention refused to seat several women delegates, voting that "representation be based on male membership."<sup>26</sup>

The attendance of 597 delegates, many of whom had no real interest in Association affairs and embarrassed the host Association,<sup>27</sup> decided the Convention to restrict subsequent representation. It was voted that local Y.M.C.A.'s of one hundred members or less might send three delegates, with one more for each additional hundred members up to a total of fifteen delegates, the essence of which scheme remained in force until 1924. McBurney arranged the standing committees and "suggested and framed" most of the discussion topics, as he was to do for years to come.

As the legislative body of the Movement, the Convention met annually until 1877 and biennially through 1901, when it became triennial. It was more than a policy-making assembly: it was a forum, a training institute, and a source of inspiration; thousands of delegates traveled across the two countries to share in its oratory, fellowship, and discussion. In an age of public meetings it set the pace for the Movement, which was busy with college, railroad, secretarial, district, German, Holland, state, and regional conventions, all modeled after it. From the modest attendance of 220 delegates of 47 Associations at Philadelphia in 1865, it grew to 818 representatives of 401 Associations when meeting there again in 1889.<sup>28</sup>

After 1863 the Convention became an increasingly tightening "bond of relationship" that defined Movement meaning and membership in institutional terms. Following the limitation upon the size of delegations voted at Montreal, the most significant next step in this direction was the enactment by the Portland Convention of 1869 of the "Evangelical Test" of membership, requiring local Y.M.C.A.'s that

wished accreditation to future Conventions to furnish evidence that their active membership comprised only members of denominations adhering to middle-of-the-road Protestant doctrine, which the Convention itself defined.<sup>29</sup> Thus it was well on its way toward becoming "the cornerstone of the national structure" of the Movement.<sup>30</sup>

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT CENTRAL AGENCY: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

The first step toward a permanent centralized agency for the Movement in the United States and Canada was taken when the Convention of 1864 appointed an interim Executive Committee which was resident in Boston that year. Neither it nor that Convention received any reports or recommendations from a previous body: "We were forced to begin *de novo*," it said the next year at Philadelphia in making the first such report since 1860:

It has been no light task to get the machinery in order and prepare it for our successors to run, and although no actual progress may have been made, we do not consider that we have been idle, or altogether deficient in action.<sup>31</sup>

It had compiled information on the state of the Movement, appointed fifty-two corresponding members for the states and provinces (of whom twenty-four were ministers), sent a circular letter "to Sister Associations in the Old World," and arranged for the Convention. It proposed that the Convention discuss "the utility and practicability of holding local conventions," the admission of women as "co-operators in the labors of an Association," and "how far the social element may be introduced into our gatherings."<sup>32</sup> The recommendations of the Executive Committee to the Albany Convention both surprised and pleased the New York group and aided in the significant accomplishments of that Convention, which compromised its recommendation that the central agency be located in one city for a five-year term by placing it in New York for three years, thus ending its twelve years' itineracy.

This Executive Committee promptly carried out Convention mandates to call state conventions, to publish a magazine, to plan the observance of the Day of Prayer—from a small office tendered it by the New York Association, with which it was housed until 1888. During this first term its five members, of whom a quorum was three, were Frank W. Ballard, James Stokes, Jr., William F. Lee, James L. Hastie, and Cephas Brainerd as corresponding secretary. These men and the

majority of their successors were leaders in the economic community of their day; naturally they tended to build an institutional structure that resembled the corporations they owned or dominated—an unconscious process that continued through the Y.M.C.A. century. "Corresponding members" had been appointed in every state and province, beginning with the Convention of 1864. The Committee's annual reports to the Conventions met with such approval that it was periodically increased in number and six times re-elected for three year terms. The Convention of 1879 changed its name to International Committee, and two years later moved for incorporation. The Act of Incorporation adopted by the Milwaukee Convention of 1883 provided for thirty-three voting members of the Committee with nine advisory members; a quorum resident in the New York area comprised ten regular and three advisory members; these were on a rotating term. A self-perpetuating Board of fifteen Trustees to hold property was also provided.<sup>33</sup>

The first chairman of the Executive Committee, following its establishment in New York, was Frank W. Ballard,<sup>34</sup> a charter member of the New York Association, whose aggressive leadership had been a factor in directing that Y.M.C.A. into broader interests, and who had exerted a significant influence upon the Conventions of 1864 and 1865 in favor of work for young men. "Entitled to the chief place" of honor for his leadership through the Committee's first term, he was succeeded by Cephas Brainerd (1831-1910) who, in addition to constant and various activity for the New York City Y.M.C.A., made the chairmanship of the committee virtually a second career parallel to his legal practice. Holding the unsalaried office twenty-five years to a day (1867-1892), Brainerd himself wrote every annual report. Gifted as an orator, he could sway a convention "as a field of ripe wheat in the wind." Extraordinarily effective as a letter-writer, with which art he combined his argumentative talent, he handled all of the correspondence for the first five years and much of it afterward, thus maintaining through his "good virile letters" an exacting oversight of the organization. Making his home near the Committee's headquarters, he gave virtually every evening to its affairs, and lengthy conferences in his study produced many of the major policy and personnel decisions. As the structure of the organization grew and the authority of the International Committee with it, Brainerd inclined to an attitude that sometimes seemed from the field domineering and conservative; yet



he was responsive to logic and facts and his advice was usually sound. "We went to him perplexed, we came away confident," wrote a secretary who served under him and more than once felt his veto:

we went as individuals, we came out as ambassadors. If the outcome was achievement, he rejoiced with us; if it was glory he did not share it. He was the pilot, supreme and indispensable for the moment, but ready to be dropped when the ship swung clear of reef and shoal and headed for the open sea.<sup>35</sup>

The most apt characterization of Brainerd's career was that made by a speaker at the banquet in honor of his retirement, who spoke of the chairman as "the great chief justice of our American Associations."<sup>36</sup> The completion of this sketch of Cephas Brainerd's contribution to the Movement will be found throughout the next six chapters.

Perhaps next to Brainerd, the New York Association's contribution to International Committee leadership was best epitomized in William E. Dodge, Jr., who "stood in an influential advisory relation" through thirty-six years, during every one of which he "made the largest stated contribution to the Committee's treasury" and in every difficult financial emergency was "ready with additional help."<sup>37</sup> As president of the New York City Association he saw to it that the International Committee was provided with quarters in the new building:

With its business relations to the country, New York is looked up to as the leader in this good work in a great measure, and everything done here is duplicated in many other places. We hope to render our rooms a home for the association workers of all parts of the country.<sup>38</sup>

President of the Convention of 1869 and of the American Jubilee celebration in 1901, Dodge "stood pre-eminent, greatly beloved and . . . deservedly honored" among the Christian laymen who "made possible by their wise and generous leadership the growth and standing of the American Associations," wrote an intimate friend upon his death in 1903.<sup>39</sup> In the next few years the Committee was strengthened by the addition of Robert McBurney, Benjamin C. Wetmore, Verranus Morse, Morris K. Jesup, and others. With the expansion of the Committee in 1875-76, distinguished leaders from all parts of the continent joined it, and its membership roll became a roster of the leadership of the two countries. Throughout this period the committee exercised the authority and initiative that largely shaped the Movement.

## THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIES

The Boston Convention of 1864 heard a resolution calling for the general secretary of that body "or some other officer" to "visit the several Y.M.C.A.'s in this land" to spread the idea of the Movement and to stir up "the pure minds of the brethren by way of remembrance, thereby to increase the power and efficiency of the various members of these bodies."<sup>40</sup> Neither that Convention nor its successor, to which the proposition was referred, moved to obtain such a "visitor," albeit the quaintly worded resolution somewhat accurately forecast the nature of the assignment. But each succeeding Committee did complain of the immensity of its task which obviously called for more time than could be volunteered. This chronic need provided the background for the call of its first paid "agent."

As the approaching completion of the first transcontinental railroad attracted attention to the West, the Movement felt the urge to engage in a home missionary effort along the route. The Convention of 1868 instructed the Executive Committee "to employ an agent to aid in the organization of Y.M.C.A.'s on the line of the Pacific Railroad, and in such other sections as may be determined upon. . . ."<sup>41</sup> It planned this move to be "the beginning of a continuous effort for the formation of Assns. which we hope future committees will prosecute with great vigor,"—not merely "the comparatively small matter now in hand, but a broad and general effort which shall embrace the whole South and South West."<sup>42</sup> The first \$1,000 was pledged in New York and the circular sent out by the Committee uncovered a lively interest and \$500 more at Omaha, which Association, it was agreed, should act as the local agent. Its corresponding secretary, Dr. J. C. Denise, proposed to Brainerd the name of Robert Weidensall, a foreman in the car shops of the Union Pacific Railroad and a founder and vice-president of the Omaha Association. Upon the recommendations that came from Omaha and on the strength of Weidensall's letter setting forth his idea of the mission, the Executive Committee hired its first field secretary, without seeing him, at an annual salary of \$1,500. His mission on the Union Pacific will be recounted in Chapter 5; it occupied only a few months but received wide acclaim and proved that there was a real need for such a worker as Weidensall shortly proved himself to be. After exhausting the possibilities of the railroad line, he traveled 8,000 miles in Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri, to organize twelve Y.M.C.A.'s, handing in a \$42 expense account. The Convention of 1869 was hearty

in its approval of the Committee and of Weidensall, who remained the celibate servant of the Movement to the day of his death over fifty years later, during which he laid foundations for many of the most significant developments of the Y.M.C.A.

Robert Weidensall (1836-1922) was probably the most unusual individual to figure largely in the story which this History records. His background may be described as the prototype of that of every outstanding Y.M.C.A. secretary of the early period: "My mother," he wrote, ". . . was . . . saturated with Bible knowledge in its spiritual sense"; at sixteen he joined the Evangelical Lutheran church of his parents. Attending Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg and remaining for part of the theological course, he there taught a Sunday School class of youths, whom he interested in neighborhood mission work, and was deeply impressed by the news of the great revivals of 1857 and 1858 which were described to the students by the college president.<sup>43</sup> He was likewise influenced by the ecumenical dream of the president of the Gettysburg Theological Seminary, Samuel S. Schmucker, father of the Evangelical Alliance.<sup>44</sup>

Weidensall next taught school, then entered the Quartermaster's Corps and subsequently the Construction Corps of the Union Army. He appears to have first been influenced by the Y.M.C.A. through an Association for returning soldiers at Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, his parents' home.<sup>45</sup> After two years as a blacksmith in the oil fields of Pennsylvania and a brief period as a carpenter, he sought his fortune in the West and while in Omaha was persuaded by an old college mate to take a job in the railroad car shops, where he was soon foreman of frame construction.<sup>46</sup> He had been occupied at this some two years when the call came, as out of the blue, from the Executive Committee in New York.

Remarkably equipped for the pioneering job that awaited him, Weidensall laid solid foundations for the great network of local and state Y.M.C.A.'s of the Midwest, carried on the first work among German-speaking young men, pioneered the Movement in schools and colleges, proposed the general secretaries' organization, canvassed the South, first suggested training schools for secretaries, first proposed area organization, and laid the foundations for successful rural or county work, as he called it. The hundreds of letters he exchanged with Association men across the continent exerted an influence upon the Movement which one secretary likened to the effect of the epistles

My Dear Bro.

I am delighted that your work begins to show, and that you have hopes of a good account from Kansas next year. Have you written to the associations organized by you last year, and if so do they seem to be alive?

I have written to Baker, and shall soon send him some of our documents.

Your work was specially recommended at our prayer-meeting on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Inst. If this Mrs. I am confident the day was more generally observed than ever heretofore, and cannot

doubt but great good will result from the meeting. The day was much observed in Great Britain, no doubt more than 200 sermons were delivered to young men, and their interest, as the key, of the Liberator affirms, that he had 85 prominent, and felt he could count upon 100.

My family will be in town next week, and I then hope for more time for correspondence.

Sincerely Yours,  
Cephas Brainerd  
Chas. C.

16<sup>th</sup> Nov 69

Mr. Robert Brudenell  
Care of J. G. Schumacher

Lawrence Kansas.



of St. Paul upon the infant Churches of his day. Saturated with the Bible, Weidensall's style seemed at times almost apostolic, as when he advised a state convention he could not attend: "With the work unified and characterized by singleness of purpose, you are now on vantage ground":

Let the spirit of God direct the Convention, let unity prevail, let all be of a teachable spirit. Many of these suggestions of mine may be unnecessary but overlook all such, for I write as one who loves each and every one of you. My heart yearns for your true success in doing just what God would have you do. I trust that I shall return to you and that my heart shall be strengthened by what you have done.

A brother secretary who sat at his feet wrote of him:

Robert Weidensall was a great character, of the farmer-engineer-explorer-pioneer type, thinking in terms of cities, states, sections of a continent and strata of society, seeing things that were invisible to most men and counting things that are not [yet] as though they were. He had the gift of prophecy, combined with common sense and notwithstanding his visions, accomplished a marvelous life work in the realm of the realities.<sup>47</sup>

In spite of what at times seemed insuperable obstacles, Weidensall's devotion kept him at his chosen task through depression when there was no salary, and when disagreement with Brainerd shook his very faith. Although he several times sent in his resignation, there existed between the two men a remarkable bond, as suggested in a letter from the chairman in 1875: "I have always told you plainly when I did not like your course, or your words, as I can only tell one I thoroughly regard. . . ."<sup>48</sup>

As the "best-loved man of the brotherhood" Weidensall was given a round-the-world tour in 1906-07; in 1912 his alma mater conferred upon him the LL.D. degree in recognition of his pioneering services.

No greater contrast could be imagined than that between the background and preparation of Weidensall and that of Richard Cary Morse (1841-1926), a native of New York City, the Committee's second employee and first general secretary. Scion of a cultured and distinguished New England family—his grandfather, Jedediah Morse, was the "father of American geography," and his uncle, Samuel F. B. Morse, was the inventor of the telegraph—Morse was educated at Phillips Academy, Yale, and Princeton and Union Theological Seminaries. Converted and joining the Presbyterian Church at the time of the 1857-58 revival, he planned on entering the ministry and was licensed. While on the staff of a religious weekly, the *New York Ob-*

server, he became aware of the growing Y.M.C.A. Assigned to cover a New York Association convention, he reported it with such verve that McBurney sought out the author, thus beginning "a blessed fellowship." Morse rendered his first Y.M.C.A. service as chairman of the committee on open-air meetings of the New York Association.

The Convention of 1869 authorized the change of *The Y.M.C.A. Quarterly* to a monthly; McBurney pressed Morse's name upon the Committee for the position of editor and secretary. Morse accepted; that December the New York building was completed and Morse and the Committee moved in. A lasting intimacy developed between the two secretaries.<sup>49</sup>

The youthful Morse learned local Association matters from the veteran New York secretary, and became an International advocate of the fourfold program so successfully conducted in the building in which he lived and worked. The first issue of *Association Monthly* appeared in January, 1870. Morse's interests broadened with his activity. The Committee found his urbanity, diplomacy, winsomeness, and versatility admirable qualifications and when the experiment with the *Monthly* proved unsatisfactory asked him in 1872 to become its general secretary. In the belief that he could make use of his "faculties and the training . . . thus far received which would best fulfil [his] call to the ministry of the Gospel and its obligations" he accepted,<sup>50</sup> filling the post with distinction and vitality until his retirement in 1915.

It is not possible to record that Morse pioneered one development and foresaw another: he was in the midst of all, advising, balancing, compromising, raising funds, connecting a multitude of contacts. He began his life work as an adult, with little need for an apprenticeship, yet in later life he was often spoken of as a man who had never outgrown his youth. His athletic career at Yale, his ingratiating way with children, a bubbling humor, "a wisdom rising into statesmanship, long-viewed,"<sup>51</sup> were aspects of the careful workmanship with which he built the organization from its center. In his *Historical Sketch of the Y.M.C.A.*, McBurney wrote in 1884 that in Morse the Associations of America were realizing the dream of Nasmith,

that an apostle of Y.M.C.A.'s might arise, who would throw his whole soul and mind, as well as time, into the Associations that their important designs might be carried into effect.<sup>52</sup>

Generations of students were to learn the Y.M.C.A. story from Morse's *History of the North American Young Men's Christian Association*

written in 1913; his autobiography, *My Life with Young Men*, is the most significant account of the unfolding of the American Movement. In 1912 he wrote to the members of his family:

I am absorbed and engrossed and biased by a brotherhood work of betterment, the remarkable growth of which in extent and efficiency and the part in it assigned to me have kept me in the sunnny atmosphere of successful welfare-achievement among young men and boys. So the night seems to me to have a good deal of light in it—so much so as to assure the dawn.<sup>53</sup>

To the triumvirate of Brainerd, McBurney, and Morse was ascribed at the end of the nineteenth century much of the credit for the large development of the International work. "It is difficult to dissociate the service of any one of these from the other two," wrote McBurney's biographer, "and no one of the three acted alone."<sup>54</sup> Morse and Brainerd spent most of their evenings in consultation, the long periods often followed by an hour or more of letter-writing. The time came when critics declared that the International Committee consisted, as Brainerd once wrote Morse, "of you, McB., and myself . . . a kind of slander . . ." <sup>55</sup> that contained certain truth.

The Act of Incorporation of 1883 declared the purpose of the International Committee to be the establishing and assisting of Y.M.C.A.'s and the general promotion of the "spiritual, intellectual, physical and social well-being of young men, in accordance with the aims and methods of Young Men's Christian Associations in connection with the said Convention." From its first appointment the Committee, in shaping the program of the Convention, "laid principal emphasis upon that fourfold work, the germinal form of which was being wrought out in the New York City Association."<sup>56</sup> As the Movement spread and its program expanded, International secretaries were added for railroad, student, Negro, and other specializations. When Brainerd retired from the chairmanship in 1892, there were eighteen International secretaries, three of whom were engaged in the work in foreign countries.

#### ORGANIZATION SPREADS TO THE STATES

Within a few years state and provincial conventions and committees—"children of the International Convention"—were "promoting the cause of our societies more than any kindred agency."<sup>57</sup> It was early apparent that a single Convention for the entire United States and Canada could not meet the demand "for mutual conference and discussion"; resident corresponding members had represented the states





THE CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE, DECEMBER, 1883

*Back row:* T. K. Cree, Claus Olandt, H. E. Brown, Luther D. Wishard

*Middle row:* Edwin Ingersoll, Erskine Uhl, Cephas Brainerd, Robert Weidensall

*Front row:* Jacob Bowne, Richard C. Morse



on the International Committee. Numerous district conventions had been held prior to the Civil War, and the idea of state and local meetings was proposed by the Executive Committee to the Philadelphia Convention of 1865,<sup>58</sup> but not until it was vigorously pushed by McBurney's committee at Albany the next year was action taken, as has been indicated, instructing

the Corresponding Member of the Executive Committee of each State, District, Territory, and Province, to call a Convention of the Associations in such State, &c., (after consultation with the Associations) annually in the autumn.<sup>59</sup>

The corresponding member became in practice, as Weidensall remarked, "the beginning of an independent State or provincial organization created by the individual Associations of the State. . . ." <sup>60</sup> The International Committee subsequently exercised great care not to enter a state for the purpose of promoting a state organization without the approval of the corresponding member.<sup>61</sup>

The first local meeting stemming from the Albany resolution was held at Milwaukee in September, 1866. Attended by some 150 delegates from eight Associations in seven states, this "North-western Convention" discussed several of the topics McBurney had laid upon the Albany Convention. A month later New York representatives met at Oswego for two days following a call agreed upon by the Albany delegates and signed by McBurney as corresponding member for New York state. Comparable local gatherings were held that year in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Haven. The number of these meetings multiplied rapidly, ten being reported to the Convention of 1868; by 1873 twenty states and five provinces had held ninety-seven conventions; in 1895 Morse calculated that there had been 721.

The first permanent state organization was set up by delegates to a convention held in New Haven, Connecticut, May 21 and 22, 1867, upon the initiative of O. Vincent Coffin, corresponding member of the International Committee for Connecticut, and a former president of the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. who had been secretary of the Conventions of 1863 and 1864.<sup>62</sup> Addressed by Brainerd, McBurney, Dodge, and several other prominent New Yorkers, the Connecticut convention set a precedent for International Committee coverage which was probably never broken: throughout the years it "felt and acted under an obligation to be represented" at every state and provincial convention.<sup>63</sup>

Such was the success of the meetings of the season following the Al-

bany Convention that the Executive Committee considered it imperative to urge that "like Conventions be held in every State and district during the coming year," the invitations to include not only known Associations but "those interested in our work where these societies are not yet organized." At Montreal in 1867 several state delegations planned conventions, the first fruit of which was the almost simultaneous organization of permanent committees in Vermont and in the Maritime Provinces. The latter took place at Halifax, October 3 to 7.<sup>64</sup> The Vermont convention, held at Burlington the next week, was called by seven delegates to Montreal who styled themselves "The Executive Committee for Vermont of the National Y.M.C.A."<sup>65</sup> The fourth of these was the "Young Men's State Christian Association of Ohio," established at a convention in Columbus, November 8-10, 1867,<sup>66</sup> and destined to be a vigorous and widely copied organization. The Portland Convention of 1869 again stressed the importance of state organization; out of its delegation meetings the state Y.M.C.A. of Pennsylvania emerged the following November, only a few weeks after the New York state setup had been reorganized on a permanently active basis.

The first state to obtain a secretary was Pennsylvania, whose early program set the pace among the states. In 1871 it engaged the Reverend Samuel A. Taggart who served with marked success for seventeen years. During the first five of these, he was the only full-time state secretary, although Massachusetts, Ohio, New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont had employed part-time men. Another distinctive state work inaugurated at this time in the East was under the Reverend George A. Hall, "an Evangelist from his youth," who was called from the general secretaryship of Washington, D. C., to become state secretary of New York in 1876. For twenty years he stood among the recognized leaders of the Movement, presenting the state work paper at the World's Conference of 1881. Statistics presented to the Convention of 1875 named six state secretaries, three of whom were in New England; the next year there were ten. In 1895 more than fifty such positions were being maintained by twenty-eight state and provincial organizations.

#### FOSTERING LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

Both the state organizations and the International Committee set themselves to plant the Y.M.C.A. in cities and towns. This effort be-

gan with laymen, the corresponding members often giving generously of their time and means to travel in the interests not only of founding new Associations but advising and helping others. Weidensall worked assiduously to lay firm foundations in the cities and towns; in this "the mind of the Committee was his mind," and their purpose was the founding and regularizing of Association work in line with the purposes set forth by the International Conventions.<sup>67</sup>

Much of this was in the very simple form of giving advice. When a representative of the Committee could not visit, correspondence sufficed. The growing Movement was advised through its periodicals to "send to R. C. Morse" for a model constitution or, as the literature grew, for any of a host of pamphlets. Weidensall carried on an immense correspondence, much of which has survived and comprises one of the Movement's richest historical resources.<sup>68</sup> Brainerd wrote voluminously; when a city Association contemplated closing on account of a debt of \$7,000 he admonished: "The idea of Cleveland, full of young men and good people . . . hauling down its colors and drifting out of the fight [is] eminently undesirable." Not only inspiration but caution could be expected: the members and secretaries of the "supervisory" agencies were continuously warning against overexpansion and speculation, a note that not infrequently became a rebuke.<sup>69</sup>

A local Association could not expect more than advice in its regular affairs, but if it needed a secretary, whether for part time to fill in a short term vacancy, for a special problem, or as a permanent executive, the International Committee had a list. For a long while the policy of the Committee was to give aid to strategic city Y.M.C.A.'s which would be examples not only of the approved program, but in turn would strengthen smaller Associations and state agencies in their areas. Occasionally it was called in to adjudicate misunderstandings between local Associations, branches, their communities, or disagreements between state and local units, or in personnel problems. It was asked how best to use bequests, for aid in getting out of debt, for help in time of disaster or depression.

More dramatic than steady cultivation were the emergency calls the Committee was continually answering and which were a primary cause of the expansion of its staff. In many reports may be found the simple summary of long hard labor by an International secretary: "Several disastrous failures were averted through the counsel and aid of the International Committee."<sup>70</sup> Early in its supervision the Com-

mittee became aware of the shocking mortality rate among Associations, chiefly in the smaller places. This led to attempts to analyze the causes of success and of failure, one of the earliest and best of which was Morse's account based upon his tour of New England and the Maritime Provinces in 1871-72. He found that success usually reflected the work of a few active, prayerful, convinced laymen, the appeal of genuinely undenominational effort, help from the churches and ministers, "intercourse among neighboring Associations," and the employment of a general secretary.<sup>71</sup> Analyses of this problem varied only slightly through the period. "Every Y.M.C.A. should be 'well born,'" declared a speaker at a state convention of 1890—"born of prayer, and felt need, and on a business basis, and always by and with the concurrence of the State Committee."<sup>72</sup>

The Association mortality rate was excessively high. Between 1867 and 1880 there were 142 associations established in Ohio while 107 died.<sup>73</sup> The state secretary of Minnesota told his convention in 1885 that there was scarcely a city in his territory where there had not been an Association—"in some places as many as three organizations have lived and died."<sup>74</sup> In 1900 there had been forty-nine fatalities among eighty-eight Y.M.C.A.'s that had reported at least once to the state organization of Wisconsin.<sup>75</sup> The problem was satirized by the *Era* in 1892 in a fanciful visit to an imaginary burial ground for defunct Y.M.C.A.'s which was said to contain over 3,400 graves. Although the sexton opined that he did not hear the causes of death in many cases, inasmuch as "the friends are very reticent about these things," the headstones bore Latin words for depraved appetite, venture into politics, hidebound, stubbornness (in refusing the evangelical test), and refusal to call a doctor. The visitor was encouraged to hear that the death rate was diminishing,<sup>76</sup> which was the case: both city and small town Y.M.C.A.'s were then fewer in number, the former being "on a much more permanent basis, as most of them owned buildings of their own," while the smaller Associations had almost died out.<sup>77</sup> Too many had been started in the enthusiasm of a revival and had fallen back upon a passive program. There was failure to understand "the proper objects of an association." Some tried too much at the beginning.<sup>78</sup> Lack of proper business management, the attempt to do general church work, exclusive dependence upon reading rooms were often cited.<sup>79</sup> Actually, most small places were barren soil for the Y.M.C.A. was an urban plant that usually required the city for its growth.<sup>80</sup>



In places large enough to support an Association the most frequently cited cause of failure was financial, often due to overly ambitious building plans but attributable also to the succession of two depressions, one of them long and severe. Morse considered inability to obtain a secretary a major handicap.<sup>81</sup> Active opposition of churches was often serious in the earlier years but was largely mitigated by the Portland test enacted in 1869. Failure was also frequently attributed to religious lukewarmness or refusal to enforce the evangelical test upon officers. A few Associations were taken over by individual churches, and their community-wide usefulness thus ended. But in all probability the great majority of Associations died from "loneliness" or lack of contact with their fellows. Few saw or read the Movement's periodicals. Advice and inspiration obtainable from supervision were out of reach of the great number of isolated small Associations which the state conventions tried to draw in. Even the district plan failed to invigorate them. A great deal of state supervision in this period, moreover, was evangelistic and not really concerned with the everyday affairs of Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>82</sup> Against this immense problem, the activities of the International Committee and the rising state organizations may be seen in fair perspective, and it is understandable that the two agencies sometimes collided.

#### THE ORGANIZATION OF STATE ASSOCIATIONS

Although several state Y.M.C.A.'s developed out of the conventions called by corresponding members, active promotion of state work was begun by Weidensall, who laid its foundations throughout the Midwest. He perceived at once that permanent results in both local and state organization must be the fruit of careful, unhurried, personal contact with the "most active members" of the churches.<sup>83</sup> Not until his sixth year—during the depression of 1873-74 when he more than once went hungry<sup>84</sup>—did Weidensall begin definite state work in the Midwest with the formation of the state committees of Indiana and Illinois. In the latter state, there being no corresponding member, Weidensall issued the call for the convention in his own name, writing "repeated appeals" to every man he knew or could learn of. The next year he pushed through the organization of a state committee in Minnesota, which was soon followed by Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin.<sup>85</sup> This unhurried approach reflected the policy of the International Committee:

What we are after is well done work, [wrote Brainerd]. . . . If we had been after plaudits we could easily have won them far more easily than we have done the work that now makes record. . . .<sup>86</sup>

The first of the western states to obtain a secretary was Indiana, at whose convention in October, 1875, Weidensall opened the discussion that led to the employment of its corresponding member, Dr. L. W. Munhall, a dentist who had made a reputation as an evangelist. The following year Weidensall remarked in the course of his report:

When Iowa secures a Secretary, which will in all probability be done next year, there will be a belt of States from the Atlantic seaboard to the Missouri River with Secretaries in the field. The direct influence of the work accomplished by the Secretaries in these central States, will hasten the employment of such men in the adjacent States, North and South.<sup>87</sup>

The strategic growth of the Movement in the great Midwest bears eloquent testimony to the soundness of Weidensall's and the Committee's judgment.

The International Committee rendered a wide variety of services to the states. As its field staff grew, systematic visitation was given to the more needy areas. International secretaries often took charge when a state committee found itself in financial or other difficulties.<sup>88</sup> Its personnel services were called upon, and occasionally it aided in unifying the work of two or more states under a joint staff.<sup>89</sup> Its men attended innumerable state conventions—sixty-six in one year during the later 1890's—and many district and county conventions “were enlivened by the presence of similar representatives.” It sometimes borrowed successful state secretaries and paid for their pioneering or trouble shooting in a needy area.<sup>90</sup> The Committee suggested discussion topics to state conventions, the same subjects being talked over across the country each season. It developed a model constitution for state work, which was of course a program outline and a statement of purpose, and provided abundant manuals and directions. All of this prompted a delegate to the Convention of 1879 to exclaim:

The International Executive Committee are the heart, the life-centre of the State organizations and Associations of the country, and the West owe to them a debt of gratitude greater than I can express.<sup>91</sup>

Seventeen men spoke before the Convention of 1885 on the value of International Committee supervision.

State organizations almost universally followed the structural or-

ganization of the parent agency, with an executive committee, the evangelical test of membership, the direct relation to local Associations, and incorporation including provision for property holding for local Associations.<sup>92</sup> Here again the influence of the New York City Association was strategic.<sup>93</sup>

#### REGIONAL PROMOTION

Cultivation by the International Committee may also be seen in regional perspective. While there was a natural tendency to concentrate in the neighborhood of New York, the first important outreach was toward the South then undergoing "reconstruction." The Y.M.C.A. was concerned to restore its fellowship and to spread the Movement idea; as both of these were realized, a significant example was set for the still divided churches. The Montreal Convention's entertainment of several southern men was a concrete effort in this direction.<sup>94</sup> The Convention of 1869 congratulated the Committee upon its efforts during the previous year in encouraging "the formation of Associations in the South" and assured such Y.M.C.A.'s of its interest, although there is no record of what had been done.<sup>95</sup>

In the spring of 1870 funds were subscribed by Convention delegates providing for the Reverend George A. Hall, secretary of the Washington Association, and one of his laymen, William F. Lee, to make a two months' visitation of some twenty leading southern cities, averaging two days in each. They found "only three or four associations . . . to be in existence and they were very weak."<sup>96</sup> Since this tour was primarily evangelistic they made no effort to organize Y.M.C.A.'s but eleven were said to have communicated with the Executive Committee shortly afterward. When the Convention of 1870 heard this report it authorized the employment of a traveling agent for the southern states, after "animated discussion."<sup>97</sup> The periodicals showed a continuing interest in the development of Associations in the South, and the Conventions took great pains to welcome southern men.

As had been the case in the Midwest, the first solid foundation-laying in the South was by Weidensall, who was uniquely qualified for this work of reconciliation. Beginning in January, 1872, and specially coached by Brainerd and others in New York, he set out "to bring the Southern folks into practical alliance" again. Organizing local Associations, "preparing the way for state work," and recruiting delegates

to the Convention, Weidensall was welcomed everywhere as he visited city, student, and Negro Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>98</sup> Reporting that the field was "white already to the harvest" he "greatly delighted" the Committee, which anticipated "the happiest results."<sup>99</sup>

This feeling was doubtless justified, for Weidensall's report to the Lowell Convention that June reflected a widespread interest and perhaps a dozen growing Associations.<sup>100</sup> A southern leader said many years later that Weidensall had brought definite information on Association work, shown how to perform it, and stimulated local Y.M.C.A.'s to "closer affiliation in state membership"; he had done "a great work in bringing about a closer union and co-operation of all the Southern associations with the International work."<sup>101</sup>

In 1874 Morse reported to the Convention his attendance at the Alabama state convention, the only state organization in the South. Richmond was represented at the International Convention for the first time in fourteen years, a reflection not only of the broken fellowship but of the failure of the cotton crop for three successive years.<sup>102</sup> The next year the Convention met there and was praised by the New York *Herald* for restoring national harmony.<sup>103</sup> A South Carolinian expressed his joy that

you of the North and Northwest have seen fit to meet us in the old 'reb capital.' . . . In our town . . . we were dying through the winter, but we began to revive when that brother (G. A. Hall) passed through. . . . Now we are putting forth our energies and have begun some mission work and prayer meetings.<sup>104</sup>

Together with Thomas K. Cree and several others, Hall had prepared the way for the Richmond Convention by a southern tour that had included the first Georgia convention. The meetings held by these evangelists often turned quite unexpectedly into extraordinary revivals.<sup>105</sup> Having taken along hymnals they were nonplussed to have 200 "quietly carried off in Augusta."<sup>106</sup> Accompanied by a prominent Alabamian, Major Joseph Hardie of Selma, they climaxed their meetings with appeals for "a more active work in behalf of young men." In New Orleans the *Daily Picayune* thought this good advice; almost everywhere they went public opinion was stirred to organize Y.M.C.A.'s.

This was the most effective cultivation possible. The team emphasized the importance of individual lay work in the churches and showed how the Y.M.C.A. aided it.<sup>107</sup> As a result, Southerners began to demand



a general field secretary—"a man like McBurney"—and insisted upon increased visitation.<sup>108</sup> When Cree reported in the *Year Book* of 1878-79 concerning his, Hall's, and Taggart's recent visitation in the South, he counted "about 175" local Associations and state organizations in all but three states.<sup>109</sup> With the increasing economic prosperity of the South in the early 1880's, the work picked up and was regarded as one of the most promising fields under the care of the International Committee,<sup>110</sup> which appointed in 1884 a subcommittee entrusted with "the entire southern work." This body supervised both the general and the colored promotion of the Committee until 1893.<sup>111</sup>

Following the Atlanta Convention of 1885, itself a major lift, C. K. Ober wrote to Weidensall that "the movement in the South is truly marvelous." Buildings for southern Y.M.C.A.'s now began to materialize.<sup>112</sup> The next marked advances were the meeting of the first Southern Secretarial Institute in June, 1889, and the special emphasis given to student work that year. In 1890 Ober, a veteran secretary, was assigned to the area.<sup>113</sup> County work was tried in the early 1890's, by which time the South was "looking very well" and could hardly be regarded as a problem area. The *Year Book* for 1890 recorded that there were state committees in all southern states but two, secretaries for nine states, eighty-six local secretaries and assistants, good buildings in twelve places, and building funds in the hands of five or more Associations.<sup>114</sup> But not until Brainerd's retirement from the chairmanship in 1892 did the South or any area obtain permanent field secretaries, supervision until then being carried on "by occasional visitation." In 1895 there were three men permanently assigned to the region.<sup>115</sup>

In 1872 Richard Morse had made an extended tour of the Maritime provinces and New England, in the former of which he found an extraordinary growth.<sup>116</sup> Although the Committee maintained its interest in Canada, it did not regard it as a missionary field; active promotion by the Maritimes' own Committee made that virtually unnecessary.<sup>117</sup> Likewise little attention was given to New England through this period, in all probability because of the strongly evangelistic bent of the work there.

After what has been said of the pioneering activity of Weidensall it is hardly necessary to attempt a description of the International Committee's concern for the Midwest. "I do want the N.W. awakened," wrote Brainerd to McBurney, on tour in 1870 to look over the western

field, "yet I do most fervently hope that you will bring back grapes, and not accounts of giants, and of a land that eats up the people."<sup>118</sup> Weidensall was to be their giant. By 1883 he could say:

Now one-third of all the Associations of America are in this western field. We are knit together with one purpose: work for young men. One-third of all the railroad Associations and railroad secretaries are in this field. Three efficient State secretaries . . . have developed a good work. More than half of the College Associations, and the Banner College State, Illinois, is in this field. The only successful work among lumbermen is carried on here. In the past two years one hundred and six new Associations have been formed at the West; fifty-nine general secretaries have been added to the list. The total annual expenditures of the Associations is \$100,000 greater than two years ago. Two new states have been organized. . . . It has taken ten years of hard work to accomplish this. . . .<sup>119</sup>

Weidensall was too modest to say that he himself had done most of the "hard work." With the appearance in the late 1880's of a Western Secretarial Training Institute and the development in the early 1890's of a "Y.M.C.A. Training School for the West"—which eventually became George Williams College—and the parallel development of its own student summer conferences, much of the essential program and activity of the Movement became the property of the great central region.

The Y.M.C.A. naturally followed westward migration to the Pacific Coast. Real growth there dated from a visit of Moody to San Francisco in 1880. He was accompanied by Thomas K. Cree, associate secretary of the International Committee. The San Francisco Association was completely reorganized and a dynamic secretary, Henry J. McCoy, secured. Although there were then only two Y.M.C.A.'s in the state, by 1885 there were seventeen and three state conventions had been held.<sup>120</sup>

A comparable stimulus and development radiated from Portland and Seattle. In these regions the immature phases of Y.M.C.A. evolution were re-enacted: a lack of clear understanding of purpose, general church work, and excessive evangelism. Yet many were born without these phases, starting almost immediately with secretary, building, and fourfold program. The early 1890's saw the first secretarial training institutes in the Northwest,<sup>121</sup> intensive college visitation by the student staff,<sup>122</sup> and the definite acclimatization of the Y.M.C.A. idea in many communities. Nevertheless it was a source of regret in 1895 that there were as yet no Associations in Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, western Colorado, western Texas, or Arizona, which were said to have sixty cities

in which Y.M.C.A.'s could be "established at once, and where one year from now the work might be self-supporting." But they could not be expected to "grow up in time": they "must be fully established." A secretary called to such a western city must be "peculiarly a man of God" having "grip, grit, and grace." And the work would need careful supervision—in fact, declared a speaker at the Convention of 1895, "the Western field presents eleven problems to one in the East."<sup>123</sup>

Out of his awareness of such problems Weidensall in 1887 proposed to the International Committee a regional plan of supervision that contained the essential principles of the area organizations of fifty years later. He called for supervision of natural groupings of states by a staff of specialists representing every department of the Committee's work. Each district would be under a local subcommittee of the International Committee. Unfortunately, Weidensall mentioned in his letter that he had discussed the plan with a Methodist bishop, whose ecclesiastical system might well have suggested the idea. This aspect of the proposal aroused Brainerd's antagonism more than the scheme itself, but to both he gave a resounding veto: a Methodist bishop's opinion wouldn't be "worth a straw" in supervising the Y.M.C.A.; the plan would "break the harmony and the uniformity of the work" and create a district or class feeling; the International Committee would have no real responsibility for the work in the states; and its general secretary would become "the simplest and merest cipher in the world." Brainerd concluded his six-page rebuttal, he said, "in all affection."<sup>124</sup> Yet the *Year Book* of 1896 indicated that the continent had been divided into sections and International secretaries placed in as many of them as resources permitted—a suggestion by Charles K. Ober.<sup>125</sup>

#### OTHER METHODS OF PROMOTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Extension of the Y.M.C.A. to special groups will be described in later chapters—work for railroad men, students, North American Indians, Negroes, boys, German-speaking Americans, commercial travelers, and young men in rural places. In addition, the pioneers of the city Young Women's Christian Association were welcomed as collaborators; greetings were exchanged and the wish expressed for co-operation "with so desirable an auxiliary."<sup>126</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 7, the Y.M.C.A. student secretary, Luther Wishard, was influential in aiding the formation and growth of student Y.W.C.A.'s and co-operated with them in numerous projects on many campuses. When the student

Y.W.C.A. and the earlier Women's Christian Association were united after many years' effort, much of the diplomacy was that of Morse.<sup>127</sup>

Through fully seventy-five years of Y.M.C.A. history the American Movement fostered a periodical. The origins of this in the enthusiasm of the Confederation will be recalled from Chapter 2. The ambitious Convention of 1866 authorized *The Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States and British Provinces*. On the rising crest of expansion this was made a monthly, its name changed, and the youthful Richard Morse hired as its editor: the first issue of *Association Monthly* appeared under the dateline of January, 1870. The venture at first appeared successful, but the depression of 1873 brought to a focus the difficulties that a Y.M.C.A. periodical has faced throughout the century: it did not support itself and it did not reach the broad clientele to which it was addressed. The *Monthly* proved too great a drain upon the young editor's time and energy, and it was suspended in 1873 in favor of an Association news column carried for a time in the *Illustrated Christian Weekly* of New York.

As conditions began to improve, the Chicago Y.M.C.A., like many others, began a magazine. Called *The Watchman*, it was at first astonishingly popular in the midwest. The Committee shied away from adopting the energetic and highly revivalistic sheet, but the Convention of 1877 gave a carefully worded blessing that allowed *The Watchman* to style itself the "National Official Organ."<sup>128</sup> However, after the novelty wore off, it proved only slightly more successful than the *Monthly*, falling periodically, as it were, into International Committee receivership. "Useful and helpful" it was, but year after year it failed to secure "the circulation and management that would place it on a self-supporting basis." Upon the assumption of the Chicago general secretaryship by L. Wilbur Messer, the name of the paper was changed to *The Young Men's Era*; it was published by a stock company and edited by a veteran International secretary. Five years and another failure—precipitated by depression—brought Morse to the reluctant conclusion that "there must be something in the Association secretaryship which disqualifies a man for the work of a successful editor and publisher." After several more false starts, in 1896 the journal came under the hand of Frank W. Ober as *Men*, and in 1899 as *Association Men*. Quality improved but finances did not. Just after 1900 the Committee took over the stock of the publishing company and moved the paper to New York. At the time of the first World



War it paid its way and for a while reached a circulation of 100,000.<sup>129</sup> Ober retired from the editorship in 1922; the depression ended the magazine in 1933, after more than sixty years of deficit financing and every imaginable editorial experiment. Morse's query of 1893 might well have been pointed at the membership and addressed toward reading habits, general interests, and social concerns. In contrast to the marked success of the Y.W.C.A. organ, *Woman's Press*, which was still being published in 1950 although heavily subsidized, the inference was unavoidable that the Y.M.C.A.'s refusal to discuss controversial issues vitiated the vitality of any periodical it might have published.

Virtually every state organization and a very great number of local Y.M.C.A.'s published their own organs or bulletins, mostly patterned after the International paper. In 1876 *The Watchman* reported that twenty Associations issued these; four years later there were fifty. The Movement's archivist, Jacob T. Bowne, encouraged their deposit in the growing collection of historical and other materials which he was obtaining almost single-handed through these years.<sup>130</sup> It was long maintained at the Springfield Training School after Bowne went there as the first instructor in 1885. This unrivaled collection was given to the International Committee in 1883. The convention of 1897 christened it "The Bowne Historical Library of the Y.M.C.A.," in tribute to its devoted and indefatigable founder.<sup>131</sup> The heyday of Association periodicals appears to have been the late 1880's, when Bowne was receiving well over 200, about two dozen of them from foreign countries.<sup>132</sup> With the depression of 1893 the number decreased by almost half,<sup>133</sup> but this was only a temporary decline, in spite of the fact that the local bulletin usually proved to be the same problem as was the International.<sup>134</sup> A few of these attracted attention beyond their local constituency.<sup>135</sup>

Compilation of data concerning the Movement, begun in 1854, was continued, with each Convention hearing an infinity of progress reports subsequently published in the proceedings; beginning in 1866 they were tabulated. When the Conventions became biennial these rapidly expanding tables were published as a *Year Book*, the first, for 1878, filling a volume of 102 pages. Together with Convention proceedings they comprised a manual of methods as well as facts. They were supplemented by a variety of pamphlets published by both the International and the state committees, touching upon all aspects of program. The official *Hand-Book*, based upon these pamphlets, first ap-

peared in 1888; its edition of 1892 was a complete manual of procedures and program.

Convinced of the value of publicity the organizations from the beginning advertised their activities widely. The International Conventions and their local, state, district, and specialized counterparts were headline conscious. Every president of the United States, beginning with U. S. Grant, in some way endorsed the Movement—by attending a Convention,<sup>136</sup> dedicating a building,<sup>137</sup> recalling his own Y.M.C.A. experience, perhaps itself a presidency,<sup>138</sup> or opening the White House to a conference.<sup>139</sup> One of the prime reasons for the selection of “young business and professional men who have the confidence of the community” as board members was the prestige they lent the organization.<sup>140</sup> Valuable publicity was obtained through exhibits at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition<sup>141</sup> and other world’s fairs,<sup>142</sup> from special Y.M.C.A. days at Chautauqua Lake and other summer centers,<sup>143</sup> from the series of mass meetings at the Chicago Exposition of 1893.<sup>144</sup> The jubilees of 1894 and 1901 achieved astonishing newspaper coverage, the latter having been developed by a publicity bureau that worked for months. The great caution exercised to keep hands off controversial political or social questions was largely motivated by the desire to consolidate “favorable public sentiment.”<sup>145</sup> The most deeply rooted confidence obtained by the Movement through any single individual or agency in this period resulted from the unqualified endorsement and life-long sympathy of Dwight L. Moody, who typified and in a sense spoke for the great body of evangelical Protestant opinion and action.<sup>146</sup>

#### PROMOTION BY STATE ORGANIZATIONS

The growing state Y.M.C.A.’s devoted themselves to similar promotion, which was at first chiefly evangelistic and was carried on by laymen. The first state secretaries were almost to a man ministers or lay evangelists, and their state organizations were arenas in which the purpose of the Movement was dramatically argued during this period.

The organizing convention of the Vermont Y.M.C.A. set the pattern to be followed by most of the New England state programs for almost two decades, being modeled in part after the revivalistic rallies already known in Massachusetts as “Christian Conventions.” Invitations were sent to Vermont pastors and churches in order to give “a broader scope” than Y.M.C.A. interests; the interdenominational aspect was stressed, and Moody was the featured speaker. A sister state organiza-

tion was long known as the "Y.M.C.A.'s and Evangelical Churches of New Hampshire"; its secretary, during a score of years, was an evangelist in demand throughout New England. The program of the Connecticut organization followed this pattern for almost twenty years. Indiana's first secretary was an evangelist often called to campaign in other fields. The much copied "Ohio Plan" divided that state into districts with a subcommittee in charge of religious and other work in each. Although this activity did not feature the fourfold emphasis and it often neglected the welfare of local associations, it laid solid foundations with the Protestant community.<sup>147</sup>

The Pennsylvania state Y.M.C.A. program was set up by men convinced of the fourfold approach,<sup>148</sup> and was regarded by International Committee authorities as the true form of state work. The state committee began by helping local Associations in various ways but especially in obtaining buildings; it also held district conventions and gradually expanded to work with boys and with railroad men. In 1877 McBurney delivered a forthright address to the New York state convention in which he expressed sympathy with the success of the New England form in "leading many souls to Christ" and quickening the churches, but felt that its general evangelism was "in no sense distinctively associational," being "practically a mission to churches and communities generally" rather than to young men or even Y.M.C.A.'s. In contrast, he regarded the Pennsylvania plan as "primarily a mission to young men and to Y.M.C.A.'s," the chief aim of the secretary and committee being to "bring up the Associations within their field to the highest point of service."<sup>149</sup>

McBurney further showed how this careful supervision strengthened local Associations, whereas the New England states had almost all reported the failure of many Y.M.C.A.'s and a decrease in the number of general secretaries. In all New England he said, there were but ten full-time employees, whereas Pennsylvania alone had thirteen, and a comparable disparity was evident in the smaller number of buildings and funds and their lesser valuation, although the populations of the two areas were about the same and the wealth of New England greater.

This widely read paper, published in pamphlet form by the International Committee, concluded with the telling statement that Pennsylvania had enjoyed the services of a state secretary "for 6 years and during 12 months of each year." It was influential in obtaining for the New York state work the full time of its able executive, George A.

Hall. In 1879 Massachusetts called a state secretary and directed him to devote himself chiefly to true Association work;<sup>150</sup> the next year I. E. Brown became state secretary of Illinois. These men and many like them—W. E. Lewis of Wisconsin, E. E. Stacy of Indiana, S. D. Gordon of Ohio, H. O. Williams of Virginia, R. M. Armstrong of Massachusetts-Rhode Island, W. A. Magee of Iowa—were the first of a long line of all-around field executives who developed state Y.M.C.A. constituencies and programs together with methods for solicitation of funds, securing personnel, conducting business affairs and conventions, organizing, reorganizing, succoring local Associations, helping them to obtain buildings, supervising the specializations, and fostering the new departures of these expanding years.<sup>151</sup>

Every state taking this step made tremendous strides. Some required additions to the staff, and the end of the 1880's saw the beginnings of departmental specialization in several<sup>152</sup> which were not hampered in this regard by the artificial limitation imposed upon International Committee secretaries by Brainerd's insistence that his men do general field work when needed. State coverage became so effective and so closely integrated with local Associations that before the turn of the century some of them began to feel that they were the primary units within the total Movement structure. In certain areas of cultivation, notably student work,<sup>153</sup> state and International agencies co-operated with remarkably little friction, but it was inevitable that tensions would appear.

#### "FROM ADVISOR TO SUPERVISOR"

When the World's Committee in 1894 marked the jubilee of the founding of the London Association with a volume of essays describing *Fifty Years' Work amongst Young Men in all Lands*, Morse contributed a paper that summarized the development of the Movement in the United States and Canada. He noted 1,400 Associations, of which 1,270 had recently reported 245,000 members. There were 1,200 general secretaries. Two hundred and ninety-seven buildings had been visited daily by 65,000 persons. Facilities were valued at \$14,694,400. Current expenses the previous year had amounted to \$2,138,540. The International Committee, whose secretarial force then numbered twenty-five, including five abroad, devoted itself to supervision and extension across America and to several foreign lands at an expense of \$66,000 that year. It also provided services related to personnel, buildings, finance,



publication, and program; it acted as a central agency for distribution of relief in times of emergency, promoted the observance of the week of prayer, arranged the International Conventions, and aided state and departmental conventions, "sending representatives to all." "Supplemental to and patterned after the International," Morse continued, were the thirty-seven state and provincial organizations in which fifty states and provinces participated; they enlisted 750 lay committee members and fifty executives; their expenditures had exceeded \$130,000 in the past year.<sup>154</sup>

Yet this was a time of change for the International Committee, "an organization at once strong and compact in its relations, flexible and elastic in its methods, and so, effective and far-reaching in its results," as it described itself in 1891.<sup>155</sup> Having outgrown the quarters provided by the New York Association it was now paying rent. The era surveyed in this chapter closed with Brainerd's resignation from the chairmanship on July 2, 1892, twenty-five years to the day from his appointment; James Stokes resigned his active membership the next year; Elbert B. Monroe,<sup>156</sup> the new chairman, died after holding office but two years; and in 1895 both Cleveland H. Dodge and McBurney resigned. Within two more years H. Thane Miller and several other members of the old guard were gone;<sup>157</sup> the reorganization of the Committee and its reorientation to the twentieth century will be the subject of Chapter 10.

A speaker at the testimonial banquet for Brainerd, when domestic electricity was still new and awesome, referred with real insight to the Committee and its chairman as "the great and invisible dynamo to which all the wires run" and from which there had flowed to the widely scattered Associations for a quarter of a century the inspiration of "this powerful and tireless international dynamic committee."<sup>158</sup> Brainerd protested that the leadership thus exerted had not been due to his own wisdom or even to that of its collective membership:

It is indisputably true, however, he declared, that the committee has been the leader under God in the development of the Associations all these long years. This, however, did not come about because any individual member knew all that was required, suggested all the advance movements, or devised all the means for bringing them about. It is due to the facts that through the correspondence of the committee, through its secretaries, and through its friends all over the land, the committee sought to gain, and did gain, the best views of the most efficient and devoted men in the lead in this work in every State in the Union, and when thus gained, it was the aim of the committee, acting collectively, to put into effective practical operation the

most advanced thought of the wisest and most devoted leaders, and in this effort they always met with the heartiest cooperation from all Association men. We never had opinions and plans of our own to force upon the Associations when, after careful consideration and frank conference, it appeared that there were better views and plans to be advocated. In the committee itself there was always careful and candid discussion; there was no sparing of persons; there was no failure to expose weakness,—but there was never a quarrel.<sup>159</sup>

The Committee, Brainerd continued, had met with but four instances of serious opposition during the quarter-century and these had all been resolved. Yet at that moment it was on the threshold of a virtual thirty years war growing out of the complex relationships that were building up in the formative years described in this chapter.

The Committee's evolution from advisor to supervisor was the natural outcome of its zeal. The line of development began at the Albany Convention and touched the far reaches of the continent with the appointment of corresponding members and the meeting of state conventions; it returned to the Committee with each succeeding Convention resolution that tightened qualifications for representation or laid out new fields to explore:<sup>160</sup> most of these measures were recommended by the Committee. By the mid-1880's the Committee's task had become definitely supervisory rather than pioneering. Weidensall remarked in his report for 1884 that there was no longer need for extensive and frequent visitation in order to work up interest. "The sentiment is already widespread, but needs to be properly directed."<sup>161</sup> Since the Committee promoted a specific type of work, it considered itself, as Brainerd said in his valedictory, the authority; the chairman had "set himself resolutely at work to bring the Associations into line."<sup>162</sup>

This naturally involved bringing its secretaries into line. On one of several occasions, when Weidensall threatened to resign because he felt that the Committee did not "have confidence" in his judgment, Brainerd replied that since the Committee was charged "with the responsibility of the work of the Associations the country over" it certainly knew better "than any one man and better than all other men the needs of the entire field."<sup>163</sup> In this particular situation, which had grown out of a critical problem requiring more of Weidensall's time than Brainerd thought necessary, Morse went west to confer with Weidensall, with the result that Weidensall was allowed to return to complete his task.<sup>164</sup> In highly controversial situations the Committee tried to "restrain and check such erratic tendencies" as the Kansas

Movement and usually succeeded, as we shall see in Chapter 8.<sup>165</sup> When the Movement spread to foreign countries, the Committee insisted upon applying the American assumptions.

The complications inherent in the growing complexity of the organization were too vast to be compassed by this History, yet the record is clear that the policies and methods of the Committee were more than once challenged. This first took the form of attempts to remove the Committee from New York. When a delegate to the Lowell Convention of 1872 asked why it should remain in New York, Brainerd appealed to the Convention to appoint a new committee in a new place, but it was re-elected unanimously.<sup>166</sup> Following the Cleveland Convention of 1881, at which incorporation was voted, agitation arose to move the headquarters to the West; Morse and Brainerd later went to Chicago to discuss the problem. The result, in Morse's judgment, was "one of the finest achievements of peace, through brotherly conference, which I ever saw and heard Chairman Brainerd or any other man accomplish"; later Morse thought of this as "a trivial eddy in a wide and strong current" although at the time it had loomed large.<sup>167</sup> When the act of incorporation was debated at the Convention of 1883, opposition came largely from the West, which wanted more representation on the Committee. The discussion indicated clearly that the rest of the country believed that New York, with a third of the membership, dominated the scene. The defense pointed out that half of the financial support of the Committee was obtained in New York—an unanswerable argument through most of Y.M.C.A. history—but the opposition claimed that it would contribute more if it were better represented.<sup>168</sup>

This Convention frustrated several leaders and trends that were especially strong in the Midwest. A few days after it, the able secretary of the St. Louis Association, Walter C. Douglass,<sup>169</sup> at that time planning to enter the ministry, wrote confidentially to McBurney relaying what he felt was a widespread "restlessness and discontent among secretaries at the growing assertion and control" by the International Committee. The "three principal elements of danger," as Douglass saw them were patronage, centralization, and "intolerance of freedom of discussion and difference of opinion coupled with an unrelenting and jealous control by the committee of the convention with all its machinery." Pointing to the isolation of New York from the rest of the country, this critic proposed equalizing the geographical representation on the

Committee, the total separation of personnel services from it, closer exchange between International and state conventions, a change in the method of planning the Conventions, and the holding of regional conventions. He went on to confide to McBurney the widespread but undercover criticism picked up especially in the South, that the organization—"a Yankee institution"—was wedded to the Republican party. The worst form of sectionalism—with which of course the Movement was forced to contend—was, in Douglass' judgment, for one small area "to arrogate to itself the right of control over all the mighty balance":

Five men in New York City like yourself, and your associates may be of phenomenally comprehensive brain and heart, and yet incapable of seeing, sympathizing properly with and planning for the whole country.

Concerned lest there arise a revolution comparable to the Reformation, Douglass hoped for "a little free discussion and wise adjustment" that might well "avert serious trouble" which he feared could actually break up the International agency into regional or state systems.<sup>170</sup>

It is not relevant to pursue the reams of correspondence and a conference precipitated by this outburst. But the International Committee reported to the Convention of 1885 that no plan for changing Convention representation had been suggested to it that was deemed "advisable to recommend for adoption."<sup>171</sup> At that Convention, one of the most esteemed midwestern leaders, H. Thane Miller, emphasized that in all interagency relationships sovereignty resided with the local Associations "and not with the State or International Conventions."<sup>172</sup> In addition, seventeen men testified to the importance of International supervision in their localities. The first use of such a technique at a Convention, this was obvious evidence that the Committee felt itself under fire.

In 1885 an International secretary, without clearing with the state executive, canvassed for funds for the railroad work in an Indiana community where matters had been "all arranged for a city ass'n." The state secretary complained to Morse that this had knocked his plans "all into pie"; it was "the same old thing, ignoring us, and has got to be stopped." He also held that the corresponding member for railroad work in the state was being overlooked: "And thus the State work is displaced, in our own field, at these points, by the International."<sup>173</sup> A few months earlier this state worker had declared to Brainerd that "the fault lies in the manner of doing your work. The



State Com. and Sec'y stand for nought in the minds of the local workers. The International Com. & Sec'y are everything to them." He added:

There is not a little alarm among Sec'ys and prominent workers all over the land, at the centralization of power in the hands of four or five men in New York, in the administration of Association affairs. It will require consummate skill,—aye, wisdom, to prevent explosion and wreck. I pray the Lord may grant it to you brethren in large measure, and to us all.<sup>174</sup>

At this same time the state executive of Pennsylvania, S. A. Taggart, was similarly offended by what he and others in that state regarded as an invasion of their province by Moody and several of the New York brethren. The Philadelphia Association had become so deeply involved in financial difficulties that it was faced with dissolution. Although the record is incomplete, it appears to have asked advice from McBurney, Morse, and Moody without clearing with Taggart. From this tempest there emerged the first clear statement of "states' rights," which was to assume increasing significance with the continued growth of state organizations. "I maintain," wrote Taggart to Brainerd, "that state secretaries are charged with supervision of 'state work' by their Executive Committees, within their several states, and have the right to be consulted as to any decided change in their field involving the interests of 'state work.'"<sup>175</sup>

\* \* \*

Thus the centralized structure produced by the Movement on this side of the Atlantic differed markedly from its loosely constituted parent, which had reached the point of national organization somewhat reluctantly and in part because of American influence almost forty years after its founding.<sup>176</sup> Some of the British regarded the American International Committee as an oligarchy and the Conventions so organized—chiefly because of the "great array of committees" appointed at their opening—as to be "almost impossible for any individual delegate, or clique of delegates, to successfully challenge any nomination." They saw this as a system that virtually reduced "the central representative body of the American Associations to the nominees of the few influential men at the centre of affairs." But it was conceded that the American Y.M.C.A. had been "well and wisely guided and directed" and perfect confidence was felt in the members of the governing body to whose system they were opposed.<sup>177</sup>

This chapter has traced the development of the organizational struc-

ture of the American Y.M.C.A. from the Civil War through the generation that retired in the 1890's. The period saw the growth of three parallel entities: local Y.M.C.A.'s of which New York was the unquestioned leader; the International Conventions and their authorized central Committee dedicated to the promotion of fourfold work for young men; out of this union were born the state organizations. Only a suggestion has been given of the significance of the International Committee; succeeding chapters will disclose its multitudinous activities. Without it there would have evolved an organism quite other than that which constituted the American Movement at the end of its first half-century, if indeed any structure whatever would have survived.

## Chapter 4 The Building Movement and the Emergence of the Secretary

Organized work requires a home. There must be a known center at and around which its forces gather and from which its influence radiates. To this rule associated work for young men is no exception.

—*Y.M.C.A. Hand-Book* of 1892

The secretaryship, it has been said, was created by McBurney. The New York building was certainly, in its design, significant of the secretary's central place in the association. The building movement and the secretaryship have developed together.

—L. L. DOGGETT<sup>1</sup>

AS THE MOVEMENT BEGAN to recover from the effects of the War, vigorous Associations found themselves impatient with the limitations of mere "rooms." Forced to move as their programs expanded, they next sought buildings, sometimes remodeled; then came structures designed for Association work. This chapter will describe the homes produced by a growing Movement and will indicate some of the features thus invented and popularized. Realistic thought was given to downtown location; new ideas took form in wood and brick when they proved to be effective program. Facilities were gradually made available for special groups—students, railroad men, foreign language Associations. The central agencies aided in the promotion and financing of buildings, which it was soon discovered could not be maintained without professional workers. The secretaryship paralleled the construction of specialized facilities and presented at once basic challenges in personnel selection and training. The appearance and rise of well-articulated training programs for these professional workers represented the coming-of-age of the Movement.

No nineteenth century Y.M.C.A. worker conceived of a program apart from rooms or a building that took the shape of what went on in it and from it. Program and building were simultaneous developments, for what could be done depended upon the facilities at hand,

and was in turn conditioned by them.<sup>2</sup> Hence the hope of every Association for a home of its own. When a new building or expanded rooms were opened, activities and attendance spurted forward, reached a certain point, and remained fairly stable for some time. Major increases in the number served were usually related to improved facilities. In a real sense the building epitomized the nineteenth century Y.M.C.A.: an institutionalized program fixed by material equipment. Not until the social cataclysm of the great depression in the 1930's was this viewpoint seriously shaken. The building movement may also be viewed as an aspect of the real estate speculation that accompanied the growth of towns and cities.

### THE FIRST Y.M.C.A. BUILDINGS

As rented rooms were outgrown or outmoded the first thought occurring to many hopeful Associations was to buy and remodel or construct a building. None of the structures so obtained represented a change in either purpose or program. As was described in Chapter 1, the Baltimore Association had built such a home in 1859. San Francisco purchased a small "storefront" and "fitted it up for the use of the Association, at a cost of \$2,100," in 1864.<sup>3</sup> Four years later the Association at Shoreham, Vermont, at a cost of \$2,000 erected a frame building with a hall seating 250 persons, a library, and a lecture room, which it shared with the local Methodist congregation.<sup>4</sup> In the same year the Omaha Association bought a small frame structure that was replaced with a two-story wooden building the next year.<sup>5</sup> Also in 1868 the Association at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, dedicated a three-story brick front valued with furnishings at \$25,000,<sup>6</sup> and the Philadelphia organization obtained a home valued at \$75,000.<sup>7</sup> Early in 1869 the New Utrecht branch of the Brooklyn Association—subsequently independent for many years—dedicated a building that had cost \$3,000.<sup>8</sup> All of these simply provided ownership of rooms.

The "building movement" to house the fourfold program was in a sense anticipated by the Chicago Association under Moody's presidency, when in September of 1867 it dedicated the first "Farwell Hall," a \$200,000, five-story building on a strategic downtown site given by J. V. Farwell. Its largest unit was an auditorium seating 3,500 persons. The ground floor was rented for income; the library, reading room, lecture room, and offices occupied second-floor space. There were forty-two dormitory rooms "intended for the use of young men who could



not afford more ample accommodations," and "a large hall now occupied by a gymnasium" operated by an outside athletic club. Heated by steam and decorated "in imitation of oak and black walnut" the building had "all the modern conveniences." It was built, Moody declared,

with the one central thought of raising a beacon light in the great Northwest that shall penetrate with its healing beams of Gospel goodwill every hamlet and town that may be reached by the net-work of railroads radiating from this centre, and forever to be a Christian home for the stranger young men coming to this city. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately it was burned to the ground three months after completion. The Association economized on its successor by reducing the size of the auditorium and omitting the dormitory and gymnasium. It was of this second building that Richard Morse formed an adverse opinion on his first visit to Chicago in 1870. The contrast between it and the New York structure seemed to dramatize "the two differing phases of work then prevalent in the associations." It was lost in the great fire of 1871. The third Farwell Hall, completed in 1874, had a still smaller auditorium but neither dormitory nor gymnasium, until the latter was added in 1879 after considerable agitation, delay, and a final push by Moody.<sup>10</sup>

The actualization of "Association architecture" began in 1869. The first of the three buildings of that year was the "beautiful and spacious home of the Association in Washington," dedicated September 30. Its auditorium, said to be the most elegant in the capital, seated 1,300 persons. Its reading room, library, offices, and committee rooms were features common to other Y.M.C.A.'s of the time. But "rooms suitable for studios and lodging rooms" and the "gymnasium, bath and dressing rooms" were new. "In the Gymnasium," said the *Association Monthly*, "the work of bodily culture goes on bravely, a new class having been lately organized."<sup>11</sup> On a smaller scale, but equally significant, was a building in San Francisco completed in November, 1869, at a cost of \$57,000; it boasted a large gymnasium, baths, a bowling alley, "a small ladies' parlor," and a chess room.<sup>12</sup>

Both of these were modeled after the magnificent \$487,000 home of the New York City Association dedicated on December 2, 1869. It covered almost one-third of an acre at Fourth Avenue and East Twenty-third Street. Its picture graced the front page of the first issue of *Association Monthly*, whose youthful editor both lived and worked

there. Planned as a model for the fourfold work, it contained most of the features common to all Y.M.C.A. quarters of the day, including a "Grand Hall" seating 1,500 persons and equipped with a \$10,000 organ. The feature that struck all visitors as unique and that gave unity to the building was the central lobby, designed by McBurney and used by him as a public office—a symbol of the relation of the executive to the program. Seven exits led from it to all departments, including the physical, which had a gymnasium fifty by seventy feet, baths, and a bowling alley. The first floor was mostly given over to stores for rental; the lobby was on the second, as were the reading room, two parlors or lounges, and the secretary's private office; the library and class and lecture rooms occupied the third story. The library had space for 20,000 books; its shelves covered three walls two stories in height, "reached by galleries and light iron stairs"; it was "well lighted and neatly decorated in fresco." The fourth and fifth floors were given to artists' studios for income; they were later remodeled into classrooms. The central tower room became the lifelong home of McBurney, the Association's beloved and influential secretary.

This building inspired the editor of the *Monthly* to request a distinguished clergyman to write for the first issue of the paper an article on "The Association in Architecture," which pointed out that "each leading phase of Christianity, in its turn, has found expression in the buildings devised or appropriated for its use." In historic continuity with the major forms of church architecture, the Twenty-third Street building was declared to be the latest expression of ecclesiastical building art—"an embodiment of a phase of Christianity" at once practical and refining, one that believed in work yet provided for recreation, while keeping "ever uppermost the spiritual culture of the heart."<sup>13</sup> Featured in *Harper's* as "the finest home erected for young men under Christian auspices anywhere in the world," the building was, the writer thought, "the handsomest club-house in the city of New York."<sup>14</sup> "Thus a new impulse seems to have been given to every department of labor in which the brethren are engaged," wrote Morse, adding that "every association without an edifice of its own, should take immediate steps toward accumulating a building fund. . . ."<sup>15</sup>

#### THE BUILDING MOVEMENT

As scores of Associations moved to put this advice into effect, the influence of the New York model was tremendous if somewhat slow

in taking form. Embodying "the essential features which have ever since characterized Y.M.C.A. buildings as a peculiar architectural type," it was once estimated to have been the prototype of at least 330 Association structures on this and other continents. Four years after its completion there were thirty-eight buildings valued at \$1,914,000 and forty-three building funds totaling almost half a million dollars. Not until 1887 was a million dollars in annual construction reached, at which time the total property valuation was \$5,611,000, with indebtedness of \$854,000. By then the New York plan had superseded the British pattern among Canadian Associations, notably Toronto, whose new building of 1885 had been modeled after it. In the next seven years 245 Associations invested almost ten million dollars in new homes. Of these, the most elaborate was the first steel skyscraper Y.M.C.A., of thirteen stories, completed in downtown Chicago in 1894. Valued at \$1,700,000 it was declared to be "the most costly of the association buildings of the world." It marked the end of one building era and the beginning of another which will be treated in Chapter 11.

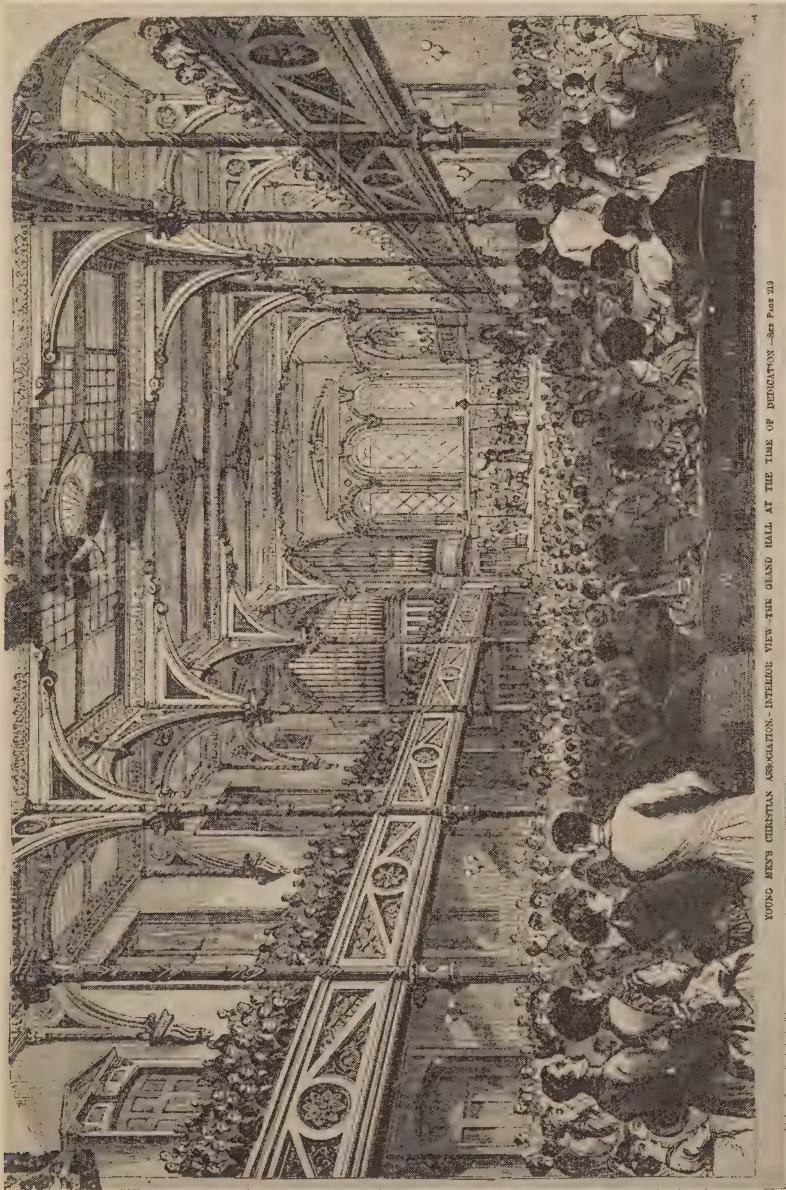
Through most of this period two trends continued: many smaller Associations reproduced their modest rooms in small buildings,<sup>16</sup> while the larger Y.M.C.A.'s of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Brooklyn had by the mid-1880's followed the New York design. Many Associations in smaller cities, of which Auburn, New York, was typical, built for the fourfold work on a lesser scale.

At first these buildings were located much as had been the rooms of the earlier Associations. "With few exceptions," declared a speaker at the Convention of 1887,

... buildings in cities have been erected on prominent business streets. They have been designed to be conspicuous, so conspicuous that everybody must see them. They have challenged attention and constituted one of the most effective advertisements of the Association. Being situated on business thoroughfares, with stores and offices to rent, a considerable net revenue has been received. The Associations have been in a measure endowed by these revenues, and therefore have been supposed to need less money from the public for current expenses.

But this policy was undergoing revision. The need for revenue was less pressing, so that a building could now be located "with more strict regard to the work to be done in it." Toward the close of this era, the trend in some quarters was definitely away from buildings in the business section and on corners, toward "the home type";<sup>17</sup> whether part





INTERIOR OF THE TWENTY-THIRD STREET BUILDING, NEW YORK, 1869

Reproduced from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Dec. 18, 1869.



of the property should be rented was being debated. "The location should be an attractive one," declared a speaker at the Convention of 1887,

... but it can be selected more on the principles which govern the location of a handsome residence, or a social or political club house of the best class, than on those which govern the location of a mercantile house. Questions of revenue in all cases should now be subordinated. . . .

*The Hand-Book* of 1892 gave specific suggestions:

In a large city a location is generally sought near some center of travel. Several Associations, in determining the sites for their buildings, have ascertained by actual count the spot in the city passed by the largest number of young men in a given time, and have purchased lots at that point. The border between the business and residence portions, between "up" and "down" town, is often a good location. In a growing place the probable drift of business is to be considered. There is in every town a popular section, and generally a "right side" of the street. A corner lot gives a more extended outlook, and affords better facilities for air and light.

Such a building had a meeting hall; gymnasium; rooms for reception, amusements, classes and perhaps shops; a library; "some suitable room for the smaller gatherings of young men; inquiry room and convenient rooms for the multiplying Bible classes." Great care was taken to make the entrance "the main feature to the passer-by." I. E. Brown declared in his sketch of the building movement in 1895 that the modern Association home ought to contain not simply the hall and reading room, but "twenty or thirty or forty rooms, each designed for its own specific work." Yet this was not, he hastened to add, simply a multiplication of rooms:

There has been a gradual development of an association type of building, with its central reception room as the key to the whole, from which all the different departments and rooms of the building are readily reached.

Thus was the influence of the New York prototype summarized twenty-five years after its completion. In this development the eastern cities led. Outside of the larger places buildings came slowly in the Midwest and Far West; not until 1887 was there a standard type structure in a southern city of fair size.<sup>18</sup>

#### FEATURES OF ASSOCIATION ARCHITECTURE

As technological advances made them feasible, "swimming baths" were incorporated in new buildings and added to older ones. The first one in a Y.M.C.A. was in the Brooklyn building of 1885. It was forty-

five by fifteen feet and five feet deep.<sup>19</sup> In 1887 pools were included in new structures at Milwaukee and Detroit.<sup>20</sup> The next one was in the Harlem Branch, New York. By the time I. E. Brown published his *Book of Y.M.C.A. Buildings* in 1895, there were at least seventeen "plunge baths" or "natatoriums" in use. Baths—usually metal tubs—had been integral to most of the original gymnasiums, but converting these into showers sometimes involved amusing makeshifts, as when Chicago installed what was said to be the first such device in that city—with one hot and one cold nozzle between which the bather alternated.<sup>21</sup> Bowling alleys had been included in the San Francisco and New York buildings of 1869. They gradually won their way into virtually every Y.M.C.A. Many Associations also had what were called "amusement rooms" that were used for chess, billiards, and other games, though not without a struggle against the current taboos.

The first dormitory in a building constructed for Y.M.C.A. purposes was that of the first Farwell Hall of 1867, but it was twenty years until the next one. In the meantime many Associations experimented with emergency dormitories during periods of unemployment. The most significant of these was established in connection with the Bowery Branch of the New York City Association in 1873; that year Brainerd endorsed the idea and remarked that several Y.M.C.A.'s were maintaining such accommodations.<sup>22</sup> The Harrisburg Association opened a dormitory in a renovated hotel in 1877 and maintained it several years.

The idea took hold slowly. Although Milwaukee incorporated this feature in its edifice erected in 1887, the *Hand-Book* of 1892 did not suggest the dormitory among the specifications "desirable for a fully organized work." Two years later the *Young Men's Era* published its first photographs of a "sleeping room" in an American Y.M.C.A.—at Schenectady; a dormitory had been built at almost exactly the same time in the new building of the Hartford Association.<sup>23</sup> The next year I. E. Brown remarked in his *Book of Y.M.C.A. Buildings* that although the dormitory plan had proved "very satisfactory" as a device for revenue, stores and offices were preferable for this purpose. In 1898 *Men* editorialized that dormitories would be more in keeping with Association purposes than other revenue-producing devices and declared that the Milwaukee experiment had "thoroughly satisfied the Association of the wisdom of that arrangement," citing similar success at Minneapolis, Bridgeport, Cambridge, and Montreal.<sup>24</sup> The West Side building in New York, largely designed by McBurney and completed

in the closing years of his life, had two floors of dormitory rooms. After the turn of the century an increasing proportion of the new buildings included this feature, which appears to have won its way as an income-producing device rather than as an extension of the program for young men.

The development of restaurants in Y.M.C.A.'s was similar. Many an Association fed the hungry during depression winters, and some thought of the idea as a temperance device.<sup>25</sup> Although the practice had been part of the London program from its beginning, the first successful lunchroom in an American Association was opened in the Grand Central Railroad Y.M.C.A. in New York City about 1890, but it was five years before the feature was discussed at a railroad Y.M.C.A. conference.<sup>26</sup> The restaurant of the Schenectady Association, pictured in the *Era* for November 29, 1894, was thought by George A. Hall, state secretary for New York, to be the first "in connection with our associations in this country." The next several months saw considerable interest in the matter at conventions and in the *Era*, but it does not appear to have become an integral part of the plan of buildings for some time.<sup>27</sup> In 1897 it was said by a prominent railroad Y.M.C.A. secretary that lunchrooms were "a necessary part of the equipment of all Railroad Associations" and were being maintained successfully by several.<sup>28</sup> It remained, however, for the new building movement of the twentieth century to incorporate this feature into Association architecture. Distinctly a European idea, it was not popular with American Y.M.C.A. pioneers.<sup>29</sup>

In extending its facilities to varied groups and segments of the population, the nineteenth century Y.M.C.A. followed the pattern of a divided and segregated Protestantism and built separately for each of its constituencies. The first building exclusively for railroad employees was constructed at West Detroit in 1878. The Princeton campus was the location of Murray Hall, the first structure for student use, completed the next year. Not until 1884 was the first building for German-speaking young men purchased, by the New York City Association. Five years later the first building to be owned by a Negro Y.M.C.A. was obtained by the colored Association of Richmond, Virginia.<sup>30</sup> Each specialized field saw an evolution from simple to complex facilities similar to the pattern of the Movement at large, with the obvious exception that in most cases the elaborate equipment for physical work was omitted or minimized—especially in college buildings.

## HOW TO GET A BUILDING

One of the great questions of this era was how to obtain a building. To this end the position of the International Committee as a clearing house came to be of strategic importance. The matter was discussed at International Conventions, and the *Monthly*, *The Watchman*, and the *Era* pled with Associations to consult with competent architects, and published pictures and plans that kept the entire Movement informed and stimulated. When the Twenty-third Street building was still less than a year old, William E. Dodge, Jr., wrote in the *Monthly* on "How to Secure a Building"; similar articles continued, many being issued in pamphlet form.<sup>31</sup> A thirty-seven page section of the *Hand-Book* discussed the advantages of owning a building, the best location, and specified in some detail its arrangement and construction. As early as 1886, the International Committee office worked out a suggested floor plan which was sent to fifteen Associations that asked for ideas, although the Building Bureau was not organized until many years later.<sup>32</sup> The *Book of Y.M.C.A. Buildings*, with its many illustrations and floor plans, did much to spread the idea and the necessary architectural precautions. Not the least of the services rendered by the International agencies was the holding of Conventions in cities or areas that needed standard buildings—as in Atlanta in 1885.

The most important problem related to a building was how to finance it. The first scheme utilized by the larger Associations was a joint-stock plan whereby subscribers received shares and were to be paid interest; the first Chicago and Washington structures were so financed. The Associations appear to have hoped that the stockholders would prove generous and later turn over their shares to it; in Chicago it turned out this way—perhaps because of confidence in Moody, Farwell, and other leaders—but the Washington Association lost its building when the stockholders refused to compromise. This method was strongly disapproved by the New York leaders and was denounced at several Conventions. Associations soon learned that, as a speaker said at an early Convention, "a man good in prayer meeting is not always a successful financier," and so they turned to a board of "cautious Christian business men" in whom the public had confidence as John Wanamaker advised.

The approved procedure was to begin with a building fund, moving toward the purchase of a well-situated lot. The drive began with as many large subscriptions as possible and continued, often over an



extended period of time, with the solicitation of small donors.<sup>33</sup> In this process, the women's auxiliaries often rendered strategic aid. When sufficient resources were available the building was started, though usually completed under a mortgage. Thus the New York City building was commenced when less than half the total cost was in hand; upon its completion a special campaign raised \$50,000, but there remained a mortgage of \$150,000 which stood for seven years.<sup>34</sup> Although there were some fortunate Associations that received large gifts toward their buildings, none obtained them as virtual grants from a single source except the Brooklyn Association, which, in 1885, received the \$300,000 benefaction of the heirs of Frederick Marquand. The structure, the cornerstone of which was laid by Moody, was the most complete building in the Association world at that time.<sup>35</sup> Steps were early taken to exempt Y.M.C.A. real estate from taxation.<sup>36</sup>

Local Y.M.C.A.'s soon learned that they could not expect direct aid from the International Conventions or Committee, a precedent having been set by the refusal of the Convention of 1865 to do more than commend the plan of the Washington Association to buy Ford's Theatre and convert it into a home and shrine. Yet a good share of the services of the Committee to local Y.M.C.A.'s was in the form of first aid to those that got themselves into financial difficulty, the commonest cause of which was starting construction before adequate funds had been raised. The conservative attitude of the Committee at this point was indicative of the restraining influence of New York financiers upon the speculative tendencies of the times. An astonishingly long list could be compiled of those Y.M.C.A.'s calling upon the supervisory agencies for emergency service.<sup>37</sup> So insistent were these demands that Weidensall in 1886 proposed that the Committee enlist several men who would be on call, to be paid by the Associations served, for fund-raising and trouble shooting. This was done, and Morse called them "finangelists."<sup>38</sup>

Upon Moody's return from Great Britain in the mid-1870's he soon became the organization's first and foremost great money raiser. Known in his earlier Chicago days for "lightning Christianity"—when he started subscriptions for the second Farwell Hall before the ashes of the first were cold—he unquestionably raised more money than anyone else in the nineteenth century to refinance or build Y.M.C.A.'s, and laid the foundations for the "short-term" financial canvass. In 1876, following a great evangelistic campaign suggested by the

Y.M.C.A. board of directors, he raised the mortgage on the New York building plus \$50,000 for the Bowery Branch.<sup>39</sup> Regarded by business men as "one of us" he twice "saved" the Brooklyn Association when its property had been endangered by depression.<sup>40</sup> In 1881 he lifted a debt of \$83,886.21 on the San Francisco building,<sup>41</sup> reorganized its board of directors, and put them in touch with a dynamic new secretary. On two occasions he raised \$200,000 to free the Philadelphia Association from a crushing debt. Other similar efforts by Moody were made in behalf of the Associations of St. Louis, Albany, and Newburgh, New York.<sup>42</sup>

This combination of evangelism and fund-raising, by which Moody dramatized the Association cause before many an American community, was not his monopoly. C. H. Yatman, evangelist-secretary of Newark, declared that the Lord through his instrumentality had used "plan, push, pluck, piety and prayer" (possibly in that order) in obtaining a building for that city. Yatman also obtained \$48,000 for a new building at Wichita in connection with evangelistic meetings for young men.<sup>43</sup> There were others who utilized this method, which in a sense was the beginning of the short-term campaign later perfected by the Y.M.C.A.

#### THE EFFECTS OF OWNING A BUILDING

A building adds "immeasurably to the influence of our societies," it was said at the Convention of 1867: "It is more than the mere power of property. The ideal of permanency or real power flows from the fact." When the Omaha Association completed its two-story frame home its president wrote to the *Monthly* that "we have secured the confidence of the community in our permanency." The thought of this era was well summarized by Robert A. Orr, general secretary at Pittsburgh, who described to the Convention of 1885 the results of his Association's having occupied its own new building a year—in an address that was printed in pamphlet form and widely distributed by the International Committee. Pointing out that income from the rented portions of the structure had increased the effectiveness of the program, he proceeded to describe fourteen ways in which the building had proved itself. His analysis was typical of what took place in dozens of Associations: membership had increased from 563 to 1358, 48 per cent of the new men being non-Protestant and 60 per cent within the ages of twenty and twenty-four; there had been a 28 per cent increase

in the young men "actively engaged in some one or more of the departments" of the work; attendance at weekly religious meetings had risen 37 per cent and there was an increase of 40 per cent in the number publicly expressing "a desire to enter upon the Christian life." Gymnasium membership of ninety-eight was clear gain, as they had had none before. Evening classes, also new, had attracted ninety-one students, and general evening attendance had increased 90 per cent, in addition to specific attractions. Further, "active and intelligent young men have been interested for the first time in Association work," the spirit of which had been "strengthened and deepened." Orr could say, as had earlier workers, that "the position of the Association in the eyes of the community in general is greatly raised":

... we are now recognized as one of the institutions of the city, with valuable property, with a large and increasing membership and with an influence over thousands of young men which is felt in every part of the city. We are no longer a merely private society, doing good to neighbors, but with no special claims upon the public, no longer a society without a home or any assurance of permanency, liable at any time to succumb to the increase of financial or other difficulties, but we are recognized everywhere as a permanent fixture, entitled to respect and confidence because of success, and for these reasons, because we are successful and valuable property has been committed to us, men feel that we are worthy of their sympathy and support, and those who have been lukewarm or indifferent hitherto are beginning to realize that a society organized for the benefit of young men has strong claims upon all classes of men.

His building, concluded Orr, "open day and evening inviting young men to make use of it," was a continual contradiction of "the sneering assertion sometimes made, that the churches care only for the advancement of their own particular denominational interests and that business men are interested only in their own personal gains. . . . Our building is an unanswerable argument for the necessity of a Young Men's Christian Association." A comparable testimony from John Wanamaker concerning the new building at Philadelphia that same year has often been quoted:

No better investment has ever been made in this city by its merchants and business men than the gymnasium, library, reading room, and halls that they have made for its young men.<sup>44</sup>

The possession of large properties naturally increased the importance of the boards of trustees holding and governing them. As was the case with Pittsburgh, all new buildings brought marked increases in membership. This was, however, simply a higher limit upon the number

of young men reached; some of the new buildings were outgrown in two years or less. Virtually all Y.M.C.A.'s obtained tax exemption in connection with expansion, and they were counseled by the International Committee to incorporate. Maintenance of larger structures and programs usually entailed budgetary revision and increase. Perhaps the most sincere testimony to the value of Association buildings was the copying of many of their features by what were known in the 1890's as "institutional" churches housing comparable recreational, educational, or health services.<sup>45</sup> Morse estimated that the value of these in New York was more than twice that of the many Y.M.C.A. buildings that followed "Old 23rd Street" in that city.<sup>46</sup>

#### THE FIRST SECRETARIES

"The four-fold work," wrote Morse, "called for a secretary and a building." The latter, however, made the secretary imperative, as many Associations found after attempting to get along without one. Some leaders thought that the secretary should be obtained first, and this was the usual procedure, but the rapid multiplication of buildings forced Associations to face up to the necessity of "proper and constant management," by "men of experience," as *The Watchman* editorialized in 1884. The result of obtaining a trained man was comparable to what took place upon occupying a new building;<sup>47</sup> the problem was that there were few trained men.

With the exception of L. P. Rowland of Boston, none of those who served as paid Association executives prior to the War remained in the work afterward or made the Y.M.C.A. a career. Thus the secretaryship was created in the immediate post-War years by a few leaders, the outstanding figure among whom was McBurney. In 1864 he and Rowland were joined by Alfred Sandham, who was to give distinguished leadership to the Montreal Association for many years.<sup>48</sup> To the services of the Chicago Association's "tract superintendent" there were added in 1865 the dynamic energies of Moody who, as "librarian and agent," and for a time president as well, made that Y.M.C.A. a force in the life of the city.<sup>49</sup> Lang Sheaff began a significant career at Cincinnati in 1866;<sup>50</sup> the first of the following year saw the installation by the Brooklyn Association of a "chaplain and actuary" to manage its strongly evangelical program.<sup>51</sup> In 1868 the Reverend George A. Hall entered upon what was to be one of the most influential secretarial careers of this period, at Washington; the Reverend J. B. Brandt commenced at



Indianapolis;<sup>52</sup> and Weidensall was hired by the International Committee. The next year Morse began, as did Thomas J. Wilkie at Toronto on a salary of \$550.<sup>53</sup> 1870 saw additions to the growing force of full-time workers by the Associations of Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, and Dayton; the following summer, when the Y.M.C.A. Secretaries' Association was organized, there were fourteen paid workers at the Washington Convention and doubtless others who did not attend. Two years later, when the first official list was compiled, there were fifty-three names on it, and Weidensall's had absent-mindedly been omitted; one was that of S. A. Taggart, the first state executive of Pennsylvania.<sup>54</sup> In 1880 there were 111 secretaries of local Associations, thirteen state executives, nine International secretaries, and forty-five "assistants and other agents." The *Year Book* of 1895 indicated that these had increased to a grand total of 1159. As the Movement grew, secretaries for work among Germans, railroad men, students, Negroes, and American Indians were required, as well as specialists in physical education, boys' work, and education.

All of these men came from the characteristically pious homes of evangelical Protestants. The great majority had been converted in their youth and many were inspired to enter Y.M.C.A. work at a state or International convention.<sup>55</sup> Most of the outstanding secretaries were recruited from the ministry or had planned to enter it; many had theological training and not a few were evangelists. The new profession was in fact often compared to the ministry, quite as Association architecture was considered a new form of church building. At the recognition service for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the New York secretary a speaker declared that no pastor of the city had given a service "so useful and extended" as the ministry of McBurney. C. K. Ober was a secretary forty years "without discovering that [he] was not in the Christian ministry." As the fourfold program developed and the building era converted the organization into a business concern, the executive function came to the fore and many men—most notably Moody—who felt themselves called to preach left the secretaryship, which thus mirrored the changing concepts of both philosophy and work.

When the secretarial office was first conceived, remuneration for it was often on a par with the janitorial services which many of its incumbents also performed. By 1881 the average annual salary had risen to \$880 and the average age was thirty-two; recent recruits were pre-

dominantly from business rather than from the ministry or teaching. An analysis in 1887 showed that about four-fifths of the men then in the secretaryship had entered it from business, with the rest about equally divided between religious pursuits and those entering directly from school or college. The great majority were Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. They averaged twenty-nine and one-half years of age and 45 per cent were married. Most of them had been in the work less than three years.<sup>56</sup>

The great demand for secretaries forced the International Committee in 1871 to begin a personnel service that ultimately grew into the Secretarial Bureau.<sup>57</sup> The greatest problem of the Movement was, as a convention speaker lamented in 1890, the lack of qualified men. To the chagrin of the student department, few college men entered the secretaryship and some of the best positions went begging for lack of competent candidates;<sup>58</sup> Morse, Hall, and Weidensall appear to have been the only college-trained men among the founders of the Association of Secretaries. By the early 1880's the personnel service, which was, of course, only advisory, required the time of one staff member, and in 1883 J. T. Bowne was called to this position. He placed an average of nine men each month the first year, while an equal number found positions through their own or other agencies, thus rendering one of the most important services provided by the Committee. Bowne conceived the task of the Bureau as investigation of the qualifications of candidates, suggesting training programs to them, and connecting them with Associations. The entire International staff co-operated, finding a major problem in local Associations that did not appreciate the value of high standards. When Bowne was called to the new Springfield Training School in 1885, the Bureau was taken over by Erskine Uhl; in the late 1890's it was placing 120 men per year under the able direction of John Glover.<sup>59</sup>

Recruiting competent secretaries became a major endeavor as the fourfold idea began to take hold. The demand for qualified men was unquenchable. The chief method used to meet it, and the most effective one, was the personal counseling of experienced secretaries with candidates, often young men trained in their own organizations. A few men emerged who were gifted at this point—Weidensall, who first interested Luther Wishard; G. A. Hall, "discoverer of men," who obtained Bowne; James McConaughy, who secured Sherwood Eddy;<sup>60</sup> C. K. Ober, who enlisted Mott. L. W. Messer was another among many,

but every genuinely successful secretary then and since has thus experienced "the privilege of helping some young man find his way into a larger life."<sup>61</sup> Public methods were utilized. Leaders presented the appeal of the profession to students at the first Northfield conferences.<sup>62</sup> Articles in *The Watchman* and the *Era* set forth the attractions of the secretaryship as a life career (to combat its being thought a mere stepping stone). Special efforts were made to interest college students, but with discouraging results,<sup>63</sup> although Mott testified before many of them his conviction that this calling offered "young men who enter it today a greater opportunity for influencing their generation than has ever been had by young men in any other calling."

As these appeals were made and testimonies set forth as to what the work had meant in the personal experience of veteran secretaries, a concept of the ideal executive emerged. At the beginning, religious considerations had been primary: in 1869 the Washington Association was so proud of its secretary, G. A. Hall, that it recommended to every Y.M.C.A. in the country "the employment of a paid secretary if such an one can be found who combines urbanity of manners with an absorbing interest in the salvation of souls." About the same time the state committee of Ohio was looking for "some earnest warm-hearted and discreet Christian man" to cultivate its field. When the Executive Committee created the position that was filled by Morse they thought its incumbent should

. . . attend to the formal correspondence of the Committee, visit Associations, attend State Conventions and edit the *Monthly*. He could also visit places not remote from the Central Office, assist in organizing new Associations, and perhaps meet some of the frequent calls to address meetings with which the Committee will be honored.<sup>64</sup>

A decade later a state secretary declared that the holder of that office should have business experience and that a college education was desirable but not necessary: "He ought to be a man of pleasing manners, of good address, careful in conversation, tidy in dress, and of such clean habits that no young man would go astray in making him his model."

It soon developed that business ability and tact were more important than oratorical or platform qualifications. Energy, a clear head, education, and common sense were suggested as basic requisites. There was some difference of opinion as to whether secretaries were born or made. McBurney, a bachelor, believed the secretary should be a mar-



ried man and that he should know "all about Association work and how it is done,"—which could readily be acquired through experience. Weidensall differed, believing that it should be made a profession, and prophetically told the Convention of 1872 that schools must be set up in which young men could be trained for the secretaryship in three or four years. A dozen years later, in a series of articles in *The Watchman*, he described the general secretary as a general manager, the director of a host of workmen of varied talents, having under him specialists in the different aspects of program. Edwin F. See, metropolitan secretary of the Brooklyn Association, stated this eloquently at the Northfield Conference of 1887, when he pictured the general secretary as the manager of a school of physical culture, an educational institution, a business, and "an organized body of Christian workers."

With the expansion of the program, especially into education, higher standards were continuously held up, while increased business experience was stressed as properties multiplied. By the end of the eighties it was confessed that the successful secretary must "have the knowledge of a specialist and of a general practitioner." This evolution was revealed in the change of attitude toward the secretary's relation to finances. Through the 1870's it was generally agreed that the secretary should have "as little as possible to do with the finances of the Association," as the third meeting of the Secretaries' Association had resolved. With the coming of the 1880's, the view was taken that the secretary should understand the finances of the Association, while advising, encouraging, and helping the finance committee. In 1890 the *Era* published an essay by G. K. Shurtleff, then of Utica, defining the secretary's prerequisite knowledge of every detail of the financial situation. By the mid-1890's McBurney was appealing for funds to support the foreign work over his own signature: twenty years before, his board had raised "the money themselves."

The literature of the mid-1890's emphasized increasingly the executive functions and the importance of skill in business management,<sup>65</sup> one of the best papers on which was by McBurney. He carefully went over most of the details of Association housekeeping and then pointed out that all these must be contributory to the spiritual life. Further:

It is the business of the Association and its officers to set a good example to young men by the conscientious administration of trusts committed to them. It is not enough to say that the Association is a Christian organization managed by Christian men, but it must be in practice Christian and its officers must be in practice Christian. . . .<sup>66</sup>



Because McBurney himself combined such ethical insight and deep spirituality with astute business management, he was pre-eminently the creator of the secretaryship. A young secretary who came to his early career just before McBurney passed from the scene aptly characterized him and the pioneer generation of leaders:

They transcended issues, method, buildings, material equipment. Judged by almost any count, they were leaders of superior ability. They had the happy faculty of combining administrative gifts with rare teaching qualities. They drew young men to them by virtue of their understanding of an interest in young men's problems. Few of that company were trained by any one method. They antedated Training Schools, Association Colleges, and Fellowships. Emerging here and there in various sections of the country, they ventured forth on new pathways blazing trails as they went.<sup>67</sup>

In the active performance of his multitudinous duties the secretary was called upon for a versatility required by few other professions. In most cases this was acquired through the experience of beginning as janitor or office boy and serving as bookkeeper, and in every other capacity as the organization grew.<sup>68</sup> When Thomas J. Wilkie was employed in 1869 as the first full-fledged secretary of the Toronto Association, his job analysis was as follows:

*First:* He shall fulfill the duties of Corresponding and Recording Secretary as set forth in the By-Laws.

*Second:* He shall attend to the rooms from nine to ten and from two to three p.m.; receive visitors and meet strangers and members and as far as possible introduce them to each other and engage them in the work of the Association.

*Third:* He shall collect the annual fees from the members and pay over the same to the Treasurer.

*Fourth:* He shall assist the Lecture Committee in providing suitable subjects for the Tuesday evening meetings and shall also see that some proper person presides at the Saturday evening meetings.

*Fifth:* He shall also act as Librarian and direct the Assistant Librarian in the proper care of the Library and Reading Room.

*Sixth:* He shall, under the direction of the Finance Committee, collect subscriptions for the Association in the City, he shall be ex-officio a member of all Committees and see that they are properly convened and shall to the utmost of his ability increase the usefulness and prosperity of the Association.<sup>69</sup>

Similarly, the Detroit Association's first part-time caretaker of the rooms acted as janitor, librarian, treasurer, preacher, and counselor to the young men who visited the rooms; he conducted a noon prayer meeting, helped find boarding- and lodgings and employment.<sup>70</sup>

The typical day's work of a secretary in 1883 differed only in minor

detail from that of 1950. The "History of a Day," submitted to *The Watchman*, pictured a round of activities that began with the morning mail, included numerous interviews, writing copy for the weekly bulletin while the printer waited, attending the ministerial association and three other meetings, calling on committees, listening to several hard luck stories, and finally, "after evening prayers, at 10:30," closing the building for the night. There was then "an opportunity to gather up the results, write a few letters, and have a moment for reflection." A similar "Record of One Day," submitted to the *Era* in 1891, named some forty-eight separate actions that had ranged from advising the orchestra leader and the repair of the bowling alleys to counseling several unemployed youths, meeting news reporters, taking charge of the gymnasium in the director's absence, study of the Sunday Bible class lesson, and calling on the sick.<sup>71</sup>

Walter C. Douglass, then secretary at St. Louis, described the office before the Convention of 1883 primarily in terms of leadership—of boards and committees, groups in religious work, host to visitors, like a watchful pastor available in all crises, skilled in financial transactions including relationships to state and International agencies, and strategic in public relations with churches, the press, and the community. I. E. Brown compared the office to the general manager of a railroad:

... Like that official, the general secretary is under a board; he is the executive officer of that board; he has the general direction of all departments; he organizes the working force. But, unlike the general manager, he deals with volunteer workers, from whose ranks he came yesterday, and to which he may return tomorrow; and he deals with forces which are not material alone, but are largely spiritual.

He needs to keep constantly in mind that his place is not that of the Association, or of its working force, or of its board. His place is to make most effective the forces of the Association. Beyond that, it is his aim to enlist all the Christian young men of his city in united effort for all the unsaved young men. As he approaches this ideal will his power be felt.<sup>72</sup>

At the same time, secretaries were expected to keep abreast of all new trends. Those in small Associations must perforce lead the untried work, even if it were a gym class; they needed to be informed and enthusiastic about the foreign work when it broke upon the Association horizon in 1889; like their successors they had to keep their buildings clean or be told they were bidding for tramps to patronize them. No wonder that many of them, from McBurney down, literally worked

themselves to premature death. The annual reports of the International Committee contain a shockingly frequent repetition of the complaint that the staff was "unable to keep pace with the demands of the work, they are worn out with hard service" and on one occasion "half the working force at the command of the Committee was laid aside from this cause."<sup>73</sup> Morse's private correspondence reveals his own overwork and the necessity of frequent rest; Weidensall "retired" several times because of this handicap.

#### THE SECRETARYSHIP AS A PROFESSION

The process of institutionalizing the Movement was evidenced in 1871 by the formation of a professional organization by the secretaries. Here, as in many other pioneering ventures, the quiet preparation of Robert Weidensall was clearly behind the move. Soon after Weidensall entered the work the Reverend J. B. Brandt became the executive of the Indianapolis Association; the two met frequently and found their fellowship so rewarding that they proposed similar meetings of the growing body of paid workers. The two circularized the employed officers and during the Washington Convention of 1871 two meetings were held, but the actual organization of the "Association of the General Secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and British Provinces" took place at Brandt's suggestion on board an excursion steamer to Mt. Vernon on May 29, the day after the Convention. Weidensall missed the boat, but thirteen others became charter members. McBurney was called to the chair and L. P. Rowland, the senior secretary by virtue of his fourteen years' service to the Boston Association, was elected president.<sup>74</sup>

McBurney asked the group to describe the duties of the offices they held. Out of the diversity of titles, which revealed the differing emphases and programs in various places—ranging from librarian to superintendent—that of the Washington and Pittsburgh executives, "general secretary," was adopted and subsequently urged upon the Movement at large. Following the meeting of 1873 the organization called itself the Association of General Secretaries, in which year the first official list of employed officers was compiled; in titling it for the *Year Book* Morse felt it wise to explain that by "General Secretary" was meant "the officer of the Association who is salaried to give all or a specified portion of his time to the work of the society." Adoption of the title was slow; the World's Committee used it for its first employed

officer in 1878 but not until 1882 was McBurney's own designation changed from "corresponding" to "general" secretary.

Little was accomplished by the organization in the first two years, but at the second conference McBurney proposed that instead of general discussion the topics treated at the annual sessions be opened by the reading of prepared papers, the subjects for which were to be set six months in advance. Thus with the meeting of 1873 the conference began to take on the shape of a training agency and was so regarded. McBurney served as chief counselor and for fifteen years the subjects were prepared in consultation with the International Committee and its staff. Many of the papers were issued in pamphlet form by the Committee, after being "edited or carefully revised" in Morse's office, although the secretaries' meeting of 1873 asked that in this process "no sentiment be cut out of said papers without the consent of the authors." As the years passed the annual Association conference grew into a major source of spiritual and professional fellowship for the brotherhood of secretaries.<sup>75</sup> As program specialties produced secretarial experts, clusters of these groups grew up around the parent organization, their relations undergoing varied changes as attitudes and interests evolved. In general these bodies interpreted their function in strictly professional terms and scrupulously avoided taking sides in controversial issues or seeming to exert influence upon organization policy.<sup>76</sup>

With the emergence of a professional consciousness, the more sensitive members of the group saw the danger of what they called "secretarialism." Aware that much of the unique appeal of the Y.M.C.A. grew out of the unusual relationship between lay policy makers and paid workers, they attempted to forestall undue assumption of authority by their own members. As early as 1867 the second issue of the *Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.* warned of the dangers of overorganization that might eclipse the individual in an age of "great concentration of effort." At this time and in fact until into the eighties, many secretaries were voting directors of their Associations, but they came to believe that their influence could better be exerted "by moral, intellectual, and spiritual suasion." The most effective statement of this philosophy was by McBurney, who had a hand in every Association pie and who had for twenty years been a member of his own board. About the time he withdrew from the board he defined this word he had coined: "Secretarialism in Association work resembles ecclesiasti-



cism in church work; the magnifying of the Secretary at the expense of the Association."<sup>77</sup>

No employed officer ever presided at an International Convention; McBurney was once chosen but refused. Except for the recording secretary the Conventions selected their officers from the lay delegates. McBurney was the only secretary in his time who served as a member of the International Committee, yet the vigorous paragraph on secretarialism in the *Hand-Book* of 1892 was from his pen.

What the secretary of a young men's organization should do when he attained the age of forty was a much-discussed question while many of the pioneer leaders had not yet reached that age. It was suggested that he might move on from local to state work which was said to call for older men of experience. Supervision in local Associations that were expanding was also suggested; he might care for the property or even go into business, though if no obvious opening appeared one could be certain that "if the Lord called him to the work" he would take care of him.<sup>78</sup> By the mid-1880's there was considerable concern about care for retired or disabled secretaries. The first action in this direction was by the secretaries themselves, J. T. Bowne taking the initiative in founding the "Secretaries' Insurance Agreement" in 1880, a simple procedure for providing burial funds through a one-dollar assessment.<sup>79</sup> It was yet a long way to the retirement fund.

The immaturity and lack of many of the basic qualifications on the part of a large number of secretaries suggest the historic jibe that the divine nature of the Church is attested by its having endured in spite of the weakness of its ministry. More conscious of their faults and more generous in giving one another advice than were their clerical contemporaries, secretaries admonished one another concerning manners and personal appearance; the development of the intellectual and spiritual life; the dangers of flattering publicity, dogmatism, trying to be a McBurney, and the fear of difficulties. They counseled the necessity of church attendance and support, of adequate physical exercise, prayer, a regular day of rest, and the importance of a careful diet. One director thought the general secretary

... must be in these things one with the fellows, albeit they are made to feel his intellectual and spiritual leadership. As to the tonsure, in parts of the country where full beards are not worn by young men, as they are not in the East, certainly, the Secretary should follow the fashion, or he will look old, distant and unacceptable. Let him wear a mustache if he likes, but not one that is dilettante, nor huge nor ungainly, the terror of teacups. Slight

side whiskers may add to his dignity without detracting from his comeliness. Such suggestions might not apply so strictly to the Railroad Secretary, who deals with an older and rougher set of men. In his dress, neither the Secretary nor any other good Christian would be otherwise than unassuming. It is the mark of the gentleman to wear nothing which for extreme of style would make him noticeable, and to leave gaudy colors and jewelry to the dude.<sup>80</sup>

He was not only to "watch for the souls of men" but for impostors and frauds; he should be sensitive to the needs of employees below him and join the gym class in order to use every opportunity to reach young men. Much of this was sound advice and needed; yet it betrayed the immaturity, lack of education, and superficiality of many of those to whom it was addressed. Certainly no such compendium of advice could be compiled from the contemporary pages of literature addressed to the clergy or other similar profession.<sup>81</sup>

#### THE TRAINING OF SECRETARIES

Farsighted leaders had perceived the necessity of training secretaries in vocational schools, almost from the inception of the fourfold work. Weidensall was the first to present a cogent argument for it, before the Convention of 1872, where he held that the secretaryship ought to be raised to the status of a profession through a standardized educational process which he believed would result in greater uniformity and effectiveness of local Associations. The editor of the *Monthly* echoed the theme. On the eve of the Convention of 1876 Weidensall restated the case in a brief to Brainerd, comparing the Movement's need for its own training schools to that of other professions and the churches. But neither the chairman nor McBurney was convinced and the matter was not presented to the Convention. "*It will be, it must be,*" Weidensall had written to Brainerd. "*Your Committee may not see its necessity, but mark my words it will be established before many years.*"<sup>82</sup> The apathy with which his pleas were met was partly due to the generally accepted idea that the International Conventions and the secretaries' conferences were training institutes, as Moody inferred at the Baltimore Convention of 1879 when he said that the greatest need of the Movement was for "more trained secretaries and more training schools such as this conference."

A second reason why the idea of a training school did not take hold was that the concept of apprenticeship, or in-service training, then still in practice among several other professions, was considered the

best method by many, including influential members of the International Committee. Brainerd was a product of it. In 1880 Morse made a vigorous attempt to establish a school in connection with a denominational training center in New York, but was defeated by this attitude.<sup>83</sup> That same year the editor of *The Watchman* expressed his conversion to the idea with the remark that if he had the funds he would set up such a school within a month.

During the winter of 1879-80 the International and Pennsylvania state committees had arranged with the Harrisburg Association "to have candidates for the secretaryship visit them for a period of from two to four weeks, that they might gain some practical acquaintance with the spirit and methods of their work"; during the next three years twenty-six men took advantage of the opportunity thus offered. In June, 1880, the Newburgh, New York, Association, of which the general secretary was Jacob T. Bowne, who came to be known as "the father of professional education in the Y.M.C.A.," was made a "training station." Sixty-eight men, including L. Wilbur Messer, visited there. Poughkeepsie and Yonkers, New York, and Peoria, Illinois, to which Messer went as secretary, also engaged in this program.<sup>84</sup> In 1883 sixty-four candidates were so trained and fifty-two of them entered the work. Other Associations had in fact quietly carried on this kind of training. Several of the ablest of the second generation of secretaries were trained in "McBurney's mill" as one of them described his internship. Some Associations established their own training classes, although most of these were later.

As an aid to these programs and to assist the greater number of secretaries who were forced to work out their own methodology, the International Committee published in 1881 the first "Outline of Study for Young Men Desiring to Undertake the Work of the General Secretary." The preparation of materials of this kind eventuated from the Association of General Secretaries' meeting of 1873, following which the Committee had published in two pamphlets totaling 130 pages twenty-one papers given then and the next year, by leaders at home and abroad. This material, entitled *Office, Qualifications and Work of the General Secretary*, was kept in print and added to. With Bowne's *Outline* it provided the foundation for subsequent texts and for the comprehensive *Hand-Books* of 1888 and 1892.

The tremendous turnover in personnel—as high as 20 per cent

per year—continued to dramatize the need for training schools. In the face of the International Committee's preoccupation with the apprentice method, Weidensall launched a fresh offensive in *The Watchman* in April, 1883, proposing a summer school providing short courses. The Convention of that year did not take notice of this but instructed the Committee to present it in 1885 with "a plan for a permanent Institute or Training School," which action prepared the way for co-operation with the Springfield venture, first proposed in 1884.<sup>85</sup>

#### BEGINNINGS AT LAKE GENEVA

When the secretaries met that year they heard Weidensall present his plan; out of this there eventuated an invitation by the Wisconsin secretaries to Camp Collie, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin for August 4-18 of that year. Fifty-seven persons, including secretaries, some laymen, and their families attended: "an hour each morning was given to Bible study, and an hour each afternoon to discussion of some phase of Association work." Campfire prayer meetings and entertainments enriched the session, which was such a success as to be made an annual event. A business committee composed of Weidensall, I. E. Brown, and W. E. Lewis, state secretary of Wisconsin, chose the name, "Western Secretarial Institute." The next summer brought ninety-seven students from nine states.

During the conference of 1886, attended by 154, the Institute was incorporated. The nucleus of the large property that subsequently became the College Camp of George Williams College had been acquired the previous winter. The new site was dedicated at a campfire prayer meeting led by Weidensall on the hill above the lakeside spring. Delegates of the student Young Women's Christian Associations were meeting at nearby Camp Collie and there they organized their National Committee, advised by Weidensall, writing up their resolutions on his stationery.

The now permanently rooted Institute was copied by New England and southern secretaries in regional conferences held in the summer of 1889. Its purpose had been succinctly stated by Weidensall at the second meeting: "What a law school is to a young man who aims to enter the profession of law, or what a medical school is to such a one as desires to practice medicine, so should this Institute be a place where young men could best study the work of the Association and





FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE WESTERN SECRETARIAL INSTITUTE

*Back row:* I. E. Brown, G. T. Coxhead, G. T. Houser, G. B. Townsend

*Front row:* C. B. Willis, R. Weidensall, W. E. Lewis

especially of a General Secretary." The articles of incorporation declared that its intent was

... the establishment and maintenance of an organization for the purpose of training and developing secretaries and physical directors of Young Men's Christian Associations in their work, and educating, fitting and training them and others for secretaries and physical directors of Young Men's Christian Associations; and for instructing them in the Word of God and in the practical work of the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>86</sup>

As the summer conference idea spread to student and other groups the Camp became a center for western meetings of both the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. as well as the secretaries. With its incorporation into the Chicago Training School, the educational ideal of its founders was to find a wider expression than even they had dreamed.

#### THE FOUNDING OF SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE

While western leaders were for a time satisfied with summer sessions as an expression of their urge toward a vocational school, there appeared in Springfield, Massachusetts, a creative leader who envisioned a Christian university comprised of several schools for the training of all kinds of lay workers, including Y.M.C.A. secretaries. The Reverend David Allen Reed, a Congregational pastor who deserves a large place in the history of religious education in the United States, "determined if possible to supplement the regular ministry by men and women as thoroughly trained for their service as those in such recognized professions as the ministry, law, and medicine."<sup>87</sup> One of the departments of his "School for Christian Workers" that opened in September, 1885, was that of the Y.M.C.A. Ultimately this became Springfield College and will be so referred to hereafter.<sup>88</sup> Reed obtained funds to launch the venture with its own building and maintained it against great odds through its pioneer years.

Upon Morse's and McBurney's recommendations, Jacob T. Bowne was called to the Y.M.C.A. instructorship, giving in the first year (1885-86) courses dealing with the "field, objects, history, organization, buildings, business management, methods of work by departments, work for special classes, and the agencies of supervision."<sup>89</sup> There being no texts, he was forced to rely on the lecture method, but shortly took steps that resulted in the *Hand-Books* of 1888 and 1892, the other authors of which were H. S. Ninde, then of the Rome, New York, Association, and Erskine Uhl, of the International Committee's office

staff. Students were required to be members of the local Y.M.C.A. and to work on its committees; they were given practice in preparing committee reports and minutes, in writing publicity materials, and were expected to attend at least two Y.M.C.A. conventions each year. The first class of fourteen grew to a student body of thirty-nine in the two-year course the second season, at which level it remained for some years.

Movement sentiment was divided when it came to supporting the school, as it had been with respect to the theory of vocational training. McBurney and Morse gave their personal endorsement but felt that neither local Associations nor the supervisory agencies should be officially related. A few influential secretaries were afraid that such education would "disindividualize" students.<sup>90</sup> Some Associations were loath to support the venture while it was part of the larger institution. Yet the secretaries' conference of 1886 gave its endorsement, and the Convention of 1887 received from the International Committee a sympathetic report; that year the physical department was added, under Luther Gulick and Robert J. Roberts. In 1888 the World's Conference at Stockholm congratulated the American Movement upon the establishment of this first training school and recommended it to young men entering the profession; the next year the Philadelphia Convention gave its own endorsement.

In 1890 the Association department separated into the "Y.M.C.A. Training School"—soon afterward to add "International," to distinguish it from the new Chicago institution—with its own board and incorporation. In thus breaking Reed's inclusive ideal the school possibly narrowed its own scope and prospects; it was to suffer from cultural and professional isolation and to lack the stimuli to achievement and high standards that the university would have supplied. Yet the western group had been critical of the breadth of its interests to the extent that they impulsively started their own school at the very moment the Springfield separation was being planned. In spite of these contradictions permanent foundations for a significant and unique educational institution were laid during the next decade and defended against financial storms by the heroic work of Oliver C. Morse, who pulled the school through the crises of that decade. Reed resigned the presidency in 1891. Until 1896 the school was governed by its faculty; this *laissez-faire* era was ended with the selection of Laurence L. Doggett as president in that year. Its further development and remarkable

contributions are part of the story of the Y.M.C.A. in the twentieth century but due to the limitations of space they can but be suggested in this History.

#### THE FOUNDING OF GEORGE WILLIAMS COLLEGE

Although Weidensall's ideas must have influenced Reed's philosophy (even if there is no direct evidence of this), the veteran secretary was not identified with the establishment of Springfield. He visited there during the school's first month and gave it his hearty blessing. In the Midwest there was considerable feeling that vocational training should be in a more restricted Association atmosphere than Reed's institution provided—a reflection not only of Protestant sectarianism but of the prevalent conception of the secretaryship. There was also a growing feeling that summer institutes were inadequate. The aggressive western group questioned Reed as to his intentions and postponed action for a time but were apparently dissatisfied with the steps taken to make the Springfield venture more specifically an Association affair.<sup>91</sup>

In 1890 I. E. Brown, state secretary of Illinois, who had always been interested in teaching, took the initiative in crystallizing the desire of the western secretarial group for their own school. This action appears to have been rather precipitate and some of its supporters afterward regretted it. Brown had been offered a position at Springfield that year. To keep him in Illinois, the state committee raised his salary and gave him three months vacation. "One night during March—like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky—some sudden impulse came to him, 'why not start a school for western secretaries in Chicago?'" writes a historian of George Williams College, into which this ill-timed venture grew. A few weeks later Brown got together a group of leaders and set up a two-year curriculum that included a full course for physical directors. In June the "Y.M.C.A. Training School"—the title had been used informally at Springfield for three years—was incorporated with John W. Hansel as secretary, later to be known as president. Weidensall, who later became a director and vice-president, impressed upon the founders the value of using secretaries on the field as teachers. That a school could be started in this way before adequate funds were in hand for the support of a permanent faculty, plus the availability of such teachers, appears to have suggested immediate action to Brown.<sup>92</sup>

The School was opened with five students, though ten were later registered that first year, admitted on the basis of a fair English edu-



cation.<sup>93</sup> It was housed in the downtown Chicago Y.M.C.A., to which all of its seven part-time unpaid instructors, including Messer, were attached—a demonstration of Weidensall's contention of fourteen years before that training schools should be set up in metropolitan Y.M.C.A.'s. Hansel was shortly employed jointly by the School and the Western Secretarial Institute and in the second year of the School the two faculties were merged. With the construction of the magnificent new Chicago building in 1894 the School could advertise the world's finest Y.M.C.A. facilities; yet through the 1890's the student body remained constant around thirty. Financing the venture was difficult during the depression of 1893, in spite of the advantage of having begun with the experience and developed clientele of the Institute. In 1895-96 the School and the Institute were merged as the "Western Secretarial Institute and Training School." New management brought relative prosperity and rapid strides. By 1897, 121 students had been enrolled; twenty-seven of them had been graduated; thirty were serving as general secretaries and twenty-one as physical directors; twenty had proved unfit for Y.M.C.A. work while twenty-two had taken only brief courses. The potentialities of such a training program, which included the summer Institutes at Lake Geneva, were intimated in the boast at this time that one in six of all "the employed officers of the Associations in this country, have received all, or a part of their training in this institution," whose program went on "all the year round" and included "all departments of Association work."<sup>94</sup>

Thus as the formative period of the American Y.M.C.A. neared its end, the Movement found itself informally obligated to two vocational training ventures of doubtful permanence, which with their miniscule student bodies had but scant pragmatic justification. The possibility of entering this field with a well-reasoned philosophy and Movement solidarity had been irretrievably lost, the responsibility for either or both schools having been dodged by the one agency whose initiative might have united the Movement in the support of one strong college. There were tragic implications of which Brainerd was not conscious in his remark to a friend in 1891 that the fact of a school starving to death in Springfield was not "the slightest reason for having another school for Association secretaries starving to death in Chicago."<sup>95</sup>

## Chapter 5 A Work for all Classes and Conditions of Young Men

In this period . . . the methods and agencies of Association work have been developed. Prayer-meetings, Bible classes, reading rooms, social meetings, lectures, gymnasiums for physical exercise, educational classes, employment bureaus, meetings in jails, hospitals, almshouses, and in the open air, services of song, neighborhood and cottage prayer meetings—all have been multiplied.

—RICHARD C. MORSE, 1878

A TYPICAL AMERICAN CITY Y.M.C.A. in the late 1890's comprised a membership of young men, an incorporated board of management, and a secretary. It possessed "a specially constructed building or the best rented quarters obtainable." Regular committees or departments looked after its business affairs and its religious, educational, physical, social, and welfare activities. Of these, religious work was primary and all other features were intended to contribute to it. A child of evangelical Protestantism, the Y.M.C.A. at first considered itself a specialized agency for bringing young men to Christ. Out of revivalism and community-wide welfare effort there slowly emerged service features of permanent value and a congenial religious work methodology. The later great Association developments of boys' work and education were but the enlargement of programs that grew from the religious and welfare activities of the post-Civil War era. After surveying those, this chapter will touch upon certain phases of the constituency of the Y.M.C.A., indicate its financial methods, and describe how its home missionary efforts extended the program to classes and groups that otherwise would have had no opportunity to enjoy it.

This remarkable lay expression of Christian action emphasized method rather than doctrine or philosophy. It accepted the Protestant purpose without question and in evolving its pragmatic approach to a specialized clientele produced a unique invention. Dominated by business men rather than professional religious leaders, the Movement

tended to emphasize facilities, expansion, practical usefulness, and specific influence.<sup>1</sup> Like its promoters, it bid for clientele through the unusual program that distinguished it from the churches, which honored it by copying its approach to youth and its functional buildings.

#### THE PROGRAM OF RELIGIOUS WORK

The primary object for which these societies have been established, said McBurney to the New York State Convention of 1866, is the binding together of Christian young men and "the leading to the Savior" of those who are ignorant of him. "All other services, no matter how good, how great, or how desirable are but collateral and subordinate and should be engaged in only as they tend to secure this primary object."

In 1883 *The Watchman* warned the Movement lest its prosperity as seen in buildings and activities blind it to its true purpose: "Our one and only object is to win these young men to know Christ," and all agencies should be tested by their contribution to that end. The chairman of a state committee declared in 1888 that "to *save souls* is the great work—the only *needed* work of the Associations." Winning men to personal faith in Jesus must always remain our chief concern, resolved the Springfield Convention of 1895. *The Watchman* devoted between one-fourth and one-third of its entire space to religious subjects, and for years published Moody's sermons regularly. Bible students' and lesser evangelists' words filled its pages; the same was true of its successor, the *Young Men's Era*, and local and departmental bulletins followed suit.

Revivalistic activity extended to "sailors on the docks," to rescue missions, poor houses, jails, and hospitals; efforts were made to carry the gospel to young men in their boarding houses—perhaps with some thought to the precedent set by the London Y.M.C.A. A few Associations had "gospel wagons" that carried deputations who systematically distributed tracts and held services in religiously isolated areas. In this the Chicago Association was the leader. In 1876 it imported five tons of such literature. Its paper, *Heavenly Tidings*, was distributed in tremendous quantity and one year its publishing committee issued five million pages of tracts and papers.<sup>2</sup> Tracts were often distributed at railroad stations and among passengers on trains. In 1870 the Portland, Oregon, Y.M.C.A. had a Chinese colporteur to work among his people, for whom it opened a mission school.<sup>3</sup>

Some workers supported Sunday Schools but these found diminishing popularity; most were among the distressed classes and although they were directed toward children they can hardly be thought of as the Movement's first boys' work. Yet uniform Sunday School lessons were first experimented with by B. F. Jacobs at Saturday noon teachers' meetings held in the Chicago Y.M.C.A. and his comments on the International Sunday School lessons subsequently appeared in *The Watchman*. In many Y.M.C.A.'s there were "Yokefellows" bands—"skilful fishers of men"—of which Moody's group in Chicago held together for nearly forty years, following its organization in 1869.<sup>4</sup> They distributed tracts, invited strangers to the Y.M.C.A., and did what was known as "personal work" through the congregation while the evangelist invited sinners to repent. There was an obvious connection between this concern for individuals and the subsequent development of counseling.

Among the transient religious endeavors that the Movement outgrew were the revivalistic state convention and the state canvass for which *The Watchman* acted as a clearing house and whipped up enthusiasm. The first Pennsylvania state convention was thrilled by Ira D. Sankey, a lay preacher and singer who later joined Moody in the most famous evangelistic team on record; they met at the International Convention of 1870. Revivals often spread from state conventions,<sup>5</sup> which were frequently held jointly with the churches; early state work was very largely of this nature. The state "canvass," popular during the 1880's, was a deputation plan, involving district meetings under the leadership of the state secretary or a visiting evangelist; a few states had "evangelistic secretaries" for a time. The most extreme example of state evangelism was the "Kansas Movement," described in Chapter 8. By 1890 this activity on the part of the state organizations had almost disappeared except in some of the western states.

Those who emphasized the fourfold work differed from their revival-inclined fellows in that they added the other features to the religious, and directed it toward young men rather than to the general public. This was essentially the purpose that had motivated the New York men who succeeded in electing their candidates as presiding officers of the Conventions of 1864 and 1865. International Conventions were often occasions of great feeling, featuring at least one prominent evangelist; year in and year out they discussed means of improving revivalistic methods. Most of the promotion by the several deputations



sent through the South, notably Cree and Hall—the latter sang “like Mr. Sankey”—was evangelistic. But the International Committee did not feel that revivalism was its primary task and did not pursue it as such, which brought it into some disagreement with certain leaders and Associations in New England and in the Midwest.<sup>6</sup> Yet the evangelistic approach characterized early work by the Committee for railroad men, boys, students, and the beginning of Weidensall’s county promotion.<sup>7</sup>

This activity stemmed from a motivation that the Movement was to lack in a more sophisticated age. It enlisted men in a program that was for many virtually a crusade to which they gave themselves without stint. Young men joined the Association because it stood for something definite and significant.<sup>8</sup> The pragmatic evangelism of Moody, like that of Finney before him, stimulated ethically justifiable tasks that almost without exception attempted to improve human relationships or social conditions. Revivalism produced for the Movement its richest crop of leaders, including John R. Mott, converted under the Quaker evangelist, J. W. Dean, state Y.M.C.A. secretary of Iowa. It emphasized and drew out lay leadership and it underlay every major expansion—boys’ work, the railroad department, the student movement, foreign work. At the same time there was increasing use of the revival as a means of interesting communities in the Y.M.C.A. and raising funds for buildings.

Parallel to their evangelistic programs the Associations worked out basic religious activities that were more directly suited to their interests and hence came to be of permanent value. These were the prayer meeting and Bible study class. The service of prayer had been one of the notable features of the original programs. The Fulton Street prayer meeting that had been influential in the Revival of 1857-58 continued on for more than twenty years.<sup>9</sup> Almost every Association had its own form of this meeting, many being interdenominational and held in various churches. Topics were published in the *Monthly*, and beginning in 1877 the International staff prepared them.<sup>10</sup> Conventions and the periodicals discussed methods for making the meetings effective.

In August, 1865, the World’s Conference had set the following December 24 as “a day of united prayer on behalf of the Associations.”<sup>11</sup> Although invited, no American delegates attended that meeting, but the next summer, on McBurney’s resolution, the Albany Convention without recognizing the World’s Conference action voted to recom-

ment to the Movement that it "set apart the first Sunday in November as a day of prayer for the increase and spiritual prosperity of the Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the world." The invitation was extended to "all kindred Associations in every land" and circulars were sent to every known Y.M.C.A. The clergy were "most earnestly" requested "to address their congregations on that day on the object and work of Y.M.C.A.'s"; many favorable replies were received. The next Convention designated the second Sunday in November for this observance, which remained unchanged through this era. Both the Montreal Convention and the World's Conference of 1867 proposed extending the observance through the following week, but few Associations made it a part of their calendar until the early 1880's. The Convention of 1875 asked that "each Association show its gratitude and faith by taking up a subscription especially for this international work," but not many did so until well into the next decade when the week became an occasion for religious rallies and special evangelistic appeals to young men. With the articulation of the student department under Luther Wishard a special day of prayer for students and colleges—the last Thursday of January—was adopted. Upon expansion to foreign lands, observance of the Day and Week of Prayer was universally included in the program.

In the late 1870's a refinement of revivalistic methodology appeared in the shape of "young men's meetings" at which the gospel message was presented in unusual ways. A series of "Athletic Sundays" managed by Henry H. Webster at the New York City Association brought prominent athletes to afternoon meetings for men who did not go to church—A. A. Stagg of Yale, members of the Princeton football team, (Billy) "Sunday, the right-fielder of the Pittsburgh base-ball club," and others. Needless to say, these speakers faced capacity audiences. Young men's meetings came to be regarded as an index of the effectiveness of an Association's program and gradually achieved a position comparable to that of the Bible class in English Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>12</sup>

Almost from their inception, prayer services and young men's meetings utilized some form of Bible study. A few Associations inaugurated it as early as 1866.<sup>13</sup> The next year the subject was on the agenda of the Montreal Convention where it provoked a lively discussion in which more than thirty delegates participated. Both the New York state and the Maritimes conventions of that year dealt with it. The Convention of 1871, however, marked the beginning of vigorous promotion of

Association Bible study by the International Committee. *The Watchman* discussed it and published topics and outlines, as did the *Young Men's Era*. Wherever workers met it was sure of a place on the agenda. Yet in the early seventies only one in seven or eight Y.M.C.A.'s in the United States reported Bible classes, which were much more widespread in Canada and abroad. American efforts to follow the British pattern in this regard never really took hold.

A great deal of interest was aroused by a "conversational" Bible class demonstrated by W. Edwin Shipton, general secretary of the London Association, and witnessed by the American delegates to the World's Conference of 1872. Two years later W. Hind Smith, secretary at Manchester, was invited to the conference of the "Association of General Secretaries" and to the International Convention, where he described the plan. As a result, McBurney resumed teaching a class; his course on the *Conversations of Jesus* became an Association classic, and numerous other secretaries took up the project. The "Bible reading" method of conducting a course, likewise imported from England, had a vogue at this time; the leader selected a series of verses and then commented upon them "in the language of Scripture."<sup>14</sup>

A continuous problem was that of suitable helps. Association leaders found most available materials unsatisfactory. For each of seven years Morse and McBurney worked out a series of fifty-two topics for the Thursday evening prayer service held in the Twenty-third Street building, which became popular with other Associations and even with churches. In 1876 they called the first of what for fifteen years were known as "topic parties" at which a group of secretaries concentrated for a week upon the production of the materials for this widely used pamphlet. It was published through 1897 by the Committee, which also had among its many guides *Bible Prescriptions*, compiled by Henry E. Brown, and *The Association Bible Class: How Organized and How Taught*, by Robert A. Orr, general secretary at Pittsburgh. Through all these years few issues of *The Watchman* appeared that did not contain one or more articles on "The Young Men's Bible Class" or "How to Study the Bible." In 1885 the student staff, augmented by Morse and H. E. Brown, spent several weeks as Moody's guests at Northfield in producing the Movement's first co-operative Bible study outline.

Continuous efforts were made to discover fresh approaches that would interest young men. The college department experimented with

highly successful "inductive" studies by Professor William Rainey Harper. In 1882 F. S. Goodman, later to become religious work secretary for the International Committee, set forth in *The Watchman* a group of common-sense ideas that contained many of the elements of good teaching.<sup>15</sup> Successful preachers gave their ideas and methods, but never more than one-third of the Associations reported Bible classes, which seemed to a Scottish critic to reveal the "*subordinate place* which the study of the Bible occupies in the Y.M.C.A. of America."<sup>16</sup>

With the coming of liberal theology the Movement faced the dilemma of pleasing a divided constituency with its Bible study program. Both sides were represented: R. A. Torrey and others of the conservative Moody Bible Institute wrote studies for the *Young Men's Era*, which also published articles by liberals, such as George D. Herron of Iowa (Grinnell) College and Graham Taylor of the Chicago Theological Seminary.<sup>17</sup> This led to crystallization of policy: controverted doctrines should be avoided. It is not within the scope of the Y.M.C.A. to settle these questions, pointed out a leading advocate of Bible study to the Convention of 1891; even though we are profoundly convinced of certain beliefs, it is not our duty to instruct men particularly on these subjects: ". . . In the spirit of Paul, it is lawful for me, but not expedient." By the mid-1890's an International secretary for Bible study was being requested—someone who would be a "perfectly safe teacher and a scholarly man."<sup>18</sup>

Yet liberal studies became increasingly popular. Hundreds of Y.M.C.A. classes studied a small book by the Reverend Washington Gladden, a leader of the progressives, called *Who Wrote the Bible?*, giving it the largest circulation of his many interpretations of theology and social ethics. "Sane points on studying the English Bible" were well received at the Ohio State Convention of 1890 when presented by Professor Edward I. Bosworth of Oberlin, whose further writings would be studied by thousands of Association men. With this fresh current blowing through the Movement from the discoveries of Biblical scholarship, two outstanding leaders combined it with deep personal piety, McBurney, of New York and Edwin F. See, of Brooklyn. McBurney read papers on "Bible Teaching in Our Associations" at the state conventions of California, Missouri, Iowa, and Connecticut, and at the conference of general secretaries during the season of 1890-91. See produced a model program in his own Association, with



nine grades and a teacher-training class. He prepared the first International prospectus for this plan and virtually directed the Committee's promotion for several years.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of all this interest and activity, the new president of the Springfield Training School could declare in 1897 that "the present work in Bible study is desultory and scattering, lacking in unity and purpose, and is comparatively limited in extent," due to lack of "definite purpose, . . . want of courses and want of teachers." He believed that an International secretary for Bible study was a necessity, that all secretaries should be given a thorough orientation in the Bible as part of their training, and that "summer conferences of Bible study similar to the students' summer conferences" should be held in different parts of the country.<sup>20</sup> The appointment of Fred S. Goodman to the position named did not materialize until 1901, when a religious work department of the Committee was set up.

In an authoritative paper describing Bible study in the American Movement, read by Robert A. Orr to the World's Conference of 1878, five types of Bible study classes were described: groups taught by general secretaries, the reading method, Sunday School teachers' classes, evangelistic Bible classes, and the training class for Christian workers. The last emerged from a device widely used by the churches and known as laymen's institutes. As interdenominational agencies the Associations were naturally fitted to develop this technique. Almost from the beginning both state and International conventions had endorsed not only lay preaching but training for it. In the 1870's a few local Associations held laymen's institutes and training classes, but the first suggestion of combining this with Bible study came at the Richmond Convention of 1875. In 1878 Weidensall, inspired by the ideas and example of Charles E. Dyer, then secretary at Detroit, brought the attention of the Movement to the need for trained workers, proposing through *The Watchman* that every Association have a class that should meet at least one hour per week. This was immediately endorsed by the magazine, which the next year published a series of topics for such classes to study. Dyer succeeded in bringing the matter before the general secretaries conference and the idea was on its way.

These classes, which were quite apart from the training of Association secretaries, were usually composed of young men near the age of the secretary and were in a sense his honor guard, trained in "committee service and very definite religious work." Training groups came

to rival the regular Bible classes in number. Probably the best-known was that developed by David McConaughy, Jr., general secretary at Philadelphia, along lines explored by his brother James at Harrisburg. Their appeal was obviously that of practicality and fellowship, as they often became "a working cabinet of volunteers." Yet the 1890's heard criticisms comparable to those leveled at the other forms of Bible work and attempts were made to overhaul the philosophy and methodology of personal religious work, the results of which will be seen in Part-III.

This sketch of Association religious activity is concluded with a description of the interplay of influences between Dwight L. Moody (1837-1899)—the greatest religious figure of the first century of the American Y.M.C.A.—and the organization. By 1951 this had become an almost forgotten story.<sup>21</sup> Moody's career was a typical American success. Dissatisfied with opportunities in Boston, where he had gone from his New England village home at the age of seventeen to seek his fortune, he left after two years for Chicago where he was soon earning \$5,000 a year. Having experienced conversion in Boston, he found the Y.M.C.A. an outlet for his tremendous energy. Together with John V. Farwell, another farm boy well on the way toward earning the title of "merchant prince" (which was first applied to him), Moody extended facilities of the Chicago Association in the direction of mission and Sunday School work, and as president obtained its first building. Farwell, who had supplied the initial gift that made the building possible, intended naming it "Moody Hall," but Moody got to his feet first at the dedication services. During the next six years Moody's skill as an evangelist grew, but he won no particular recognition outside the Movement. A regular attendant at Conventions from 1866 to 1870, he was twice a vice-president.

In 1873 he and Sankey went to the British Isles on an evangelistic tour. They arrived penniless to find that the three men who had invited them were all dead. Moody remembered a letter from an obscure Y.M.C.A. man in York who had previously asked him to speak there if he ever visited England. Beginning quietly at York, in three years they effected the greatest revival since Wesley. In London 2,530,000 persons attended their meetings. From the moment of his return home in 1876, Moody was through the remaining years of his life the largest single factor in the religious climate of the United States. His simple word that he owed more to the Y.M.C.A. than to any other agency in

training him for Christian work carried more weight with the Protestant community than did all other testimonials of the period. His endorsement of the fourfold idea gave it great prestige: "There are many ways of reaching young men," he confessed before the secretaries' meeting in 1879:

. . . I would recommend a gymnasium, classes, medical lectures, social receptions, music and all unobjectionable agencies. These are for week days. We do not want simply evangelistic meetings; I have tried that system in Association work and failed, so I gave up the Association and became an evangelist. . . .<sup>22</sup>

*The Watchman* printed Moody's sermons for years. He gave the Y.M.C.A. his full support, though not without differences with certain individual secretaries and Associations. Quite against his will he was elected president of the Baltimore Convention of 1879—"the most spiritual and impressive of all International Conventions"—and delivered there one of the most memorable addresses of his career. At the time of his death he was chairman of the International subcommittee on evangelistic work.

Moody's greatest influence upon the Movement was ecumenical and spiritual. In every city in which he held evangelistic campaigns he brought together representative Protestant leaders in the first significant interdenominational endeavor they had attempted. The Y.M.C.A. was greatly stimulated by these community events, and in sharing or sponsoring them it made a major contribution to church unity. Sometimes calls to Moody were issued by local clergy gotten together by the Association, as for his Hippodrome meetings in New York which resulted in raising the debt on the Twenty-third Street building. Occasionally Moody organized a Y.M.C.A.<sup>23</sup> He frequently obtained secretaries,<sup>24</sup> but more significant for the profession was his effect upon the "spiritual life and activity of so many of them, as to make his personal influence upon them a spiritual dynamo, giving to their work for young men its aggressive and spiritual character."<sup>25</sup> On Moody's own Northfield-Mt. Hermon campuses, wrote Morse, "the Associations found the successor [to Moody] which God provided for us in the person of John R. Mott." Of this the present History provides abundant evidence, succinctly stated by Mott's biographer:

The older man gave to the younger at the Northfield conferences his generous backing, his support as a limitless fountain of spiritual energy and of unceasing self-forgetful moral drive, his essential sincerity, his blend

of blazing evangelical fervour with powers of closely knit organization, practical foresight, shrewd critical judgment, and rich experience. . . .<sup>26</sup>

All this was plainly evidenced in Mott's evangelistic outlook and methods. Sherwood Eddy, a contemporary of Mott and an evangelist for more than half a century, was inveigled to one of Moody's Northfield conferences for the good time he might have:

There was I, a college student, no good to my college, to my country, to God or to man. And there was this man who had never entered a college or high school, using bad grammar, but shaking half a continent in America and upsetting the colleges and cities of Great Britain. Before he had finished a great thirst had sprung up in my heart: Oh for a man to arise in me, that the man I was might cease to be!

I forgot all about my little "good time." I could not sleep that night. I was out by a great rock in the field wrestling with my own selfishness and sin. That night marked a turning point in my life. God became real to me and religion vital; it was no longer merely traditional as something which had been received secondhand from my elders.<sup>27</sup>

From Moody's Northfield venture there grew the college summer conference, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the American Y.M.C.A.'s foreign work or World Service.

At a memorial service in 1900, a prominent secretary pointed to the remarkable parallels in the careers of Moody and McBurney: within a few weeks of the same age, they had left home for the city at the age of seventeen, and had been touched by the Y.M.C.A.'s of Boston and of New York. They had died not long apart:

These two men undoubtedly stand as the greatest figures in the history of the Y.M.C.A. . . . Each was an evangelist, a preacher of the gospel, a messenger of good tidings and a worker for the extension of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . They could not rest satisfied. . . . They were fearless of risks and obstacles . . . with minds of poets and hearts of women. . . . Moody was at all times a man of prayer, a student of the Bible, and a personal worker. . . . McBurney never ceased to be a man of prayer, a man of Bible study, a personal worker. . . . These three things . . . sum up the lives of these men. . . .<sup>28</sup>

#### WELFARE AND RELIEF WORK

As was pointed out in Chapter 1, the Y.M.C.A. was, in its childhood, "a sort of co-operating agency for the advancement of any good work that any good man thought ought to be prosecuted." What this meant in the latter third of the nineteenth century may well be seen by reviewing the religious-welfare program of the Salvation Army in the mid-twentieth century. In the post-Civil War era, as before and during



the War, the service rendered by local Y.M.C.A.'s was often that of co-ordinating the welfare and relief facilities of the community, or providing what no other agency could. These situations were most frequently faced during periods of depression and unemployment, especially in the mid-1870's.

Virtually every Association engaged in this sort of benevolence and had a committee in charge of it; many maintained soup kitchens; some provided Sunday breakfast and a religious service for homeless persons gathered from the police stations; and money and clothing were collected and distributed to destitute families or young men. The Chicago Association was a leader in community welfare and religious work, and voiced a widely accepted philosophy. In 1867 it had disbursed over \$24,000 among 3,815 applicants, "representing from 800 to 1,000 families." "Our Association," continued that year's report,

is becoming in fact as in name, not only a relief society but a society for the improvement of the conditions of the poor, physical and morally. The Relief Committee has sought to impress upon all concerned with this work that our mission is not only to relieve the suffering but to improve the morals of those who are aided by us.

In 1874 the Brooklyn Association reflected general Movement sentiment when it avowed that relief work ranked next in importance to the conversion of young men.

Religious and charitable motivation took Y.M.C.A. committee members on visits to prisons and there were even a few attempts to organize Associations among penitentiary inmates. A well-defined preventive motive was early displayed, one convention speaker insisting upon the necessity of influencing the neglected street urchin before he became a criminal.<sup>29</sup> Calling on the sick and holding religious services in hospitals were forms of help to young men away from home and without friends. The *Hand-Book* described this as "a very practical feature" and suggested sample letter and reply forms. Some Associations, it went on, had provided a hospital bed<sup>30</sup> and others "organized medical clubs among their members, which, on the payment of a small fee" guaranteed the attendance of a physician. Others had taken care of burial arrangements and even held funerals at their rooms. A few purchased cemetery lots, as had the Washington Association in 1857; McBurney was laid to rest in the New York plot the idea for which seems to have come from the Association of Melbourne, Australia.<sup>31</sup>

The *Hand-Book* of 1892 reflected the changing attitude toward these

activities. In attempting to define and regulate them it declared that the Association "will confine its active work in this line to young men." Pointing out that the idea had formerly prevailed that the Y.M.C.A. "included among its duties every kind of Christian effort, and in some instances a general relief work," the official guide declared that "all this is now considered entirely outside the scope of Association work" except in times of disaster or depression.

Following the great fires in Chicago and Boston the Associations of those places rendered very large aid to each other; forest fire victims in Michigan shortly after the Chicago holocaust received emergency aid from the Y.M.C.A. and sent their thanks to the Convention of 1872. Two thousand dollars, having been contributed through eleven local Associations, was sent through the International Committee to the Association of Charleston following the earthquake of 1886. When floods imperiled the program at New Orleans in 1874 and at Johnstown in 1889, funds were thus forwarded.

The most remarkable disaster relief by a Y.M.C.A. was that of the New Orleans Association in the yellow fever epidemic that laid that city low in 1878. Following the precedent it had set in the plague of 1858, the Y.M.C.A. divided the city into districts, each with a committee and chairman. Beginning without a dollar they ultimately expended \$81,500, of which \$23,000 was contributed by Y.M.C.A.'s. Food, clothing and bedding, nursing service, and medical aid and supplies were provided to more than 5,000 fever cases and 16,000 destitute persons. Four of the active workers of the Association died of the plague contracted in the course of their service. This was a remarkable example of community mobilization under the leadership of the Y.M.C.A. in the pre-Red Cross era. Something comparable was done by the Associations of Vicksburg, Raleigh, and Jacksonville in other epidemics.<sup>32</sup>

Relief services that became permanent program features were best seen in the employment bureaus that appeared as a response to the need of Civil War veterans for peacetime jobs. Intensified by the recurrent depressions of the post-War era, the employment situation evoked a program from a great number of city Y.M.C.A.'s. Chicago engaged a man to devote his entire time to this in 1866, a position filled by the same individual for sixteen years. The employment officer hired by the Boston Association in 1872-73 found 700 situations that season. In the depression of the next several years many Y.M.C.A.'s opened agen-

cies. In 1875 four thousand persons found employment through the Chicago Association. Such a bureau proved useful in dealing with tramps and ne'er-do-well's who were often a serious problem. As the guidance possibilities of this program began to be realized, a few Associations tried to do some counseling in connection with it, but these potentials were not explored seriously until the twentieth century. The *Hand-Book* of 1892 indicated that an increasing number of Y.M.C.A.'s were offering employment service, there being "no reason why it may not be a useful feature in every city," and suggested sample information forms.<sup>33</sup>

A program that from the beginning had been related to the employment bureau was the boarding house committee, which continued much as before the War, keeping boarding house registers and attempting some oversight of places recommended. A great many Associations provided during the several depressions of this period "friendly inns" or some kind of temporary dormitory and coffee house, but these were in all cases charities and few if any became permanent, the Bowery Branch, New York, being the longest-lived.<sup>34</sup> Experience in this realm gradually led to the erection of dormitories and hotels (in 1900 the Chicago Association directed 1,700 young men to reliable boarding places) but their appeal was first that of a source of revenue; residences in Association buildings were a development of the twentieth century. In common with many of the institutional churches of this period, a number of Y.M.C.A.'s provided their members with thrift fund or savings bank facilities, mutual aid societies, and at least one Association set up a legal aid bureau.<sup>35</sup> The *Hand-Book* of 1892 described these features and gave tacit approval to them.

As did the institutional churches, the Y.M.C.A. pioneered in many of these activities but withdrew when other agencies took them over. In Montreal the Association dropped its city missionary work when a union missionary organization was established. The secretary of the Washington Association, in the winter of 1872-73, served as general agent for the District in dispensing food, fuel, and clothing to the poor, while the Chicago Association for several years had administered the funds and relief work of most of the private charity of the city, disbursing some \$25,000 annually. The interdenominational character of the Y.M.C.A. fitted it for this kind of responsibility, which it exerted in dozens of communities. One by one, relief, mission work, general

evangelism, and a multitude of the concerns described in this section were taken over by appropriate agencies and the Y.M.C.A., which more than once called these into being, was freed to pursue its own aim of work for young men.

Associations and their executives were in a favorable position to render community service because they often studied their cities and knew them well. The famous New York survey of 1866 was but one example of a developing technique that set the Y.M.C.A. in the van of community-wide organizations. McBurney later proposed that every Association organize a "reconnoitering party" of young men who would work at a continuously fresh survey of their city, having knowledge of tenements, sanitary facilities, the numbers and influence of saloons and houses of ill fame, while keeping the "actual facts of their own locality pressing upon the conscience of the whole community all the time." Weidensall had urged in 1877 that every Association have a statistical committee to ascertain the moral conditions of the community, and many did so. Other secretaries echoed the proposal in articles that appeared with some frequency in *The Watchman* and the *Era*. Springfield College students formed a club to train them in obtaining and using survey data. Virtually every able secretary, in approaching a new position, made a fresh study of the community. By the close of this period extensive use was being made of the urban survey, the Y.M.C.A. sharing this method with the churches and other agencies.<sup>36</sup>

#### CLARIFICATION OF PURPOSE AND METHOD

In the evolution of purpose and the development of methodology the first requisite was recognition of the Y.M.C.A. as a specialized agency concerned with the welfare of young men. Langdon's earlier contention now took effect. With the spread of the conviction that the Association had not been brought into being to carry on a religious or welfare work for the general public, the methods suggested by the fourfold idea took hold. The Executive Committee early recognized that this process would involve some casualties among local Associations: the enterprise might "require several experiments before it is realized," but the Committee was reconciled to "a few failures if, at last . . . an unquestioned solution of the problem" could be reached.<sup>37</sup>

That solution was the acceptance by Associations at large of the purpose and program suggested by the Committee, which, beginning



with the Albany Convention of 1866, counseled "stern adherence to a line of service—among *young men*." "Some associations," declared McBurney before the New York State convention of 1868, "have the idea that they are organized to carry on general Christian work. This is a great mistake. The chief object is to reach young men." The Committee, in reporting to the Convention of 1877, declared that the principle of labor for the salvation of young men as the primary object of the Y.M.C.A. had been settled beyond controversy. "This one thing I do," quoted the Pennsylvania State Convention of 1883 in expressing its belief that "our special work is among young men and . . . people have a right to expect us to cultivate this field and cultivate it well." The next year Weidsensall declared that acceptance of the idea was widespread.<sup>38</sup> In 1887 McBurney enunciated nine "settled principles," the first of which was that "the work shall be for young men only."

As the idea of work for young men only won its way, Associations the continent over adopted the fourfold method of interesting and influencing the "whole man," and general welfare and community-wide religious features gradually diminished. In 1881 *The Watchman* quoted with approval a local Association president who had declared that "it is an error to suppose that our society is a relief society," or a club, or "organized for general religious work" or for temperance work, or that it is "a lecture course." Three years later it editorialized that "much general work has been handed over to other agencies, or abandoned and the effort expended upon legitimate Association work"; in consequence local Y.M.C.A.'s were "standing better in the communities where they are located and receiving better financial support."

By 1890 the viewpoint was becoming explicit that the real work of the Y.M.C.A. was preventative rather than reformatory, although a few observers had pointed out in the 1870's that the true sphere of Association work lay in character-building activities with a higher class of youth rather than rescue work for inebriates and discharged convicts with whom missionary societies were concerned.<sup>39</sup> This was the theme of one of the most trenchant utterances ever presented to a Y.M.C.A. audience, when Professor Graham Taylor, then of Hartford Theological Seminary, after tracing the development of the idea of work for young men for the Connecticut convention of 1890 insisted that the primary aim of the Movement must be "pre-occupying and

preventive rather than evangelistic."<sup>40</sup> The departure from the secretaryship of many evangelists and the invention by Luther Gulick of the triangle as the emblem of the Movement provide ample evidence of the clarification of both purpose and method by the early 1890's.

#### EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS

Probably the "secular" program feature of longest standing and the first to win its way was the library, which had played a significant part in the beginning of the American Associations and which was much sought after by most American communities in the 1870's and 1880's. A Y.M.C.A. library was usually combined with a reading room that stocked a good selection of newspapers and magazines. Novels were not generally approved but the book collections were for the most part well selected and were significant additions to the cultural tools of their communities. Some workers tried to make the libraries into theological repositories, but religious books usually showed much smaller circulation than did history, arts and sciences, and biography. The librarian of the New York Association, Reuben B. Pool, a book lover and leader in the library movement, gave advice through *The Watchman* on how to select and care for a library. A bibliophile himself, Chairman Brainerd spoke on a number of occasions on "The Library of the Association," making a plea for "all sorts of good books" and outlining the administrative aspects and duties of this program feature; the address was published as an International Committee pamphlet.<sup>41</sup> The library played a significant part in railroad Y.M.C.A.'s from their beginning; Pool wrote an influential paper on this special topic.<sup>42</sup> J. T. Bowne early emphasized the importance of the library and the duty of the secretary toward it.<sup>43</sup> A few Associations received bequests that enabled them to maintain libraries worthy of the name—notably the New York City gift of \$150,000 from William Niblo<sup>44</sup>—but it was impossible for Y.M.C.A.'s outside of the largest cities to afford the care required by a good library.

Yet it was inevitable that the library was not to be permanently a principal Y.M.C.A. feature. With the opening of an increasing number of public libraries in the 1890's, the incentive to Associations to maintain their collections diminished,<sup>45</sup> and gradually the library became a periodical room or lounge. Pool pointed out in 1894 that there were only twenty-six Association libraries having more than 3,000 books, and 630 with fewer than 500 volumes each.

An attempt was made with the renaissance of the Movement after the War to revive the popular lecture courses that had been widespread earlier and that represented the Associations' attempt to utilize public interest in the lyceum. Originally for the purpose of raising funds and prestige, few courses now proved successful unless related to some dominant religious or moral issue or unless the most outstanding speakers were featured. An attempt to establish a national lecture bureau failed, but an increasing number of Associations reported lectures, the content and purpose of which were educational. Associations were cautioned against inviting "unorthodox preachers and lecturers": addresses should be elevating in tone and character and not simply to make money or draw crowds.<sup>46</sup> With the rise of the Redpath circuits and of traveling Chautauquas, there was less and less need for Y.M.C.A.'s to provide this kind of community entertainment, although some continued to do so until well after 1900.

"The general secretary," declared one of them at a Northfield conference, "is the manager of a literary institution." The change from lecture courses for enjoyment to evening classes for study and improvement was typical of the transformation of purpose and program during this period, in the closing years of which the foundations were laid for the tremendous educational programs that were to characterize many twentieth century city Y.M.C.A.'s. Although some Associations had debating clubs or literary societies these only rarely achieved real status or popularity, and that much later, doubtless because of the Movement's fear of controversial issues.<sup>47</sup>

Classes soon became much more important than libraries or lectures. The Boston Convention of 1865 listened for a few minutes to a desultory discussion of the value of "literary classes" and how they should be conducted, which was hardly indicative of the importance they would assume. Evening classes in foreign languages were inaugurated by the Brooklyn Association and three others in 1866 and by New York two years later.<sup>48</sup> At the Convention of 1867 a New York delegate named Elihu Root entered the discussion on the management of literary classes to deprecate the introduction of religious motives into this program, for to him it was not "a place or time intended for the work of converting young men, but for improving their minds." Two years later it was reported to the Pennsylvania convention that classes in penmanship, French, elocution, music, and German had been tried and found "effective in attracting young men to the rooms." The 1870's

witnessed a steady expansion of this approach; by 1878 attendance at the Brooklyn Association's classes outnumbered that at gospel services or tent meetings.<sup>49</sup> The next decade marked the spread of educational class work as a major Association phenomenon. Boston, for example, was offering instruction in seventeen subjects, including physiology and New Testament Greek, to 1,014 men and 153 women in 1884-85. Railroad Y.M.C.A.'s early provided classes in several subjects, including first aid.<sup>50</sup>

The sudden burgeoning of industrial educational classes in American Y.M.C.A.'s around 1890 stemmed in part from the example of the London Polytechnic Young Men's Christian Institute and from the stimulating experiments of several American Associations, notably Dayton and Detroit. In the season of 1887-88 the Dayton Y.M.C.A. inaugurated classes in technical and vocational subjects, free to members and designed for young men in the trades. These differed considerably from other such programs of the day—which were for the most part recreational in purpose—in that they were definitely oriented toward improving the workers' status.<sup>51</sup> The Detroit Association, which dedicated debt-free a new building in 1887, then opened its Technical Institute as the only school in the city offering vocational evening classes.<sup>52</sup>

These Y.M.C.A. "universities of the clerk and mechanic" grew by leaps and bounds in the next few years. The Chicago Association called an educational secretary in 1893 and promptly enrolled 1,000 students, utilizing instructors from the Armour Institute.<sup>53</sup> Brooklyn, with the valuable aid of the Pratt brothers of the Pratt Institute, developed a program of a very high order.<sup>54</sup> The Hartford Association in 1893 received a bequest of \$50,000 which provided the foundations of its Hillyer Institute.<sup>55</sup> About this time Springfield College felt it necessary to add certain technical courses in order that its graduates might be competent to direct the new educational ventures which were being tried in Canada as well as in the United States.

These programs, enthusiastically adopted by numbers of Associations, represented for a time at least a realization of the Y.M.C.A.'s hope of reaching young workers. At the California state convention of 1891, general secretary McCoy of San Francisco held that classes should be provided for young men who had failed to obtain early educational advantages. This work, pointed out Edwin L. Shuey at the Convention of 1893, is for "the young man who has had exercise enough, who has



not acquired habits of reading, who feels the need of good clothing to enjoy the social life" and for whom the Associations have made "but little effort":

... Our appeal then is for the young men in our trades and factories who are willing to sacrifice time, strength, and labor, if by these means they may be better prepared to gain a more comfortable livelihood.

A trend so widespread and convincing in its appeal soon brought a demand for an International department and secretary. Preliminary surveys provided data upon which an approach was made to the Pratt brothers who provided both funds and leadership. The Committee agreed to obtain a man "of educational experience, whose background and experience were in education rather than the Y.M.C.A."—a policy many local Associations would have done well to follow in the subsequent large involvements of their educational programs—and called George B. Hodge from the University of South Dakota, late in 1892. He had impressed them by his statement of the possibilities in the new field, and at once set out to survey the educational work being done by Y.M.C.A.'s 'across the country, beginning at Dayton where "more was being accomplished in this line for young men than by any other Association in a city of that size."<sup>56</sup> As Hodge set himself to the co-ordination of a continent-wide range of activities he effected one of the more remarkable achievements of the Y.M.C.A.'s first hundred years, which will be surveyed in Chapter 11.

The Y.M.C.A. extended itself to make young men feel at home in its rooms and in the community. All of the expected devices—teas, "sociables," entertainments, parties, "star courses" of performing artists, receptions—sometimes to various groups of tradesmen or congenial groups—special affairs for holidays, open house parties, musicals, concerts, "pleasant evenings of music and song," a "poet's hour," glee clubs—were utilized. As city dwellers of the Gilded Age began to yearn for the country, hiking clubs appeared here and there and the summer "outing" became popular. *The Watchman* reported hearing of Association "out-of-door" clubs first in the summer of 1879; their object was "to spend a part of a day in each week in walking and exploring the surrounding country"; the editor thought the idea might be tried "with profit and success."<sup>57</sup> The first "Ramblers' Club" was described by James McConaughy, secretary at Harrisburg, in 1880;<sup>58</sup> by the middle of that decade not a few Association leaders were beginning to sense that "spiritual matters are not so far removed from

social and physical enjoyment."<sup>59</sup> In the early 1890's bicycle clubs became popular. Much of this interest was related to the expanding program in physical education and recreation to which we shall turn in the next chapter.

The Y.M.C.A.'s program of games and amusements was limited by the prevailing Protestant folkways, as will be discussed in Chapter 9. But most Associations took seriously the implications of Henry Ward Beecher's remarks at the Brooklyn annual meeting in 1866:

There is no use hesitating, we have got to face this question of amusements for the young. Public opinion is changed; customs are changed; amusements that once were improper have ceased to be so, because their impropriety depended largely upon their peculiar relations rather than upon their innate tendencies. . . . The whole question has got to be gone over again.

The autonomy of the local Association was well illustrated by the independence of choice in these matters. Customs varied widely and Y.M.C.A.'s for the most part permitted games that were accepted in their communities, being careful not to offend the churches. The San Francisco Association had a chess room in its new building of 1869, but when McBurney wanted a chess table the next year it had to be purchased by his furnishings committee; in 1875 the Chicago Board of Managers allowed the rooms committee to place two sets of chessmen in the library, "accessible to any who might desire them." In 1877 *The Watchman's* "question drawer" declared that chess or checkers might be allowed in some localities if properly guarded, but in others they might be harmful. Bowling became popular; identified with the gymnasium, it was defended as recreation for young men engaged in sedentary occupations. Billiards, because of its association with gambling and saloons, was not admitted in this period; recognized as "harmless in itself," it could not be indulged because "people here disapprove." In attempting to deal with this issue Y.M.C.A.'s were torn between the demands of Protestant morality and a common-sense attitude such as the *Springfield Republican* expressed concerning the Association of that Massachusetts city:

The Methodists made a great discovery when they found that it wouldn't do to let the devil have all the good tunes, and our Young Men's Christian Association will make a discovery equally valuable, when it sees that the only way to benefit young men is to make a place as attractive for them as the billiard-room and the liquor-saloon keepers do. . . . They ought to come down [from the second floor] among the people, not only with their rooms, but with their methods. . . . The young man who would visit the

rooms . . . finds . . . a place prim and with the air of being little used and . . . decidedly chilly.<sup>60</sup>

Most successful Associations followed such suggestions. They were also influenced by their growing desire to work with boys, for adolescents could neither be touched by prim methods and attitudes nor attracted by chilly surroundings.

#### THE BEGINNINGS OF BOYS' WORK AND CAMPING

Boys were included in the general religious and welfare work of Y.M.C.A.'s both before the Civil War and afterward. Tent meetings were held and some Associations organized special Sunday Schools for boys—a natural expression of Protestant city mission work, which had early attempted to improve the condition of street boys.<sup>61</sup> But it was not until the Movement clarified its basic purposes that it began to be interested in boys, and even then there was some opposition lest this obscure the purpose of work for young men. The unique contribution of the Y.M.C.A. was its inclusion of boys in a program that was seeking to focus upon youth, thus bringing its religious and humanitarian motives to bear upon both age groups. When it was realized that there was no sharp dividing line between boys and young men the program was gradually expanded to younger age groups until in the first quarter of the twentieth century the emphasis upon boys' work almost overshadowed the previously declared purpose.

The Conventions of 1865 and 1869 discussed the place of boys in the Movement but neither reached any conclusions. During those years the missionary motive of finding and preaching to boys was gradually expanded to inviting them in. The 1870's saw in many instances provision of separate rooms, accompanied by a slowly emerging conviction that prevention and character training were the true Y.M.C.A. approach.

A boys' work department first appeared in the Salem, Massachusetts, Y.M.C.A. in 1869. Building upon his experience as a Sunday School teacher and charter member of the Association since 1859, William H. Whipple worked out a sort of boys' Y.M.C.A. with himself as chairman of what was the first boys' work committee. Having adapted the constitution of the adult Association to their needs and interests, the boys elected their own officers, made up their committees and program, and conducted their meetings. Under Whipple's careful supervision they carried on a variety of indoor games and simple forms of

entertainment, and maintained a library. A boy reaching fifteen who had a good record for two years was given an honorary membership in the senior Y.M.C.A. Eventually the entire boys' work committee of the Association was comprised of alumni of the department, a development that presaged the future influence of such departments and suggested the potentialities of boys' work in producing Association leadership. Whipple early instilled the ideal, characteristic of subsequent Y.M.C.A. boys' work, that a boy should join "not *alone* for the enjoyment he may receive himself, but *for the sake of helping other boys*." During the thirty-five years he gave to this pioneer venture, Whipple influenced the lives of more than 2,000 boys; he "set a high standard for all subsequent leaders of boys' work" and well deserves the praise given him by Edgar M. Robinson in *The Early Years: The Beginning of Work with Boys in the Young Men's Christian Association*.<sup>62</sup>

The Toronto and Montreal Associations established boys' work departments in 1873, and a "Youth's Branch" was formed at Dayton in 1874 shortly after the arrival of David A. Sinclair as secretary.<sup>63</sup> By the mid-1870's there were about sixteen other Associations doing a varied work with boys but the number of departments on the Salem model grew slowly, most leaders' interests following the traditional lines of special religious meetings or Sunday Schools, although a few began to admit boys to the gymnasium.

The late 1870's and the beginning of the 1880's witnessed the first real expansion of work for boys. The organization of a Y.M.C.A. in the high school at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1876 was the first of its kind; nine years later that in the high school at Ionia, Michigan, was formed.<sup>64</sup> During this interval many of what later became outstanding boys' work departments were established, the most notable among them being that of the Buffalo Association. Typically, this was an outgrowth of another branch of the program. In 1881 Miss Ellen Brown, an instructor in the State Normal School, took a class of boys in the Y.M.C.A. night school, teaching spelling, geography, arithmetic, and grammar. It was her custom to close each session with a Bible reading and prayer. At the end of the term several boys asked her to continue the Bible teaching and prayer; this eventuated into a boys' class taught by Miss Brown for twenty-one years. It grew so rapidly that a special room in a new building in 1884 was soon outgrown. In 1886 it became the "Junior" department, of which Miss Brown was now the full-time paid "superintendent," or more correctly, the first employed boys' work



secretary, which post she held until 1903. Like Whipple, she emphasized personal religion and lived to see at least 1,000 boys give "their allegiance to the Master." "She deserves the title of 'first' boys' work secretary," wrote Robinson, "not for chronological reasons alone, but also because she stood first in eminence as well."<sup>65</sup>

A great deal of the interest in and promotion of boys' work during the 1880's and 1890's was on the part of the women's auxiliaries that were important adjuncts of most Y.M.C.A.'s during this period.<sup>66</sup> A committee on boys' work was usual with the auxiliaries: that of San Francisco was charged to "co-operate with the General Secretary in his special work for boys." Worcester's ladies "took the lads under their care," becoming their "staunchest advocates and patrons"; the auxiliary at Newark in 1890 "initiated the movement for more extensive work with boys." At Hornell, New York, the women took turns at the rooms from four to nine o'clock helping maintain order and playing games with the boys; others reported efforts to keep boys off the streets and bring them into the "Y."<sup>67</sup>

When "E. Brown" was once lured into writing a short article for the *Young Men's Era* she self-effacingly called it "How the Boys Have Helped." No Association could equal Buffalo in the popularity of its boys' Bible class, but dozens had them. As the 1880's passed, the programs of boys' groups widened to include occasional use of the gym, outings, talks and discussions, and an increasing participation in planning by the boys themselves. A great deal of the program was didactic and moralistic—temperance and medical lectures, the "cold water" pledge against intoxicating liquors and others against tobacco and profanity, or talks on manners, cleanliness, travel, science, history. Occasionally a farsighted secretary introduced features more directly suited to adolescent interests and needs, including "magic lantern" shows, sports, excursions, debates, and projects furthering education.<sup>68</sup> Many boys' departments had their own libraries. A few provided savings bank services. Several Associations began departmental papers, one of the earliest and most notable being the Brooklyn *Boys' Companion*. By 1885 some Associations were separating their boys into age groups with fourteen years the dividing line.<sup>69</sup>

Boys' work had been rather well accepted by the Movement long before this, but little was done to co-ordinate the almost chaotic range of activities it represented. In 1881 *The Watchman* had pointed out that the work was no longer an experiment, but asked "What can we

do for the boys?" Its own response was to publicize every program it heard of. For years a column carried news of boys' departments gleaned from every corner of the continent. The most astute early analysis of the burgeoning crop was made by Illinois State Secretary I. E. Brown who sampled sixty Y.M.C.A.'s in 1885. Twenty-three of them reported that they were doing boys' work. Brown was chiefly impressed by the instability of the work, for a very large proportion of those carrying a program that year had not done so the year before and many who reported did not have one the next year. The "wide diversity of aim" and method revealed the lack of purpose. Brown also found a lack of uniformity in name, age limitation, and form of organization. Most agreement was in the area of religious work.<sup>70</sup>

A more important problem was that of the wisdom of mixing boys "who have had some moral training" with those who appeared defective in this regard. Bringing in street urchins soon began to keep "respectable" boys away.<sup>71</sup> By the mid-1880's it was fairly well agreed that the program should be directed toward boys from the better homes in view of the preventative and character-forming purpose of the Y.M.C.A.; rescue missions were available for the neglected boy.<sup>72</sup> *The Watchman* pointed out that it was much more strategic to attempt to reach the lower class of boys by means of the upper class than to try the opposite. This unpremeditated accompaniment to the clarification of purpose and the development of boys' work was to trouble the Y.M.C.A. conscience from then on. Many Associations did maintain work for boys from distressed areas and classes, but this received relatively minor emphasis.

Not only did *The Watchman* and the *Era* attempt to deal with these and other problems, but boys' work was a regular topic for discussion at state and provincial conferences, beginning in the early 1870's, although the first significant papers by young men who had come up through boys' departments were read at the Massachusetts convention of 1883. The New York convention of 1885 heard a presentation of the work by a boy of fifteen. It was first a major item before an International Convention at Atlanta in 1885, where it was presented primarily as a state Y.M.C.A. activity: the theme was echoed in no less than fourteen state and provincial gatherings that season, after which it appeared fairly regularly on all convention agendas. At the Convention of 1891 an International secretary was advocated. A searching paper by D. W. Corbett of Montreal covered the entire field for the

Convention of 1893. The International Committee pushed boys' work less actively than it did certain other innovations, although it published several pamphlets between 1885 and the establishment of its department in 1900.

The outstanding leadership in boys' work activity prior to 1900 was provided by the New York State Y.M.C.A., chiefly by Sumner F. Dudley. In fact, the New York City and state Associations were both fortunate in unusually farsighted leadership that early saw that boys' work was an adjunct of work for young men, as McBurney remarked at the state convention of 1885. In 1883 he had asked Dudley to take charge of a boys' literary society as an experiment. Setting high standards for debate, reading, and parliamentary practice, this club published for a time a paper called *Our Critic*, which was as influential as the Brooklyn *Boys' Companion* in spreading news and methods of boys' work. Dudley's unusual understanding of adolescent psychology reached as many boys with religious conviction as did the Association's gospel meeting. The next year he took a boy to the New York state convention, following which he convinced the committee that boys should be admitted as delegates; a special boys' meeting was held during the convention of 1885 in which a dozen boys participated, and another read a stimulating paper. That spring the Y.M.C.A. of Meriden, Connecticut, had held a "boys' branch conference" to discuss problems related to boys' work.<sup>73</sup> On the suggestion of a boy, Dudley brought about a similar meeting in the first and second districts of New York state, from which developed an annual boys' conference and regional meetings.<sup>74</sup> These pioneer meetings were the forerunners of all subsequent consultations of their kind, and included boys from the beginning—at such as the first older boys' conference in Massachusetts in 1891, or similar meetings in the Maritimes where E. M. Robinson was a leader in the late 1890's.<sup>75</sup>

By the mid-1880's Y.M.C.A. groups were going on "rambling" tours into the country during the summer. That these should expand into overnight and extended camping ventures was to be expected at a time when Americans were reading John Burroughs and John Muir and taking to the outdoors. There were a few private camps in various parts of the country prior to 1885; during the next decade perhaps a score were attempted.<sup>76</sup> The first Y.M.C.A. to sponsor an organized outing described as "camping out" was that of Brooklyn, which took some thirty boys on a four-day excursion to West Point and Newburgh over

the Fourth of July in 1882 and again the next summer, but this was less a camping trip than an excursion.<sup>77</sup>

There were undoubtedly numerous other Associations that arranged short camping trips for their boys in the mid-1880's. The first of these of which there is a record took place in the summer of 1883, when eleven members of the boys' branch of the Richmond (Virginia) Association spent three days in camp.<sup>78</sup> The same season the Rambling Club of the boys' branch of the Detroit Association spent a week at Grosse Point: fourteen boys accompanied by L. F. Newman, the general secretary, who had recently served at Richmond, "set up two tents in a beautiful spot near the lake. They spent the week in fishing, sailing, and boating."<sup>79</sup> In 1884 the Richmond boys, apparently a group of employed youth, again enjoyed a three-day outing that featured "boating, bathing, hunting, fishing, pitching quoits, *eating*, &c."<sup>80</sup> A year later the third annual Detroit camp reported thirty-five campers for a two-week period.<sup>81</sup>

Doubtless stimulated by the visits of the Brooklyn boys and by their description of the Detroit camp in the *Boys' Companion*, the Newburgh secretary, George A. Sanford, planned a camp at nearby Orange Lake in 1885, and invited Dudley to organize and lead it.<sup>82</sup> This experiment lasted eight days. Seven "leading members of the Boys' Branch" went, reported Dudley:

Weather: delightful . . . Fishing: very moderate. Swimming: called for three times a day. Health: good. Accidents: none. Appetites: ravenous. Hearty, manly fun: any quantity. Good nature: largely developed.

From one to two hours daily were devoted to Bible study. The boys were very much in earnest about the salvation of one of their number, which interest Dudley thought might "be made a valuable feature of summer work with the boys." In the group relationship thus experienced—probably the first of its kind in Y.M.C.A. history—Dudley saw two potentialities: "a very intimate acquaintance on the part of the leader with the dispositions of the boys with whom he is to work," and the value to the boys in learning that "pleasure seeking does not necessitate any relaxation of Christian study and work." He thought that the best opportunities to utilize camping for religious and character-building purposes lay among Christian boys and that "one or more of their leaders should be men intimately connected in interest with the boys' work, and having great influence over the boys themselves."<sup>83</sup>



The next season (1886) the camp was under the auspices of the New York State Y.M.C.A., and was held on Lake Wawayanda, New Jersey. There were twenty-three campers for two weeks, chiefly from Newburgh, with others from Brooklyn, New York, and Newark. Dudley's account of the period reveals his care for detail and again his concern for religious values; there were sports and excursions, and the routine work, except for the cooking, was shared by the campers.<sup>84</sup> The Newburgh newspapers christened the camp "Dudley" but he vetoed the suggestion. For a time the New Jersey State Y.M.C.A. shared the sponsorship of the camp, but it was later returned to New York after being established on Lake Champlain in 1891 when eighty-three campers enjoyed it.

By this time Dudley had developed procedures that were to be widely influential. Boys who were Y.M.C.A. members and over fourteen years of age were eligible. The size of the camp depended upon the number of young men Dudley could "secure as Assistant leaders. At least one trustworthy man" was needed for each five or six boys.

Upon Dudley's premature death in 1897 at the age of forty-three, when he was giving one-third of his time as boys' work secretary for New York State, the camp was named for him.<sup>85</sup> The leadership fell to another layman, George G. Peck, who had been among the first campers at Orange Lake in 1885 and who now gave to it equally devoted service until shortly after the turn of the century when it came fully and directly under the New York State Committee. Such in brief were the beginnings of the American Y.M.C.A.'s first influential boys' camp, and the seminal leadership of its dynamic pioneer.<sup>86</sup>

Although by the season of 1902 there were 226 boys at Dudley, the camping movement had spread fairly slowly, even if most areas and larger Y.M.C.A.'s had at least experimented by then. *Men* remarked in 1897 that "from Nova Scotia to California, and from the Canadas to the Gulf, Associations have established camps for their members by lake, river and ocean." These were not all boys' camps, but the Dudley pattern and the Northfield "summer school for Bible study" were strong influences upon them. The columns of the official periodical mentioned camping in these years in Massachusetts, Virginia, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Carolina, Georgia, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, Tennessee, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and other states. Articles began to appear on camp management;<sup>87</sup> the Convention of 1893 had heard it stated that camping was

“already a standing appointment in many associations” and would “prove a good holiday under the best of influence.” Thus camping came in as an adjunct of boys’ work, both to remain in their formative phases until well after 1900. Back in 1886, 148 Associations had reported that they were carrying on boys’ work. Ten years later there were 328, and in 1900, 401. These were the foundations upon which the International department began to build under the leadership of Edgar M. Robinson, beginning in 1900.

The philosophy of boys’ work that emerged along with its sporadic development reflected the ideas and phraseology of the much discussed work for young men. In another answer to the question, “What Can We Do for the Boys?” a writer in *The Watchman* in 1879 responded, “everything which can be done for young men can be done for boys.”<sup>88</sup> A paper read at the Connecticut convention of 1890 declared that boys’ work could be justified on the grounds that it enlisted boys in joining the church and in Christian duties about the “Y” building, and that it secured them for the men’s department when they grew older. It was still felt in many places at that time that the boys’ interests should not be allowed to encroach upon the program for young men, though the *Hand-Book* of 1892 revealed a beginning of concern for boys themselves, when it remarked that “we have boys’ work for the same reason that you do not wait until a boy is twenty-one before you send him to school”; yet “to neglect the boy may easily place the young man beyond our reach.” They grow to be men, editorialized the *Era* in 1894 and suggested that the arbitrary lines between “junior” and adult membership be abolished. Trends were suggested by the theme of a boys’ work secretary the next year who spoke to a state convention on “Boys—Their Needs, Our Opportunities.” A real turning point was passed in 1897 when Luther Gulick addressed the Mobile Convention on “the crisis in the life of a boy,” discussing, in terms few Americans had heard before, advanced theories concerning the effect of puberty on the spiritual and moral life of boys. Epochal as was this paper and Gulick’s subsequent studies, they had little effect until after the turn of the century when they became foundational to the great development of boys’ work that marked the era described in Part III of this History.

### EXTENSION OF THE IDEA AND PROGRAM TO SPECIAL CLASSES AND GROUPS

With the close of the Civil War, the churches of the North felt a strong obligation to help lift the freed Negroes to the status of citizens and Christians, and their educational benefactions to this end were one of the remarkable charities of the century. They likewise continued their interest in the westward movement of population, sending home missionaries to the newly opened areas of the West as the prairie schooner and later the railroad opened vast new regions to settlement. The Chinese who had built the transcontinental railroad and were now left to drift were the objects of their interest in some cities, as were the Indian tribes in their narrowing reservations. In the larger cities efforts were made although without much success to reach the swarming hordes of immigrants.<sup>89</sup> These were maintained parallel to an enormous increase in foreign missionary concern.

The Y.M.C.A. felt a comparable home missionary urge in most of these fields. Its motivation differed hardly at all from that of the churches as it devoted itself to spreading the gospel to young men. In this section will be described its attempts to reach soldiers and sailors, Negroes, American Indians, foreign-language groups, rural youth, commercial travelers, and workers in industry, especially railroadmen.

### THE FOUNDATIONS OF ARMY-NAVY WORK

Work for men in the armed services between the close of the Civil War in 1865 and the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 was limited almost entirely to "the provision of a large central tent with writing materials and reading matter, in charge of a secretary skilful in personal contacts" at the summer encampments of the National Guard. Prior to the inauguration of this in 1871 a similar activity had been carried on by the Montreal and Toronto Associations among the Canadian volunteers stationed in those cities during the Fenian raids of 1865-66.<sup>90</sup> Aside from the distribution of tracts to soldiers in hospitals and the occasional mention of a Bible class, such as that begun by the Oswego Association among the men at Fort Ontario in 1867, the only American Y.M.C.A. that reported a concern for the armed forces in the five years after Appomattox was the Washington Association, which upon the arrival of secretary Hall in 1868 inaugurated religious services at the Navy Yard.

Summer programs for volunteer militia were begun in 1871 at Camp Niagara by the Toronto Association. The next year, the Ontario provincial committee co-ordinated these activities for the Associations of Toronto, St. Catherine's, and Hamilton. With "the hearty co-operation of the military authorities" tents were pitched and "solid reading matter, with writing materials, and, [where] possible, also gymnastic apparatus" provided, together with ample accommodations for "day and evening meetings and Sabbath services"—the latter assisted by military bands. This work was maintained through several decades; it was reported in Nova Scotia in 1892.

The New York City Y.M.C.A. early made it a policy to send books, papers, and good reading material to military posts and naval stations, for which purpose it received in 1880 a gift of \$25,000 from the New York branch of the United States Christian Commission; by 1905 more than a million pieces had been sent. The first summer encampment programs in the United States were initiated by the state committees of Illinois and of New York in 1887, although the Illinois Association may have experimented earlier. This became at once a standardized program and was kept up with vigor by these two states. Within the next five years it was imitated in Iowa, Connecticut, Vermont, Alabama, Minnesota, Michigan, North Carolina, and the Maryland-Delaware-West Virginia-District of Columbia area. Its purpose was set forth by the first reporter of the Illinois work as being evangelistic and for "the strengthening and building up of the Christian young men," the prestige of the Y.M.C.A., and the "scattering of Association ideas among men from towns where no Associations exist." This writer also noted that the sponsorship of the program by the state committee "brought out to many minds the living fact of its existence where before it was a shadow unreality."<sup>91</sup> At certain points the Y.M.C.A. joined with temperance organizations in an effort to keep the camps "dry."

A Y.M.C.A. was reported among the midshipmen of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1879,<sup>92</sup> and in 1885 one was functioning at West Point.<sup>93</sup> At Fortress Monroe, Virginia, a permanent Association was organized in 1889 when it was granted quarters by the commanding officer, occupying them until a building was given it by Miss Helen Miller Gould in 1902.<sup>94</sup> An unusual report on army work came from the International Committee's secretary for Japan in 1892 describing a soldiers' club of forty men among the garrison at Tokyo.<sup>95</sup> In that same year Robert J. Roberts, physical director of the



Boston Association, put on an exhibition drill of setting-up exercises for a regiment stationed in that city and was asked to teach his system to the officers.<sup>96</sup>

These occasional contacts with the military provided a limited experience that aided in meeting the needs created by the Spanish War. At the Conventions of 1867 and 1879 the Movement had been urged to undertake more aggressive work among soldiers, but the Convention of 1895, following a plea by General O. O. Howard, authorized the International Committee to take "such steps as may be thought best toward organizing Association work in the army."<sup>97</sup> The resulting implementation provided a base for the operations carried on in the Spanish War, which will be treated in Chapter 11. There is no evidence of Y.M.C.A. interest in the Navy up to that time, aside from occasional reports of tract distribution among "sailors" or of gospel services at the docks. The Movement reflected nineteenth century indifference toward the armed forces and the problems of war and peace.

#### WORK AMONG AMERICAN INDIANS

The home missionary aspect of Y.M.C.A. expansion in the nineteenth century was best seen in its concern for American Indians, whose plight was dramatized by the several military expeditions required to finally subdue them. Uniquely similar to an incident fifty years earlier—when a deputation of chiefs from the Northwest called upon the commanding general at St. Louis for the white man's "Book from Heaven"—the Y.M.C.A. idea was adapted by the Sioux as early as 1879, the first knowledge of which came to Morse in 1885. The Indians had worked out what they called "rules of Jesus" based upon the first chapter of the Gospel of John where they read that "one man who had the light went out and found his brother who was in darkness."<sup>98</sup> Ten Associations were shortly adopted into the fellowship and with their 159 members listed in the *Year Book* for 1886.

Steps were immediately taken to regularize their basis of membership on the Portland test. Contributions were obtained enabling the states and the International Committee to carry on some part-time visitation. The student department became interested in the government schools, especially after the deep impression created at the Mt. Hermon conference of 1886 by James A. Garvie, who had translated the model college constitution into the Sioux language. Several student Y.M.C.A.'s resulted, and Garvie worked among his people on behalf of the Move-

ment at various intervals during the next decade.<sup>99</sup> During the heyday of the "Kansas Movement" that state Y.M.C.A. maintained a native Indian missionary among his own people of the Indian Territory.

By 1894 there were twenty-five Indian Associations with 698 members and the International Committee was asked to provide a secretary. The field was organized by Charles A. Eastman, M.D., a Sioux who had been trained at the Santee agency school, at Beloit, Knox, and Dartmouth colleges, and at Boston University. He gave part of his time during three years, meanwhile training an understudy who was sent to Springfield College. When Eastman resigned in 1898 there were some forty Associations;<sup>100</sup> his successor, Arthur (Walking Horse) Tibbetts, fostered their considerable growth during the next decade. In the summers of the closing years of the century, conferences for Indians were held at Big Stone Lake, South Dakota, with the accepted program of lectures, study, and sports.<sup>101</sup>

#### THE BEGINNING OF WORK AMONG NEGROES

With the close of the Civil War and the realization by northern Protestants that God had "smitten slavery unto death," as a leading clergyman said, the Y.M.C.A. joined the churches in concern for the freedmen. Its resources and therefore its program were of minor significance in comparison to theirs but its interest was real, and from the start enlisted members of both races in North and South, with the latter exerting the predominant influence. Until the late 1870's the Movement's commitment barely went beyond convention oratory. The first serious approach was made in the next decade. During the 1890's real foundations were laid.

The pattern of the earlier Negro Association in Washington which had been quite independent of the white Association in that city was repeated in the forming of colored Y.M.C.A.'s after the War. The only one organized during the 1860's that was destined to survive was in Charleston, where it was established in 1866 under the leadership of Henry W. Thomas.<sup>102</sup> Three other Negro Associations were formed that year—in Washington where the original society had long since died, in Harrisburg, and in New York, the last having grown rapidly from a charter roll of eleven names to fifty-two. Its president, E. V. C. Eato, was greeted with "the greatest enthusiasm" by the Convention of 1867, which was so moved by his presence and brief address that it voted "that the delegates of all associations be specially requested to

# First Colored Y.M.C.A.

IN AMERICA,

Complete with General Secretary, Rooms, Papers, Library, &c., wanted in Norfolk. *1/2*

International Sec'y Brown,

OF NEW YORK,

—AND—

General Secretary Hunton,

OF CANADA.

Will hold the following meetings this week.

**MOTHERS, WIVES, AND SISTERS.**

Bank Street Baptist Church,  
Wednesday, 4 P. M.

**Oyster-Shuckers and Longshoremen.**

Bute St. Baptist Church, Thursday, 8 P. M.

**Y. M. C. A. Organization Completed.**

St. John's A. M. E. Church, Cumberland St., Friday, 8 P. M.

**TELL YOUR FRIENDS--COME.**

POSTER ANNOUNCING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE  
"FIRST COLORED Y.M.C.A." IN AMERICA, NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

aid in the formation of colored associations throughout the South.”<sup>103</sup> But the only Negro Y.M.C.A. organized the following year was in Philadelphia.<sup>104</sup> Thomas H. Wright of the colored Association at Washington attended the Detroit Convention, which treated him with great kindness. In the course of the deliberations there a white delegate from New Orleans declared that his Association admitted colored men on an equal basis with whites. At the Portland Convention of 1869 a delegate from St. Louis answered the question of how colored men ought to begin if they wished to form an Association, by saying that they had “a right to do, and should do, just as the whites would do in such a matter.” During the usual fund-raising session of the Convention, “a lady in the gallery sent down \$10 for the freedmen”: this is usually regarded as the first contribution to International Y.M.C.A. colored work. The Portland Convention also responded to a letter from the Negro Association at Washington, recognizing its members as “co-workers in the same great cause” and hailing them “in the spirit of Christian Fraternity and Equality.”

Seven years passed before the International Committee engaged in serious promotion of Negro Y.M.C.A.’s, although during this time a few more local Associations were formed—at Boston, St. Louis, and in South Carolina. At one time in the mid-1870’s seventeen Associations were “known to exist” in the unusual fellowship of colored Y.M.C.A.’s of that state.<sup>105</sup> There is evidence that they met five times but in all probability they convened every year between 1870 and 1878.

The Indianapolis Convention of 1870 had had an animated discussion over a resolution authorizing the Executive Committee to employ a traveling agent “for the prosecution of Association work and the organization of Associations in the Southern States.” An amendment had been proposed adding that the effort be extended to colored people and that there be no distinction on account of race. This was voted down on the ground that it assumed that no work had so far been done among Negroes, and because the Montreal action of three years before was considered adequate. There had been no discrimination, explained Morse in the next issue of the *Monthly*, in response to criticism in the religious press. As a matter of fact, the Committee had reported to the Indianapolis Convention that it had previously carried on considerable correspondence with several Negro Associations—its principal method of supervision in those days—but had “not felt disposed . . . to adopt any particular measures” for their encouragement



beyond that given to others: "they have stood upon the same footing in regard to all the action of the Committee."

Hall and Cree, in their southern tour the previous spring, had reported the existence of "some six or eight" colored Associations. Weidensall visited both white and Negro organizations and leaders in the course of his southern trip in 1872, being especially impressed by Thomas with whom he had a long conversation, "and suggested many things" which Thomas thought "could be carried out by his Associations." Weidensall also met and advised with C. D. Lowndes of the Columbia Colored Association, who gave him a letter of introduction. Perhaps it was to clear up any lingering doubts of the validity of previous resolutions that the Convention of 1871 voted an unequivocal statement that included race relations among other issues:

Resolved, That Young Men's Christian Associations are organized specially to labor for and among young men; that they constitute a Union Board of the Church of Christ, charged with the performance of a specific duty; that in the prosecution of their work, the Associations, as such, have no politics, and know no distinctions among men except between those who love Christ and those who love Him not. . . .

A conviction was laid upon the Richmond Convention of 1875 that resulted the next year in specific action by the International Committee. The Negro pastors of Richmond petitioned the Convention for "prayer for the colored young men" of the city. President Joseph Hardie, a Southerner who had been elected by McBurney's influence because the New York executive felt it would "never do for a New England Yankee to hold that position," pressed this claim upon the body. Twenty-two years later when the Convention again met in a southern city, Hardie expressed his gratification with the work then being done for Negroes and reminisced that it had not originated "with the white people, but was the result of a petition of the colored ministers of Richmond." His plea to the Richmond gathering was followed by a "fervent prayer for the colored young men of the South" by his colleague Col. C. W. Lovelace, also of Selma, Alabama.

At Toronto the next year Hardie reminded the Convention of his remarks at Richmond and pled the cause with such eloquence that McBurney was compelled to apologize for the International Committee's inaction on the ground of lack of funds. Upon hearing this, the Reverend Stuart Robinson of Louisville moved that the Convention make "a special effort during the coming year among the colored people of the South, and that the International Committee be instructed

to send a representative or representatives among them"—which was voted. Subscriptions were "immediately offered" and \$700 raised, including \$100 from George Williams, the Convention's most distinguished guest—probably his only contribution to American Y.M.C.A. work—and \$50 from Robinson.

General George D. Johnston was retained by the International Committee to travel in the South the following winter (1876-77). He visited sixteen places, conferring with white Associations already at work "for the religious improvement of the colored people." The subject everywhere received "a cordial endorsement." Johnston did not attempt to organize Negro Y.M.C.A.'s, but drew attention to the problem and enlisted the aid of churches and white Y.M.C.A.'s. The Georgia state convention, which he attended, "unanimously endorsed" his proposals "and resolved to undertake work for the moral and spiritual advancement of that race." The Alabama state committee "rejoiced" that the International Committee had inaugurated this work.

International promotion among Negroes yet awaited a qualified worker. In the spring of 1879, Hardie and Lovelace brought to the Committee's attention the name of the Reverend Henry Edwards Brown (1839-1922), one of the founders under the American Missionary Association of Talladega College, and for three years its president and later founder of its theological department in which he also taught.<sup>106</sup> Brown, while an undergraduate at Oberlin, had dedicated himself "to the uplifting of the colored man" under the impulse created by the prayer of President Charles G. Finney "when the news came into the classroom of the assassination of President Lincoln." Brown began his service with the Committee in the spring of 1879 and his appointment was confirmed by the Convention of that year. Through the next decade he laid indispensable foundations, much as did the evangelistic state work of New England or the southern states at the same time. He enjoyed the confidence of Brainerd and a degree of intimacy with the chairman probably not achieved by any other field secretary.

As was its policy with all experiments, the International Committee began with Brown on a one-year contract. He won full approbation from the start. The members of the Committee "all feel very deeply on this great question," wrote Brainerd to him in June, 1879:

we have felt from the outset that God had some work for the Associations to do, and we have sought prayerfully the way. You seem to have begun

wisely, it may be you are God's choice for this work, if that be true I tremble for you, while I rejoice that he calls you to so superb a service.<sup>107</sup>

Six months later when further reports indicated that the field was opening up, Brainerd confided to Brown:

We all realize in some measure the magnitude of the work that is really now begun. It is of the most serious and solemn character. God only knows what its ultimate will be. You in going forth to do it lay your hand on the most delicate and important machinery in this country, now wholly out of gear. If out of it comes a harmonious work by the white and black young men of this Nation for the elevation of the latter you can indeed bless the Master for calling you to it.<sup>108</sup>

Brown was hired by the Committee to form "Bible classes among colored men under the direction of the Associations, or of churches where Associations do not exist; also to visit colored Associations, giving them suggestions about work and interesting whites in them."<sup>109</sup> He began along the lines followed by the southern Associations and which Johnston had pursued, but he soon found them ineffectual. He then developed a form of workers' training classes similar to those described above in this chapter. As his experience grew he found himself working more and more among the Negro colleges, so much so that it could later be said that his activity was almost exclusively confined to them. In 1881-82, for example, he reported devoting "the larger share" of his time to schools and colleges, spending from a few days to several weeks on each campus and forming Y.M.C.A.'s in nearly all. A year later he had been to thirty-four of the "leading colleges for colored students in the southern states," at which he had met 5,000 students and organized seven Associations. He prepared and circulated *Bible Prescriptions* and the widely used *Helps for Christian Workers*.

In 1883 *The Watchman* remarked that promotion among Negroes had been from its beginning the concern "beset with the most difficulty" yet it was meeting "with encouraging success." As Brown continued to cultivate his field, he became convinced that the future of Y.M.C.A. work among Negroes and its influence upon them depended upon its being integrated into the curriculums of the schools and colleges. He therefore planned his program for the "systematic development of Christian work in theory and practice," whereby colored youth would be trained in the Bible and evangelistic methods. Each year he founded several new campus organizations, and gradually a few city Y.M.C.A.'s appeared. He told the Atlanta Convention of 1885 that his

work, "chiefly in the educational institutions," then had to its credit "about 30 associations" in the forty-odd "schools of a high grade among the colored people in the whole country." His understanding of the economic and sociological aspects of Negro life was undoubtedly the most thorough of any Association worker in the 1880's, and it led him to prepare a plan for "industrial education among the colored people" which unfortunately did not obtain Brainerd's endorsement as a legitimate Association activity.<sup>110</sup>

In 1887 Brown reported that several city Y.M.C.A.'s were "agitating the question of colored branches." He was encouraged to see the schools graduating a splendid group of Negro young men who would earn most of their living by day and could "act as general secretaries at night at comparatively small expense." He also pointed to the improvement in the financial condition of the "better classes of colored people" and forecast the rapid approach of the time when branch or independent colored Associations should be formed "in all cities of the South, and in the larger cities of the North."

At Norfolk, Virginia, there had been a Negro Y.M.C.A. since 1875.<sup>111</sup> It had had its ups and downs, but in the late 1880's a nucleus of earnest members banded together for spiritual fellowship. Stimulated by a wealthy Englishman who had been influenced by George Williams, they reorganized and with Brown's help and the blessing of the International Committee sought a secretary. Two years before, International field secretary Edwin D. Ingersoll had met, at an Ontario provincial convention, a distinctive young Negro, William H. Hunton (1863-1916), upon whose heart it had somehow been laid "that he ought to give his life to Christian work among the colored young men of the South which he had no recollection of having seen." Ingersoll was "intensely interested" and reported to the Committee that he had found

the man that possibly was called of God to be the Moses of our day to lead the young men of his race in the entire South of this country out of Egypt and the bondage from which they had been recently delivered into the light and labor and service of the children of God.

An active worker, especially with boys, and a board member of the Ottawa Association, Hunton was then a government employee. He was the son of an ex-slave who had bought his freedom and made his home in Chatham, Ontario, a station on the underground railroad. He had aided John Brown in planning the Harper's Ferry expedition.



Hunton corresponded with Brown about the prospect at Norfolk and was promised a salary of \$800 the first year. If this failed, Brown would find another field or secure Hunton's "return traveling expenses . . . but I have no idea of a failure."<sup>112</sup> Turning his back upon security, a cherished career in the ministry, and the freedom accorded members of his race in Canada, Hunton "really had no choice. It was God's leading and I could but follow," he confessed many times afterward. He began at Norfolk in January, 1888—the first Negro Y.M.C.A. secretary.

The work "started with promise of abundant success," which was slowly but genuinely fulfilled. Rooms were rented; literary and debating groups, educational classes, and athletic interests developed; a library was acquired; a choral club was organized; but the deepest interest surrounded Bible study, "the bedrock of all the Association activities." Yet Hunton told the Convention of 1889 that of the fourteen colored Y.M.C.A.'s in the country none owned its building or had a gymnasium, baths, or even a lecture hall capable of seating more than 200 people. The average annual expenses of these struggling Associations were less than one hundred dollars. Brown reported only a few months after Hunton began that other cities were "asking when their turns will come for such a work." Several educated colored men had been found "willing to become General Secretaries" and classes for them had been organized at Howard University, Storer College, and Lincoln University.

When Hunton had been at Norfolk less than two years, Brown's health began to fail. Hunton was asked by the International Committee, as a test of his ability, to travel during part of the year among the Negro colleges. This resulted in his call, accepted in January, 1891, as the first colored secretary of the Committee at a salary (in 1893) of \$1,100. He plunged at once into country-wide promotional activity comparable to the pioneer work of Weidensall twenty years previously. Careful approach to white Associations, organizing colored branches, raising building funds, developing sponsors, visiting schools and colleges, and the holding of conferences became his chief activities.<sup>113</sup>

He soon found that state Associations did little to follow up their resolutions, so that "the colored men in the South look entirely to the International Committee for help in the extension and direction of their work." Throughout most of the first decade of his work, this meant that he was the only resource to which they could turn.

In 1890 Hunton and Brown attended a conference for colored stu-

dents called by the Louisville Association, at which a correspondent reported Hunton gave "a forcible address on 'God Calls for Men.' " This local gathering was the first of a number of like conferences that Hunton fostered, the next of which was held at Richmond in March, 1891, discussing the topics then current: Bible study, boys' work, college neighborhood work, personal religious work. This was followed the next January by a similar meeting at Lynchburg, Virginia. In March, 1893, conferences were held at Norfolk and at Nashville; the next spring at Atlanta and at Petersburg. Hunton recommended that three or four conferences be held each year, in the belief that they could be made to fill the gap between his own visits, but only two materialized. Like Brown before him, Hunton in this decade came to work increasingly with students, and his name was included on the student department's stationery. Of the sixty colored Associations active in 1896, forty-one were in colleges and he had devoted nearly four months of his time to them. Yet fourteen city Y.M.C.A.'s had been organized within the past two years; two owned property free of debt, and seven had secretaries—New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Norfolk, and Louisville. Perhaps the high point of Hunton's career up to that occasion came when the Convention of 1897 at Mobile heartily received a Negro professor as one of its featured speakers and Hunton himself led its devotions one morning. The next year he was joined by Jesse E. Moorland and together they developed the department along lines to be described in Chapter 11.

Neither extant records nor the space limitations of this History make it possible to deal adequately with the complex problems that were faced in the pioneer phase of Y.M.C.A. work among Negroes. Always there was an appalling lack of funds. This complicated Hunton's efforts to obtain secretaries, for young Negroes hesitated to volunteer for work that appeared to them to be poorly supported. There were, he opined, no wealthy colored men to really get behind the program.<sup>114</sup> The Negro community could not carry it alone nor could he supervise the entire country unassisted. Increasing racial tensions rendered Negro work more difficult than it had been earlier, and in some areas made it virtually impossible. Even such an outspoken champion as Major Hardie became convinced in the early 1890's that the organization of colored Y.M.C.A.'s was unwise.

Between Brainerd's strong feeling that the Movement ought to transcend the race issue and the attitudes of sympathetic southern

leaders there was a wide gap. The chairman wrote to Henry E. Brown in 1891 that he could foresee the time when all the Associations, "no matter what the color of the skin, may be got to meet in State Conventions without controversy or debate as to the question of race":

Don't let us go any further than is necessary in recognizing the separateness, absolute and entire between the two races in Christian work; and also let us keep clear of the idea that the black race is to be dominated and perpetually advised by the white race. In other words let us like discreet sailors, watch our opportunities and take in the slack every time the boat makes a particle of progress and if we do that patiently and continuously we will have the boat to land sooner than any one expects.

In February, 1891, Brainerd cautioned the new state secretary of South Carolina against pushing too hard for any specific form of Negro organization, especially an independent state committee.<sup>115</sup>

The Movement virtually everywhere accepted segregation "and was influenced thereby in all subsequent matters affecting racial service and interracial collaboration."<sup>116</sup> Hunton early described this situation. In the South, he wrote to a secretary in need of advice, "the white associations proclaim, without any uncertainty, that they do not want and will not receive colored men as members." In the middle and occasionally in the northern states, he continued, "white Associations 'pigeon-hole' applications from colored men."<sup>117</sup> The third method of treatment and the only one endorsed by the International Committee, he concluded, "is that which accords to colored applicants the very same treatment given to white." He felt that the second method almost always caused trouble and that the choice between the first and third "must depend upon local conditions."<sup>118</sup> Conventions did not legislate upon matters of this kind, which touched the areas in which local Associations were regarded as sovereign. Yet by the enactment of the Convention of 1891 that colored Y.M.C.A.'s might be organized independently, the choice of branch or autonomous relationship was left open.<sup>119</sup> In actual practice few independent Negro Associations were formed.

#### WORK AMONG FOREIGN LANGUAGE GROUPS

Another concern of the Protestant churches, shared by the Y.M.C.A., was for the immigrant, but neither group was in a real sense successful in reaching the hordes of strangers who brought to the melting pot their age-old religious and cultural heritage. The pattern of segregation that characterized American denominations and that we have seen

was accepted in the Y.M.C.A.'s approach to Negroes also characterized its efforts for several foreign groups. Neither local Associations nor the supervisory agencies exerted themselves seriously to support or equip these "branches," which ordinarily found it virtually impossible to raise adequate funds among their own people. The matter was further complicated by the tensions and contradictions within national groups, particularly the German, so that a well-intentioned effort foundered over the baffling "terms and conditions" requisite to its achievement.<sup>120</sup>

It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that the first Y.M.C.A. in North America was an obscure group of German youth who brought to New York in the great migration of 1848 the pattern of the Christlichen Jünglings Verein.<sup>121</sup> Of all subsequent Association efforts for immigrants, that directed toward German-speaking young men was by far the most extensive. During the latter third of the nineteenth century work was also attempted with Chinese, Japanese, French, Scandinavian, and Dutch young men. The first Pacific Coast convention in 1869 resolved that the Chinese in that area should receive the earnest attention of Y.M.C.A.'s, which ought to begin by teaching them the English language. This sentiment was shortly echoed by the International Convention at Portland, Maine, and put into effect the ensuing year by the Association of Portland, Oregon, and in 1871 by the San Francisco Y.M.C.A.,<sup>122</sup> whose enterprising Chinese Branch was an aggressive institution in 1951. A few similar Y.M.C.A.'s for Japanese followed their later migration to the West Coast; the story of this unique branch in San Francisco during the ten years before 1951 will be recounted in Chapter 18. For a time during the influx of French-Canadians to New England the Movement became concerned about them, but only one successful French Branch was ever established—in New York, where it did an unusual work from 1889 to 1929. In the Midwest and in a few cities elsewhere during the 1870's and 1880's there were special branches or departments established to work with Scandinavian youth,<sup>123</sup> and in the same general area twenty-five Associations were reported in the mid-seventies among immigrant young men from Holland.<sup>124</sup> Few of these survived for long.

The much greater development and similar decline of German Y.M.C.A.'s was not only a reflection of the larger number of these immigrants—many cities counted a fourth of their population as German-born—but also the long shadow of a creative leader. The Conventions



of 1867 and 1869 considered the matter<sup>125</sup> and Weidensall organized several German Associations.<sup>126</sup> As the 1870's advanced the theme was on the agenda of every convention and *The Watchman* early inaugurated a column to report its growth, which was greatly accelerated by an aggressive young leader who appeared in 1874. The Reverend Fred-eric von Schluembach (1842-1901) had come to America in the 1850's. He served as a Union army captain and was converted during a Christian Commission tour by George H. Stuart.<sup>127</sup> A reclaimed rationalist and drunkard, he now studied for the ministry and was ordained by the German Methodist Church. While serving a Baltimore congregation he became interested in his fellow immigrants then entering the country in greater number than any other nationals, and organized a German Y.M.C.A.

As president of this society von Schluembach attended the Convention of 1874 which set him "afire"; he there appealed successfully for support of a plan for a national organization of German Y.M.C.A.'s. That October at a meeting attended by representatives of thirteen German Associations and by Morse and Brainerd who welcomed it "as an auxiliary of our Convention," the National Bund of German Y.M.C.A.'s was organized. Chosen its general secretary, von Schluembach, soon to be known as the "German Moody," in part-time visitation that season added thirty German Y.M.C.A.'s to the Movement's statistics. Many of these were related to German-speaking churches. Von Schluembach's plan for the Bund was to organize Jünglings Verein in the German churches of each city with the expectation that these would affiliate in a central German Y.M.C.A. The difficulties in the way of realizing this scheme would have crushed a less dynamic leader. Most Lutheran pastors refused recognition, on the ground of Lutheran teaching that held the Church and the ministry to be the sole agents for the preaching of the Word. In practice, city Y.M.C.A.'s did little to aid, although no phase of promotion was receiving greater publicity at conventions or in the periodical.<sup>128</sup>

The program of the German Associations was in most cities primarily religious and social, and devoted to aiding and Americanizing German youth. Music played a large part, as did the gymnasium in the few places one was available. The work faced the same handicaps as did that of any Association lacking building or secretary, both of which were difficult for German branches to secure, they being virtually on their own in this regard. They were not allowed to raise

buildings funds without the approval of the city board, and during this building era these ambitions often conflicted with the plans of the central Association.<sup>129</sup> Large gifts were made by Americans to the Association building in Berlin, but the few structures obtained by German branches in this country were financed out of the slender means of the immigrant group itself. One successful German department was ultimately forced to dissolve chiefly on account of an excessive charge for rent of quarters in the downtown building.<sup>130</sup> The few cities in which the German branches obtained buildings were those that had previously secured new central buildings—New York, St. Louis, Buffalo. Their membership and programs expanded, as did those of city Associations, upon the occupancy of new quarters. A veteran German secretary recorded his well-founded conviction many years after the work had disappeared that the fine accomplishments in these three cities might have been repeated in a number of others if the interests of the German branches had not been subordinated to those of the central Associations.<sup>131</sup>

But this was not the only handicap. In 1881 von Schluembach's health broke and he was forced to return to Germany; a major operation cured him, and although he subsequently carried out short assignments for the International Committee the German work in the United States never discovered a comparable leader. While in his native land, von Schluembach introduced American Y.M.C.A. methods and laid the foundations for a greatly expanded movement. After his departure the Committee found it increasingly difficult either to support the German work or understand the apparently irreconcilable tensions to which immigrant Lutheran bodies and German liberals and radicals were prone, and which were completely beyond the ability of von Schluembach's successor to resolve. In 1883 the Committee withdrew its approval of the Bund, without consultation with the Germans, an action the equivalent of dissolving it. Never satisfactorily explained, this arbitrary move caused considerable unrest.<sup>132</sup>

After this the work began to decline, although the constituency did not decrease. From a maximum of twenty German Y.M.C.A.'s in 1881, the total fell to twelve in 1884, eleven of which reported throughout the next decade; in the *Year Book* of 1892 sixteen secretaries, including three gymnasium instructors, and six buildings valued at \$175,000 were reported; three other Associations had sizable building funds.<sup>133</sup> The depression of the next year paralyzed this activity, although eleven

German branches were listed in 1895 and 1896. After that they disappeared from the statistics. It was said that young Germans preferred English-speaking organizations.<sup>134</sup> In 1897 the Committee terminated the work, without advising with the German leaders, by dismissing its secretary who had been on a part-time basis for several years.<sup>135</sup> The Convention of 1899 approved this action but urged local Associations to special effort "to reach and benefit German speaking young men," with which endeavors it instructed the International Committee to co-operate. The action of the Convention of 1891 prohibiting independent Associations in a community where a Y.M.C.A. already existed, denied to German or other national groups the autonomy granted at that time to Negro and student Associations.<sup>136</sup> In most local situations both property and funds that had been contributed very largely by the German elements of the community reverted to the city Y.M.C.A., causing bitterness among those groups. The last German secretary to resign took the entire tragic problem as he saw it to Morse. He afterward described this visit in such terms as to infer that the general secretary was unsympathetic to his plea and refused to take any action.<sup>137</sup> Thus in contrast to the success of several denominations in fostering and supporting German-language groups that ultimately were integrated into their fellowships—the Congregationalists alone had gathered 133 German churches by 1900<sup>138</sup>—this experiment by the Y.M.C.A. was very largely a failure.

#### WORK AMONG RURAL YOUNG MEN

Throughout its history the Movement has had a bad conscience because of its urban nature, which some leaders seemed to feel was its original sin. Perhaps because its Protestant progenitors sprang from the rural context they felt an urge to extend to those areas, but no attempt to do so can be said to have been thoroughly or permanently successful. During the first twenty-five years of the Y.M.C.A., half of the local Associations were in small towns or rural neighborhoods. The striking mortality rates to which attention was called in Chapter 3 were highest in those places that could not obtain secretaries or buildings.

The problems of work in small towns occupied the attention of the Convention of 1867 and of virtually every state and International convention after it; they rarely failed of mention in every magazine, beginning with the *Monthly* in 1870. For Weidensall, "county work," as he called it, was an "almost boundless home mission field." The first

such organization was the result of an evangelistic campaign by Moody and others in Du Page township, Illinois, in the fall and winter of 1872-73, following which Weidensall organized a Y.M.C.A. which survived a few years as a nucleus for revivalism.<sup>139</sup> During the depression of 1873-74, while the Executive Committee's budget was unable to supply him with either salary or expenses, he devoted himself to intensive cultivation of this field; the next winter he supervised a canvass in Mason County, Illinois, from which a county convention and organization resulted. It was Weidensall's growing conviction that the county was the natural social and cultural unit for Y.M.C.A. work among rural young men. He realized that it could not prosper permanently until a full-time secretary was obtained. Although he prayed much about the matter, he "did not want to anticipate the way in which the Lord would have the Brotherhood acquainted with what was best for them to know and when"; so it was not until 1882, when he was asked to write a series of articles for *The Watchman*, that he suggested the necessity of an "executive secretary" who would be "to the smaller Association what the general secretary is to the larger," except that he would be on part time and partial salary.<sup>140</sup>

In the winter of 1885-86 Weidensall made a strong plea through *The Watchman* for a county general secretary.<sup>141</sup> Four years later he addressed the "Association of General Secretaries" on "The Proposed County Secretary," and some of them laughed. Yet two state executives went home to start the work, the first in Nebraska where a secretary, D. W. Montgomery, was engaged at \$1,000 for Pawnee County, at a conference held in August, 1889.<sup>142</sup> Similar efforts in a second Nebraska county failed soon because of lack of funds. In Kansas at the same time a county work secretary was a member of the regular staff during the expansion known as the "Kansas Movement." For Weidensall the most convincing effort in this direction was made in Edgefield County, South Carolina, through the efforts of W. A. Wynne, state secretary, whom Weidensall had earlier indoctrinated. The work was there organized in the spring of 1891 and John Lake hired as secretary. For eight years he was "a veritable apostle Paul" to all Christian workers in the area, until he was called to Kentucky as the first state supervisor of county work.<sup>143</sup> During the 1890's attempts at county work were reported in California, Nova Scotia, Wisconsin, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Illinois, and Kentucky, in most of which Weidensall did careful cultivation.<sup>144</sup> Not long after the turn of the century Weid-



be allowed to stand in the way of <sup>the</sup> Association work for any class of young men and especially a very numerous class, until every reasonable and practical effort has been made to accomplish it.

The purpose of this paper is to show as clearly as possible:-

First The vast and ever increasing field for young men's Christian Association work in the almost innumerable small towns, villages and townships of our country with 2500 inhabitants or less, the largest of which may not for a long time, as a general thing, employ general secretaries.

Second The condition of the young men in the small places of this extensive field is much more favorable to a successful Association work than in the large towns and cities.

Third How the Association work in such small communities can be satisfactorily accomplished through the County Committee and the County Secretary.

Fourth The beneficial results of such a work to the young men themselves,

ensall saw his dream actualized with the appointment of an International secretary and the development of a department.

### RAILROAD AND INDUSTRIAL WORK

In brilliant contrast to the difficulties and failures encountered in the effort to reach foreign-language and rural groups was the highly successful development of railroad Y.M.C.A.'s. Although this was a mission to the aristocracy rather than the rank and file of labor, it was the Movement's one markedly effective approach to the working class in the nineteenth century. In its origins it was an expression of the Protestant home missionary urge that was strong in the years when the last frontier was being closed by the railroads that spanned the continent and populated the former "Great American Desert" with farms and villages. As pioneers spread across the great plains, missionaries of every denomination pursued them, often directing their first efforts to the laborers who built the railways and then moving out into the new communities as construction was finished and settlers began to arrive.<sup>145</sup>

The Associations joined in the drive upon the "new field thus opened by Providence for our occupation." How Robert Weidensall was hired to pursue a mission on the Union Pacific was recounted in Chapter 3. Eight members of the Omaha Association had "prospected" the line as far as it was completed in July, 1868, holding revival services at Cheyenne and Laramie and further west for construction gangs "and the soldiers that were their guard." By the time this news had appeared in the November *Quarterly*, Weidensall was at work and had formed an Association at Fremont, Nebraska, "on the line of the U.P.R.R."<sup>146</sup> Later, he visited "from house to house, and from shop to shop" in Cheyenne and expected that the interest of the 165 members he had gathered there would soon result in a Y.M.C.A. building on a suitable lot: "they had one in view when I left." The February *Quarterly* said that he had worked along "one of the connecting roads of the great line running through Iowa, and [had] met with unexpected and most encouraging success."<sup>147</sup>

A few days after the golden spike was driven joining the eastern and western roads at Promontory Point, Utah (May 10, 1869), Weidensall visited the spot and upon invitation of a newspaper man preached a sermon. Standing on the last tie, "which then was so much in the mind

of all persons in this community, and you might say throughout the entire country," he opened his Bible and took as a text John 14:6—"I am the way, the truth and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me." Reviewing the history of great roads to the climax of that moment, Weidensall spoke simply in railroad analogies. This talk, which he wrote out in his *First Field Work of the International Committee*, is virtually his only recorded sermon.<sup>148</sup>

But Weidensall found that the flux of population made a permanent work difficult, and soon transferred his promotional energies to cities and towns of longer standing. In his report to the Convention of 1869 he named sixteen towns in which he had attempted to establish Y.M.C.A.'s. He had come upon incipient Associations in at least thirteen others. "We now have the inside track of any one institution," he declared, "the mission is appreciated. The workmen along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad desire its continuance."<sup>149</sup> But it was decided to route him into more settled communities where he laid the foundations of scores of successful Associations throughout the Midwest. In 1883 Brainerd expressed doubt that this first railway mission had resulted in much permanent Association work.<sup>150</sup> It had stimulated interest in the railroad enterprise but demonstrated the difficulty of Y.M.C.A. work among unskilled and transient laborers.

The first effort which was to lead to a continent-wide program specifically for regularly employed railroad men was begun at Cleveland in 1872. Prayer meetings in the stationmaster's office had been held in the Union Depot as early as the winter of 1870-71. Special Sunday afternoon services for railroad men and their families were started there early in 1871, with local pastors alternating as speakers.<sup>151</sup> This humble beginning had been inspired by a train dispatcher, Henry W. Stager, who had been shocked by the callous attitude of the crowd that looked on as the body of a worker killed in an accident was carried out of the station. "Only a railroad man"—the words had galvanized him to do something for his neglected fellows, whose long hours of work, low wages, and hazardous occupation made them fit objects of concern. The Cleveland Y.M.C.A. with its interdenominational interests was ideally situated to continue the program and a railroad committee was appointed to take over the weekly meetings. The men asked for a reading room in the station, which was granted, together with equipment, and a secretary, George W. Cobb, who resigned his business to take up the new work. The idea had captured the interest of James H. Devereaux,

president of the road. The room was dedicated June 1, 1872, though the Association had been organized the previous April.

That November as Morse passed through Cleveland en route to the Ohio state convention he was entreated to devote his twenty-minute mealtime stopover to an inspection of the room. He returned to New York enthused and commissioned to ask the International Committee to request Commodore Vanderbilt to set aside such a room in the newly completed Grand Central Station in New York.<sup>152</sup> The vivid impression made upon Morse did not carry over to the New York executives, but next year when the Convention met at Poughkeepsie five minutes was granted to Cobb of Cleveland. He started talking the moment he arose and continued through his full time on the platform, finishing when he had returned to his seat in the rear of the room. Subsequent Conventions gave increasing time and attention to the new idea.

Where the next railroad branches were started is not entirely clear, but within a year or two there were such at Chicago and Stratford, Ontario. A revival team from Cleveland visited Erie and an Association resulted. In 1874 W. W. Van Arsdale of Chicago reported to the Dayton Convention an Association reading room in the Rock Island station where he was secretary.<sup>153</sup> Next year the Cleveland delegates went to the Richmond Convention with \$200 to offer the International Committee toward the expenses of a traveling secretary. Lang Sheaff, Cleveland executive, was obtained for eight months' promotion that winter and organized a dozen railroad Associations, including those at New York, Baltimore, Boston, and Detroit.<sup>154</sup> While Sheaff was in New York a small group of International Committee members and friends prevailed upon Cornelius Vanderbilt Jr., who had recently become a director of the New York Association, to grant the use of a room in Grand Central. The result was not only the opening of well-equipped facilities in the nation's newest and greatest station but young Vanderbilt's lifelong enlistment in the cause, in which James Stokes also participated.<sup>155</sup>

The example at Grand Central and the inherent contagion of the idea brought the organization of railroad branches in further centers, there being nineteen by 1877 when Vanderbilt, Jesup, and others became convinced of the value of the work and provided funds for the employment of Edwin D. Ingersoll as International secretary. He resigned the secretaryship of the Columbus Association to enter upon



ten years' promotion that virtually created a movement and tied it securely to the Y.M.C.A. His first report of less than six months' work, made to the Louisville Convention of 1877 (which had as its other highlight the inauguration of student work) reviewed visitation to a dozen railroad centers and appended testimonials from representative executives such as were to be utilized by this work throughout the nineteenth century. Ingersoll retired in 1887. In 1890 Clarence J. Hicks became International secretary. Under his leadership system-wide visitation and organization were developed.<sup>156</sup>

Beginning in 1877 and at two- to four-year intervals thereafter the railroad Y.M.C.A.'s held their own International conferences. Sponsored by the International Committee, these, in addition to the usual railroad periods at the regular International Conventions, brought together "in Christian fellowship men of varying modes of thought," set "new standards of operation," and kept "fervent and glowing the religious spirit in which the Movement was born."<sup>157</sup> The first one, at Cleveland, embarrassed the host Association by arriving in more than triple the number expected. Morse called it to order. Program was discussed; Sunday observance by roads and travelers was commended by rail officials as well as workers. Trainmasters, firemen, freight agents, engineers, brakemen, flagmen, and shopmen participated in the deliberations.

At the second conference, held at Altoona in 1879, the relation of the burgeoning movement to the Y.M.C.A. was threshed out.<sup>158</sup> Thirty-nine railroad Associations were represented by 113 delegates; there were twenty full-time secretaries now at work. The gathering discussed fifteen prepared topics, and many men testified to their new-found Christian profession and their loyalty to the Associations. In opening the discussion of "the relation of the Railroad Y.M.C.A. to the parent Association," Morse read a statement from Cornelius Vanderbilt who considered it "very fortunate" that the movement was "under the fostering care and guidance of the Y.M.C.A.," which gave it "a permanency, position and power not otherwise attainable."

Delegates knew that several railroad branches had already severed their connections with the Movement—Cleveland, Altoona (the host), Indianapolis, others: separatism was in the wind. In the face of this Vanderbilt noted the traditional "independent position of the railroad men, and the importance of maintaining this." He recommended adequate committee representation, office-holding, "and their voice and

counsel to be heard in all the details of the work . . . to hold the movement in the Y.M.C.A." A paper written by a Chicago railroad official on the best method of organization in a large city followed the Vanderbilt letter. "All such work," he began categorically, "should be wholly under the direction of the Y.M.C.A." and the first steps taken should be the appointment of a railroad committee by the city Association. The outline he presented combined "the moral and financial influence and support of the Y.M.C.A. with the official, personal and financial support of the railway companies."<sup>159</sup>

The discussion, time for which was twice extended, followed the lines suggested by the introductory papers. No one spoke strongly if at all in favor of independent societies. The Conference recognized the initiative of the Movement in establishing a railroad department, maintaining a secretary, and calling the conference. Somewhat ambiguously it expressed its regard for the Association and promised "hearty co-operation and brotherly sympathy in all practicable ways." Neither this action nor the discussion that preceded it firmly united the railroad Associations to the Movement or solved the problem of their relation to city Y.M.C.A.'s, but they stemmed the tide of separation. John F. Moore, later International railroad secretary, in his *Story of the Railroad "Y,"* is quite certain that this was the strategic moment at which the rising railroad venture was saved for the Y.M.C.A., largely through the strategy of Morse in opening the discussion with positive word from Vanderbilt who stressed the part that could be played in the work by the railroad men themselves. Only once did this problem arise gain in the nineteenth century, at the conference of 1886, and then the emphasis was likewise upon the importance of unity.<sup>160</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century the religious work of the railroad branches overshadowed every other activity, as a Cleveland report declared in 1891. Their program comprised most of those Association efforts with which the reader of this book is now familiar—revivals, prayer meetings, Bible classes. The railroad Associations from the beginning made excellent use of the library, which was to prove a perennially effectual program feature.<sup>161</sup> Educational classes were introduced early. Secretary Theodore F. Judd of Minneapolis, himself a telegrapher, started a class in telegraphy because of his interest in a railroad man who lost a foot in an accident. First aid instruction was begun in the first half of the 1880's.<sup>162</sup> Traveling evangelists were popular throughout this period, one of them, Jim Burwick, becoming nation-



Vol. 1

ATLANTA, GA., AUGUST, 1886.

No. 1

**OUR HEADING.**

Our heading, (which, by the way, is a very neat one, don't you think so reader?) is designed by one of our fellows of the R. & D. Shops—Mr. W. C. Wall. He is a machinist in charge of the tool room and is very popular with the boys of the shop. He is familiarly known as "Billy Wall."

We are glad to have the acquaintance of such a genius as is Mr. Wall. Not only on account of his genius, but because he is an earnest Christian.

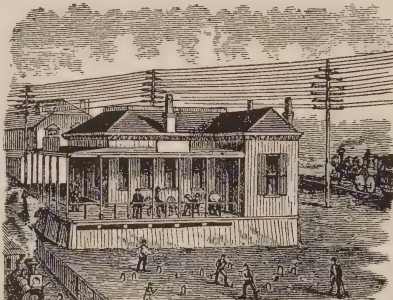
Mr. Wall was the first man who took out a yearly membership in our Association. He was not a Christian at that time, but has since given much time and work to the good of

**IMMORTALITY.**

It cannot be that earth is man's only abiding place. It cannot be that our life is a bubble cast up by the ocean of eternity to float another moment upon its surface, and then sink into nothingness and darkness forever. Else why is it that the high and glorious aspirations which leap like angels from the temples of our hearts, are satisfied?

Why is it that the rainbow and cloud come over us with a beauty that is not of earth, and then pass off and leave us to muse on their faded loveliness?

Why is it that the stars, which hold their festival around the midnight throne are set above our limited faculties and are forever mocking



FIRST PAGE OF *R.R. Y.M.C.A. Links and Pins*, VOL. I, NO. I,

ISSUED BY THE ATLANTA ASSOCIATION IN 1886



ally known.<sup>163</sup> Occasionally a railroad branch had a choral group. Lectures were often given as "practical talks"; lunch rooms appeared in a few places.<sup>164</sup>

Buildings for railroad Associations came slowly, most railway groups first having rooms in passenger stations. As membership grew there was an increasing pressure for special buildings, and a few railroad companies put up small frame structures at strategic locations near the yards or natural gathering places where the only alternatives were saloons or disreputable houses. Sometimes retired passenger coaches were utilized for this purpose. The first special buildings for the railroad work appear to have been constructed at Detroit and Toledo<sup>165</sup> in 1878, but until the late 1880's the emphases were upon obtaining and suitably furnishing rooms, there being fewer than a score of railroad branch buildings by 1890.

The great stimulus to specialized buildings for railroad Associations was Vanderbilt's provision in 1888 of \$225,000 facilities for men in the employ of the New York Central. Located at Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street—across the street from where national Y.M.C.A. headquarters would later be set up for more than thirty years—this company-owned structure set the standard for these specialized Y.M.C.A. buildings, with their baths, game rooms, lounges, gymnasiums, lunch rooms, infirmaries, libraries, bowling alleys, but for a time few sleeping rooms. In metropolitan centers and at lonely junction points such facilities served the basic Association purpose of a home away from home. Between 1890 and 1896 their number more than doubled, and a record was made in 1899 when eight structures costing in the aggregate \$75,000 were dedicated at one time, making a total of sixty-eight, with seven more under construction.<sup>166</sup>

Most of the men who entered the railroad secretaryship were rail workers who for some reason had left the road; they were probably the least qualified of any group of secretaries. An example was a locomotive engineer whose train killed a mother and child before his eyes in a collision when signals failed. He vowed never to drive another train, and entered the secretaryship. Suggestions and recruiting procedures not dissimilar from those utilized by city Associations were applied in the endeavor to obtain suitable personnel. Described as the engineer of the Y.M.C.A. train, the local secretary was expected to be "a genial, kindly, true MAN, infusing life and warmth into all." There is no instrumentality for reaching and influencing the human heart, like



*another* heart, declared a speaker at the third railroad conference in 1882.

The railroad secretaryship, like the general secretaryship, underwent an evolution from the original conception of a pastoral or missionary relationship to a broadening social service character as "the practical features became more prominent" during the 1880's. The number of men in the railroad work increased from twenty-two local executives and assistants in 1880 to eighty-eight in 1890 and one hundred and sixty-three in 1899. The International staff first expanded to two in 1891, but by 1899 Hicks had five associates. Recruiting in 1900 stressed qualifications similar to those emphasized above but added that the railroad secretary must be genuinely, broadly, and deeply religious, that he must have administrative ability, and he "had better be an educated man."<sup>167</sup>

For financial and social assistance railroad Associations often enlisted the aid of women's auxiliaries, but the bulk of their support came from the railroads. The conscience of the Movement was not clear at the beginning on the acceptance of corporation funds, but the practice was soon rationalized. "The shrewdest men, the most careful managers, are now ready to appropriate money for the purpose," declared a speaker at the conference of 1882, "and the response they make to their stockholders is 'we are making money for you by it.'" These testimonials, of which there were scores, reflected an exceptionally early realization on the part of corporation executives that employee welfare services were a good investment. Thus was the pattern of company support of this Y.M.C.A. venture established. It was said that the Association developed men with better discipline not only in daily routine but under stress of emergency; this in turn brought greater dividends.<sup>168</sup> Ingersoll was quick to point out that corporation contributions did not represent missionary interest. Rather, Y.M.C.A. work raised standards and hence the quality of service rendered by employees, "and better service means, simply, larger dividends to the stockholders."<sup>169</sup>

The Y.M.C.A. thus completely allied itself with the employing class in a paternalistic service to workers. Almost no Association men identified themselves or their organizations with the cause of the poorly paid and overworked employees who fought, for the most part, losing battles with giant corporations in the strike-ridden years of 1877, 1886, and 1894. It must never be forgotten by any railroad Y.M.C.A., editorialized

the *Era* in January, 1895, "that the company is the source from which it derives its main support." International secretaries called upon and promoted the work with hundreds of railway officials but never once met with organized labor.

For the most part Y.M.C.A. leaders kept their facilities neutral during strikes. They refused usually to inaugurate Association services as long as the company insisted upon the right to commandeer the buildings "in time of war" with labor. The Association suffered as the result of strike situations—in loss of workers' sympathy or management's withdrawal of support. Where the facilities were owned by the company, the Associations were helpless if the owners took them over to house strikebreakers. They took risks in attempting to serve strikebreakers, but on the whole the policy evolved was that of a course "straight down the middle of the road." An official of a railroad labor union once stated it thus: "Your Association is not a labor organization, and it would be absurd to expect it to be any sort of participant in time of strike."<sup>170</sup>

Although the early development of railroad work was purely fortuitous, it was soon found desirable to model it upon the peculiarities of each railroad system as the great networks combined. Until the 1870's it had been necessary for travelers between New York and Chicago to change trains as many as eight times, but by then Vanderbilt had unified under the New York Central system such lines as to make it possible to advertise uninterrupted service from New York as far west as Omaha. The Pennsylvania made similar deals, and the Erie claimed 860 miles "without change of cars" as early as 1869; the Baltimore and Ohio reached Chicago in 1874.<sup>171</sup> Comparable consolidation took place in the major regions of the country. When the isolated, experimental railroad Y.M.C.A.'s had proved their worth, management adopted the Association program for the entire system.

At the turn of the century the American example was set before railroad interests abroad. The first instance of this was an unsuccessful experiment in Japan between 1891 and 1893.<sup>172</sup> In 1892, David McConaughy, pioneer North American secretary to India, reported the organization of the first railroad Association at Coimbatore, which had, in his estimation, great promise.<sup>173</sup> Hicks read a paper on the work before the 1898 World's Conference at Basle, which resulted in an invitation to return to Europe to advise on the application of American Y.M.C.A. methods to railroad systems in Great Britain and

France.<sup>174</sup> Accompanied by Mott who attempted to get an opening for student work in Russia, Hicks laid foundations for an unusual work in St. Petersburg, partly as the result of the interest shown by a Russian commission that had studied American railroads and had been favorably impressed by the Association program.<sup>175</sup> Following Hick's exploration, a railroad Association was established in Mexico City in 1902 with an American secretary in charge.<sup>176</sup>

When the status of the railroad Associations was reviewed by Col. John J. McCook of the Santa Fe before the Jubilee Convention in 1901, they were well on their way to becoming a Y.M.C.A.-managed company welfare program. McCook considered the most notable feature of the work at that time to be the fact that it was "going forward by leaps and bounds, by systems and not simply at isolated points." Ten railways had been investigated recently by International secretaries, "and on most of these systems vigorous work" was being done.

In the post-Civil War era the Y.M.C.A.'s attempted a less successful expansion in behalf of commercial travelers. The traveling salesman was a new phenomenon in American life, a product of the industrial and commercial revolutions, whose rise was a result of the development of the railroad and the nationalizing of business. The Y.M.C.A. saw him as a youth perpetually away from home and a legitimate object of Association solicitude; it was estimated that there were between 75,000 and 100,000 such "drummers" on the road in the 1880's. There appear to have been some manifestations of a concern for them earlier in England, and in America, on the part of the American Bible Society, in the form of religious "personal work." There likewise were some organizations of traveling men in the early 1870's, but the subject first came to the attention of an International Convention in 1874, following which it was a regular topic. Local groups met in Y.M.C.A. buildings and at times invited Association men to address them. A "Traveling Men's Christian Union" was organized in Farwell Hall in 1876, with its own constitution.<sup>177</sup>

In 1879 the International Committee, taking its cue from the Syracuse Association, acted as the clearing house for a certificate membership plan whereby traveling men could enjoy Association facilities anywhere.<sup>178</sup> In 1880 the Committee obtained E. W. Watkins as part-time secretary to develop this specialty. He held conferences for traveling men at various local Associations, but although there was a good deal

of interest expressed in the work it was not well sustained. Watkins was himself on the road most of the time, presenting the idea to state conventions, promoting programs with local Y.M.C.A.'s, and fostering the use of the International membership ticket. A pocket directory of Y.M.C.A.'s was compiled and many Associations distributed their church directories in hotels on Saturday nights. The Committee prepared a "case, or wall pocket" to contain its literature, which was designed to be placed in hotels or railway stations. But the inherent difficulties of the work and meager results caused the Committee to drop its promotion after a few years, although city Associations that were strategically situated continued their programs for some time. In this realm the Movement was brought to realize that there were limits to the possibilities of its being all things to all men.

The American Y.M.C.A. had always a bad conscience about the industrial worker, its program for railroad men being the only one directed toward laborers that was at all successful in the nineteenth century. It has been said with considerable insight that the Association was "hardly a factor" in the industrial problem because it served only clerical and skilled workers and in effect excluded the great mass of unskilled labor.<sup>179</sup> Toward the end of his life McBurney voiced his feeling that the evangelical test, which was the glory and pride of the Movement, was a hindrance in reaching this class.<sup>180</sup> An equally astute but more recent commentator remarked that "the characteristic identification with business, rather than industrial groups, in the cities threw into sharp relief the capacity of the Associations to establish influential relationships among industrial workers."<sup>181</sup>

Beginning with the New York state convention of 1867, Y.M.C.A. men discussed how they could "best reach and benefit the young mechanics and working men of our cities and towns," but through the nineteenth century the answers were mostly in terms of Bible and tract distribution (or *The Watchman*), revival services, lectures (such as on "Work and Its Worth"), stocking libraries with scientific and mechanical magazines and the patent digest (to attract mechanics and inventors), appealing to employers to give memberships to their workers, and in the later part of the period developing educational classes. The most specific and widely heralded mission to a particular group of workers was a long-sustained effort in behalf of timber crews on the part of the state committees of Wisconsin and Minnesota. A com-



mittee was appointed for this purpose at the first Minnesota state convention in 1870, but not until 1882 was it begun in earnest, a "gospel wagon" being maintained among the lumbermen of that state, which was then a primary timber source.<sup>182</sup> At one time three men were at work in this "unequalled home missionary field." They spent the winter in the camps equipped with a small organ, hymnals, and Bibles; they distributed tracts, books, and articles contributed by ladies' aids. In the winter of 1892-93 a two-man team visited eighty camps in Wisconsin and addressed some 4,000 men, converted fifty-six, gave out seventy-five Bibles and testaments and 6,150 magazines, books, papers, and tracts; they traveled 920 miles with horse and cutter, 600 miles by rail, and walked 110 miles.<sup>183</sup>

Quite a few scattered Associations, particularly in Colorado, but also in Wisconsin, Kentucky, Alabama, and Pennsylvania, attempted comparable work among miners, but without much success, due chiefly to the inherent difficulties involved.<sup>184</sup> The Boston Association exerted itself in behalf of horsecar operators, while Y.M.C.A.'s in seaports experimented with various programs for sailors, though most of these were strictly revivalistic. Migrant workers in the wheat fields of the north central states came to the attention of the Convention of 1883.

The significant development in the Movement's approach to young workers was the considerable growth in the 1890's of educational classes, which have been described above in this Chapter. Earlier approaches to this problem had been through such devices as a course of "mercantile and mechanical" lectures presented by the Newburgh, New York, Association in 1885 on such subjects as commercial law and the steam engine. The basic motivation of the International Committee in establishing its educational department in the 1890's was at first to aid in making the Associations' educational methods more effective in reaching mechanics and like workers.<sup>185</sup> Yet for the most part this was an academic and moralistic approach designed to help workers rise in the world and escape from the drudgery of labor. Only rarely was it suggested that Christian effort must keep pace with the growth of leisure time and that the Y.M.C.A. should develop programs designed to meet the needs of workers emancipated from long hours of toil by the shorter working day that was gradually being won by labor.<sup>186</sup> The Movement ignored Graham Taylor's advice in 1895 that the report of the United States Commissioner of Labor could be "the greatest hand-book for the Y.M.C.A. that could be put to use."<sup>187</sup> Yet

many Associations were commended by labor unions for their activity in the workers' education movement.<sup>188</sup> Industrial work was not undertaken by an International department until 1902.

WHO WAS A MEMBER?

For whom was the elaborate program described in this Chapter? Analysis of the constituency of the growing Movement lies beyond the scope of this History, but much has already been inferred concerning the outreach of the Y.M.C.A. toward "all kinds and conditions of young men." The disturbing feature of membership trends in this era was the gradual widening of the gulf earlier opened between the active membership—the voting and governing elite—and the associate membership or constituency. When in the Conventions of 1868 and 1869 (as will be examined in detail in Chapter 9) active membership was restricted to male members of evangelical churches, a social as well as religious barrier was set before membership; control was now firmly in the hands of evangelical Protestants—who were also middle-class Americans identified with property and capital. As the concept of a program "by young men and for young men" took hold, the active membership became the gradually ageing nucleus of committees and governing boards that provided a program *by* middle-aged or old men for a widening constituency that more and more assumed the position of the object of special effort—*for* young men. "Members," declared McBurney, "should be attracted by what they are to give." But this was true only of the active membership and within it of board and committee members, who were drawn principally from the white collar or middle and upper middle classes. They were naturally preoccupied with holding and managing the facilities and hence identified the organization with the propertied strata of society.

Few Associations reached more than a modicum of laborers, and the Movement's largest expansion into industry—the railroad work—was with the aristocracy of labor. In the 1890's several Associations studied their constituencies:<sup>189</sup>

	Brooklyn	Hartford	Chicago (1900)
Clerks .....	57%	33%	50%
Mechanics (skilled labor) .....	19	34	10
Students .....	10	21	6
Merchants .....	7	..	..
Managers .....	15	..	..
Professional .....	4	..	9
Laborers (Unskilled) .....	3	..	2
Miscellaneous .....	..	12	8

When the Y.M.C.A. was criticized for reaching only the better class of young men and ignoring the depressed groups, apologists pointed to the Bowery Branch in New York.<sup>190</sup> But as the end of the nineteenth century neared, class distinctions were accepted by the leadership and rationalized in such terms as we have seen in the justification of boys' work among the better classes. Yet a leading religious periodical pointed out that all are one in Christ and that no Y.M.C.A. should discriminate between the respectable and the disreputable unsaved.<sup>191</sup> Although Association workers of this period were constantly exhorting one another to bring in more members from the laboring classes, the invitation extended only as far as associate membership: throughout the nineteenth century labor representation on boards of directors or policy-forming committees was so rare as to be almost nonexistent. The same was true with respect to nonwhites and females.

On the local Association level where the practical rather than the theoretical ruled, women filled a large place. In this matter, too, the mind of the Movement was never entirely at one. It has been said that the Y.M.C.A. set itself to work with the most dynamic class of society— young men—but when it did so while attempting to remain within the evangelical church nexus it deprived itself of the counterpoise of women who were the mainstays and the majority of the membership of those churches. The business men who managed the Associations were less interested and less experienced in Christian theology and ethics than they were in obtaining concrete results, hence the organization took on a practical character that seemed at times to ignore basic religious and moral considerations. Some doubt concerning this unquestionably underlay the viewpoint of two of the most sane and trusted leaders of the nineteenth century, H. Thane Miller and D. L. Moody. Miller stated his belief before the Convention of 1872 that women should be given associate membership, and the next year affirmed that "it was never good for men to be alone." Moody, whose catholic mind saw the whole man as a human being within the family, consistently favored the extension of Y.M.C.A. opportunities to women as associate members.<sup>192</sup> In 1890 he threatened to "go on the warpath with his tomahawk" because he was convinced that the Movement was "all wrong . . . in excluding women from our privileges."<sup>193</sup>

"Above all else, the local Y.M.C.A. is realistic," wrote an astute observer.<sup>194</sup> Many city associations admitted women to membership in this period. "Brooklyn has included ladies among its members for half

of its existence to its inestimable advantage," declared a spokesman in 1869; in the 1870's its privileges were extended to "any person, lady or gentleman, boy or girl" and a membership then entitled "an entire family to admission to all the privileges of the Association," a change that one observer noted had greatly improved "the activity and efficiency" of the organization.<sup>195</sup> Scranton in the mid-seventies counted women as one-third of its membership of 600.<sup>196</sup> The Rome (New York), Newark, Minneapolis, and Chicago Associations at various times had women associate members; Indianapolis once reported them as active members.<sup>197</sup> Yet this tendency did not become a trend even in the golden age of Christian Endeavor and other young people's societies. Rather, women's auxiliaries or central committees were organized as the emphasis shifted from general religious and welfare work toward the fourfold program.<sup>198</sup> One International secretary reported in the early nineties that local secretaries were anxious to solicit "the co-operation of women in Association effort" through such committees.

Mention has previously been made of women's activity in fostering boys' work. They visited the sick and needy, gave and raised money, put on receptions and suppers, furnished and cared for the rooms, nourished the early county work, supplied talent for socials and entertainments, prayed for the men, worked on the building funds, sought out new members, in short, served the "Y" much as the ladies' aid did the local church. Informally organized committees had done these things from the early 1850's; with the 1880's there came the formation of Ladies' Auxiliaries, some of which assumed considerable leadership and independence. By 1883 more than one hundred auxiliaries had been reported; twenty-six accredited lady representatives from six Associations attended the California state convention of 1885, a year in which there was much convention discussion of women's activities in the Y.M.C.A., especially in the West. In 1890, five hundred Associations reported women's committees; at the end of the decade almost half the Associations had them.

Opening the gymnasium or educational classes to women in this era focused the wide difference in viewpoint between local Associations and the International Committee. City Y.M.C.A.'s tended to extend their facilities on the basis of expediency, which produced a lively discussion in the 1890's on the merits of women's gymnasium classes or basketball teams. As early as 1881 "lady members" were reported using a local gymnasium,<sup>199</sup> but International authorities and



the editor of the *Era* insisted in the early nineties that this controverted the "settled principles" of Association work.<sup>200</sup> International Conventions had early decided against seating women delegates and ruled that representation must be based "on male membership only," but admitted that they had no authority over the local Associations that sent them.<sup>201</sup> However, at Portland in 1869, when religious orthodoxy was made the basis of Convention representation, the principle of male membership as a further condition for accreditation of Associations organized after that date was laid down.<sup>202</sup>

Local Y.M.C.A.'s remained free as to their own membership policies, but for the most part the exclusion of women became a fixed idea on the part of the advocates of the fourfold program for young men. Yet local Associations went on serving women as the need arose. The turn of the century saw women's activities on the increase,<sup>203</sup> and as the Movement expanded to foreign lands, at least one of its most successful new Associations was greatly aided by a women's auxiliary.

#### FINANCING THE PROGRAM

Raising funds for the support of local Y.M.C.A.'s was as chaotic as the early program, and resembled it in community-wide appeal to the general public. Only after long years of experiment were dependable methods of financing developed. The post-War era took up where the pioneer period left off—with great fairs and festivals (at which no raffles or lotteries were permitted), "grand vocal and instrumental concerts," stunts, collections in the churches—all gradually giving place to membership fees and systematic annual campaigns as purpose and program clarified. As Associations concentrated upon what became their legitimate field, better financial support was obtainable in most communities.<sup>204</sup> Although some secretaries felt that fixing the membership basis upon fees was mercenary and a betrayal of faith, and adopted it with some uncertainty, the method became virtually universal long before the end of this period. The sustaining membership plan was proposed and widely argued at this time, commending itself strongly to Associations that adopted it.<sup>205</sup> By the 1890's Associations were receiving quite a few bequests, usually for specific program purposes such as library or educational facilities if not for the building, but few if any achieved the endowments they coveted, other than in the form of income-producing buildings.

In the beginning of state work it was financed chiefly by offerings

and pledges obtained at conventions; the "canvass" plan paid for itself by the collections taken during the various campaigns. Usually state committees were set on their feet by substantial contributions through local Y.M.C.A.'s whose members were the strongest advocates of state work, as in the support of the Pennsylvania venture by Pittsburgh.<sup>206</sup> This method spread and the difference between these sources was made up by personal solicitation. State conventions often devoted their attention to problems of finance and state supervision rendered one of its most useful services in advising local Y.M.C.A.'s in this regard. Although in 1889-90 Indiana tried but failed in an effort to base state finances on per capita support by the local Associations, most state organizations were on the personal pledge and solicitation method at the end of the nineteenth century. The only state Y.M.C.A. to obtain a sizable endowment fund was that of the joint organization of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which took steps in the late 1890's to obtain a valuable business building as headquarters, the rentals from which provided a substantial source of income.<sup>207</sup>

The budget of the International Committee grew from a few hundred dollars included in the cost of getting out the annual report in 1865, to \$63,000 in 1895. It was for most of those years obtained chiefly from pledges and collections taken at Conventions, a very large share of such gifts being made by the secretaries themselves. Throughout this period these workers supported the Movement far beyond their means, an eloquent demonstration of the fact that the International work was almost entirely paid for by personal subscription. During the 1870's the burden of raising the difference between the Convention pledges and the annual budget rested chiefly upon Morse and McBurney. Later, as specializations were added, each secretary carried some of the responsibility for raising his budget—of which the railroad and student departments were the largest—but always there was Morse to depend upon at the last minute of the fiscal year. Such was his proficiency that only twice between 1867 and 1923 was there a deficit.<sup>208</sup> His little subscription books, circulated among the wealthy friends of the work, reveal the growth of the budget and the interest of its supporters.

New methods of obtaining gifts were first introduced following the depression of 1873. At the Convention of 1874 Weidensall discovered McBurney in tears because there was "so little money for this work."<sup>209</sup> The subsequent decision to hold biennial Conventions altered the

previous means. In the mid-1870's there were held the first "parlor conferences" to which wealthy laymen invited their friends to whom Y.M.C.A. leaders presented the cause. These were copied by the state organizations and for a number of years departmental parlor conferences were a feature of all conventions; the later "dinner meetings" were a variation of this method. The International Committee also introduced a direct-by-mail solicitation about this time, which was used with considerable success by Morse with large donors and subsequently expanded to a large clientele of small givers; Moody's help was very effective with this device during the 1890's. Also during the seventies the Day of Prayer began to be utilized for financial solicitation and by 1890 was producing \$6,000 a year. Gradually local and state Associations were induced to contribute, though they were exceedingly unreliable, partly because no satisfactory formula could be agreed upon. In the mid-nineties less than ten per cent of the Committee's funds came from this source and its friends not infrequently chided the local Associations for their neglect of the central agency, which sometimes found it necessary to devote a good share of the program of a Convention to stating its case. With the inauguration of the Foreign Work and other expansions around 1890 the Committee attempted to develop an "Extension Fund" to be subscribed by local Associations as well as individuals. The donors designated the proportions to be allotted the foreign and home work budgets, the Springfield Training School, local extension and state work.<sup>210</sup> Although this plan was pushed aggressively by a special secretary for several years, it had but scant success. In the mid-1890's several suggestions for percentage financing likewise fell upon deaf ears.<sup>211</sup> Efforts to obtain endowment were not successful before 1900. Not until the impetus given it by the service to the armed forces in the Spanish-American War was the International Committee's budget expanded above \$100,000, or did the funds to meet it come with relative ease.<sup>212</sup>

## Chapter 6 The Foundations of Y.M.C.A. Physical Work

Our physical education should be all around; have reference to spiritual and mental growth; be educative and progressive; give each man what he individually needs; and be interesting. Our distinctive methods are, the leaders corps, the training class, and the relation of the physical to the other departments of our work.

—LUTHER H. GULICK, 1891<sup>1</sup>

IN THE YEARS immediately following the Civil War, public interest in sports and gymnastics developed to an extent never before reached in America. Baseball became the national game, cricket appeared, and football developed steadily, especially in the colleges, as did rowing. Nowhere could youth remain in the "deplorably unathletic position" of the 1850's. With the growing wealth of the cities athletic clubs and gymnasiums came into being, while lawn tennis developed a national association and croquet and bicycling each conquered the country by sudden crazes. In the midst of this, wrote Allan Nevins in *The Emergence of Modern America*, the branches of the Y.M.C.A. all over the country "gave an impetus to organized sports, outdoor and indoor, for their city buildings contained gymnasiums and their directors taught gymnastics after the German model." Yet within the Movement this had been a gradual development; by 1901 it would touch almost one-third of the total membership of the Associations.

From the few gymnasiums dedicated as integral features of the "Association architecture" inaugurated in 1869, there grew, if slowly, some 450 by the end of the nineteenth century. At first they were alien intrusions into the predominantly religious and welfare programs, until Christian physical work leadership was developed and in turn created a congenial program. Through most of this period the gymnasium was looked upon as an adjunct of the general religious work, and the motive for maintaining it was primarily to interest young men in the



spiritual life. With the appearance of Luther Gulick, whose Y.M.C.A. career was invested chiefly through the Springfield Training School and his part-time activity for the International Committee, this was radically altered. Gulick gave the Movement its first philosophy, invented the triangle as its symbol, raised the physical director's status to that of a profession, and built at Springfield an internationally famous curriculum for his training. He found the Y.M.C.A. doing calisthenics and left it on the basketball court and playing field. He was behind all of the many agitations of the period, whether for clean sport—through the Athletic League—or for the accurate measurement and study of muscular activity. So pervasive was his influence that this chapter might well be divided into two sections, before and after Gulick.

### THE FIRST Y.M.C.A. PHYSICAL WORK

The beginnings of physical interest and work in the American Y.M.C.A.'s cannot be traced to any one Association or leader. Implications for physical work were contained in the emphasis given to work for "the whole man" in a ringing address by the Reverend Henry Codman Potter before the Convention of 1864. The gymnasium as a place of exercise was familiar in most cities and it was inevitable that Association leaders would sense its attractiveness to young men. Not far from the "two small rooms" of the New York Association of the mid-1860's was the private gymnasium of "Professor" William Wood, who, it was said, proposed to McBurney that the Y.M.C.A. take over his establishment and himself when the Civil War deprived him of his clientele. As the veterans returned from the conflict, the earlier agitation for a gymnasium, such as that of the Brooklyn Association, reappeared here and there.

The first recognition of the significance of the physical was the adoption of that word into its definition of purpose by the New York Association in 1866, at which time it listed "an unexceptionable gymnasium" among the resources needed to realistically carry its aims into effect. That same year the Washington Association considered buying a gymnasium but when disappointed in this made a vigorous drive for funds with which to construct a building containing one.<sup>2</sup> This, proposed the building committee,

... will afford physical development, conducive to health and vigor, and thus better fitting the members for life's duties. While affording an innocent

pastime, it will also be a source of revenue, and will attract many within your influence who would otherwise be unreachable.<sup>3</sup>

The resulting structure was the first of the three examples of Association architecture dedicated in 1869, as has been indicated in Chapter 4, above.<sup>4</sup> Within a few weeks the gymnasiums of the new buildings at San Francisco and at New York were opened. Their immediate successors cannot be identified because few reports were made of this aspect of program for several years, apparently because it was not too popular. Inevitably, however, the gymnasium won its way into the "Y"; by 1885, when the Brooklyn Association built the finest one in the country, there were over one hundred gymnasiums. The equipment of these early gymnasiums was simple and primitive, geared at first to the fancy circus type stunts that then predominated. Later, as light gymnastics were introduced, appropriate apparatus was added.<sup>5</sup>

A few months after the opening of the New York building it became necessary for Chairman Brainerd of the library and rooms committee to appoint George M. Van Derlip to head a subcommittee of twenty-four to be on duty in the gymnasium in shifts of four each evening in order to enforce rigid observance of the rules and to "do all in their power to promote the usefulness of these agencies of the Association." The next year more regular attendance and "better order" were noted. New York, like most other Associations to follow, had no program for the utilization of these facilities, and was having its difficulties with the surprisingly large numbers of young men who came to use the gymnasium but not to take regular instruction. Its classes were now conducted by Wood; they emphasized simple and light gymnastics,<sup>6</sup> but without relation to the Y.M.C.A. purpose. "These are the most difficult of all our departments to conduct," reported Brainerd concerning the New York gymnasium in 1871, adding that even with a year's experience the program required "more thoughtful study than any other means sought by us to be made available for the purposes for which the Association was formed."<sup>7</sup>

That search would go on for twenty years until Luther Gulick formulated a philosophy and a methodology. In the meantime the Associations pursued a pragmatic approach, guided by a few leaders who vaguely sensed the larger implications of the instrument with which they were as yet but fumbling. It was the general consensus that a gymnasium ought not to be opened unless a competent "superintendent" could be obtained. Yet until 1890 the ratio of gymnasiums to

directors was more than three to one, and remained at two to one in 1900, so slowly did adequate training for this specialization of the secretaryship develop. The gymnasium was popular, but how to utilize this for Christian work among young men was a problem that remained unsolved until the nature of religious experience was redefined. The necessity of obtaining a Christian man for the gymnasium was everywhere recognized; when an Association obtained such a one it considered itself extremely fortunate and the physical program immediately became an asset.

The ideal gymnasium superintendent was a natural leader and organizer, grounded in the Bible, who could lead an occasional prayer meeting or Bible class and work with individuals for the salvation of their souls, as a "Christian gymnast."<sup>8</sup> Some Associations found it almost impossible to integrate the physical program with the rest of their activities, for the gymnasium was usually a separate department with its own membership and even entrance. Some of the retired prize fighters or circus acrobats who were available as instructors were openly contemptuous of Association ideals; most often the burden of directing the physical program fell upon the already overworked general secretary. Yet the Movement was convinced that "Christian men should exercise because the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost" and because exercise would prolong a man's usefulness. A minister in Troy, New York, wrote that

. . . the Devil has no patent right on these athletic recreations, and it is only pusillanimous in us to yield to him an exclusive privilege, when he has no claim that can stand. I do not mean that every one should make it a point to get the muscle of a stroke oarsman, or the agility of an acrobat in a circus; but I do mean that every one should remember that it is as much a duty to cultivate the body as to cultivate the soul, and without this twofold and harmonious training, religion would become irksome, and study a weariness to the flesh.<sup>9</sup>

A distinguished preacher wrote in *The Watchman* in 1885 that in twenty years he had missed only one church service because of illness, a record he attributed to regular exercise in the gymnasium:

. . . It used to be considered a wicked place, a place for pugilists to get a muscle, a training school for manufacturing Heenans. Now what do you see there? College professors swinging dumbbells, millionaires turning somersaults, lawyers upside down, hanging by one foot, doctors of divinity with coats off punching a bag, sending out blows as if in a controversy, and the bag an opposing bishop, dyspeptics on a rope ladder, old age dancing itself

young. Ah! It's better than all the curatives of earth, better than all the plantation bitters, and all the other board fence literature in creation.

A secretary who circularized his membership received a bushel of enthusiastic answers to the effect that the physical work had resulted in improved appetite, sound sleep, firmer muscles, "good health, good spirits, and self-control."

#### CHRISTIANIZING THE GYMNASIUM

The first significant step in the direction of realizing the Association's ideal in physical work was taken by the Boston Y.M.C.A. In 1872 that organization had unexpectedly come into possession of a well-equipped gymnasium which, somewhat typically, proved to be "a doubtful experiment" until Robert J. Roberts (1849-1920) took hold of it. The committee on rooms and library admitted that they had had no experience, although the venture had been launched with some enthusiasm. They first obtained a man to tend the door and keep the place clean, then decided on an instructor in gymnastics. None of those tried out proved satisfactory. One was a "Professor" Du Crowe, a circus performer whose speciality was slackwire walking. Nets were used for safety, but one man broke his neck while turning a somersault in the air; the exercises taught were difficult and concentrated on stunts and weight-lifting.

A wood turner and mechanic by trade, Roberts was the victim of technological unemployment, and having an innate interest in gymnastics, due doubtless to his astonishing physique, turned naturally to the gymnasiums of Boston for employment. He had worked under Dio Lewis, the pioneer of light gymnastics in America. Roberts divided his time between the gymnasiums of Dr. Winship, who stressed heavy work, the Young Men's Christian Union, and those of other teachers, as well as the Y.M.C.A. He taught a Sunday School class and applied for the position at the "Y" on the advice of his Sunday School superintendent. He was employed as janitor and gymnasium superintendent in the summer of 1876,<sup>10</sup> a period of discouragement due to depression and reduced membership. In 1877 he was injured in a fall from a "cloud swing," and while laid up formulated the distinctive idea that was to constitute his unique contribution to the development of physical education. It was a compromise between the light work of Lewis and the heavy exercise of Winship. Coining the name "body building," Roberts proposed exercises that were "safe, easy, short, beneficial and



pleasing": safe for the beginner, short so the class could run through the routine quickly, easy in that no undue effort was demanded, beneficial in that they served "some definite and useful end" rather than being merely for exhibition or prowess, and pleasing in that the net effect upon the subject was pleasurable rather than a monotonous grind.<sup>11</sup>

Roberts was a stimulating teacher and his system appealed at once to a membership that grew from 49 to 680 in four years. "Body building" interested other groups, and he found himself called upon to explain his system; *The Watchman* took up the promotion of the idea and Roberts edited a regular column for years. He soon gave up heavy work—though not before staging a public exhibition in which he lifted 2,200 pounds with a yoke, raised a 120-pound dumbbell with each hand, and picked up 550 pounds from the floor with his fingers—and henceforth refused to teach anything but his own system. As a result of his single-minded and at times stubborn determination, Roberts was a potent force in swinging Y.M.C.A. physical work away from heavy or fancy gymnastics to its use as a means to an end; he considered its purpose to be the greatest good to the greatest number—the participants. His system was simple and attractive and could be taught by a mediocre instructor; designed, as Gulick once described it, to be "effective in relation to the vital functions of digestion, circulation, and respiration," it likewise had therapeutic value.

Roberts appeared in gymnasium costume before the International Convention of 1881, made a brief address prefaced by "a fervent and simple prayer," and illustrated his points with a class of eight performing his dumbbell drill. The principles briefly stated were:

. . . first, to build up the middle third of the body; second, [to] strengthen the weak points and make the development one of equipoise; third, adapt the methods of exercise to a man's business and aim rather for general health than for specialties in muscular development; fourth, constant obedience to all the laws of health, particularly those pertaining to diet, ventilation, bathing and sleep.

It may fairly be said that the broader interest of the Movement in health education dates from this event, although some Associations had lectures on the value of exercise and the relation between body and soul as early as 1868.<sup>12</sup> Other Associations copied Roberts' title, "Hall of Health," for his gymnasium,<sup>13</sup> but the most important influence he exerted upon the American Movement was through the thirty-odd men

trained by him as instructors, most of them during the mid-1880's.<sup>14</sup> Although little record remains concerning the nature of his training program, what Gulick called Roberts' "great following" was unquestionably due to what he further described as Roberts' "intense personality," comprised of experience, common sense, and enthusiasm.

The nature of Y.M.C.A. thinking in regard to physical work before the advent of Luther Gulick may be seen in the statement made by Dr. J. Gardner Smith, then known as "physical director" of the Young Men's Institute branch of the New York City Y.M.C.A., before the Convention of 1887:

The gymnasium, properly directed, is an integral part of the fundamental four-fold purpose of the Association. Physically, the gymnasium should be a distinct department of our work; morally, it should be conducted on the purest principles of the Association; intellectually, it should be made educational; spiritually, it should be a place where active and associate members meet and where Christian influence prevails.

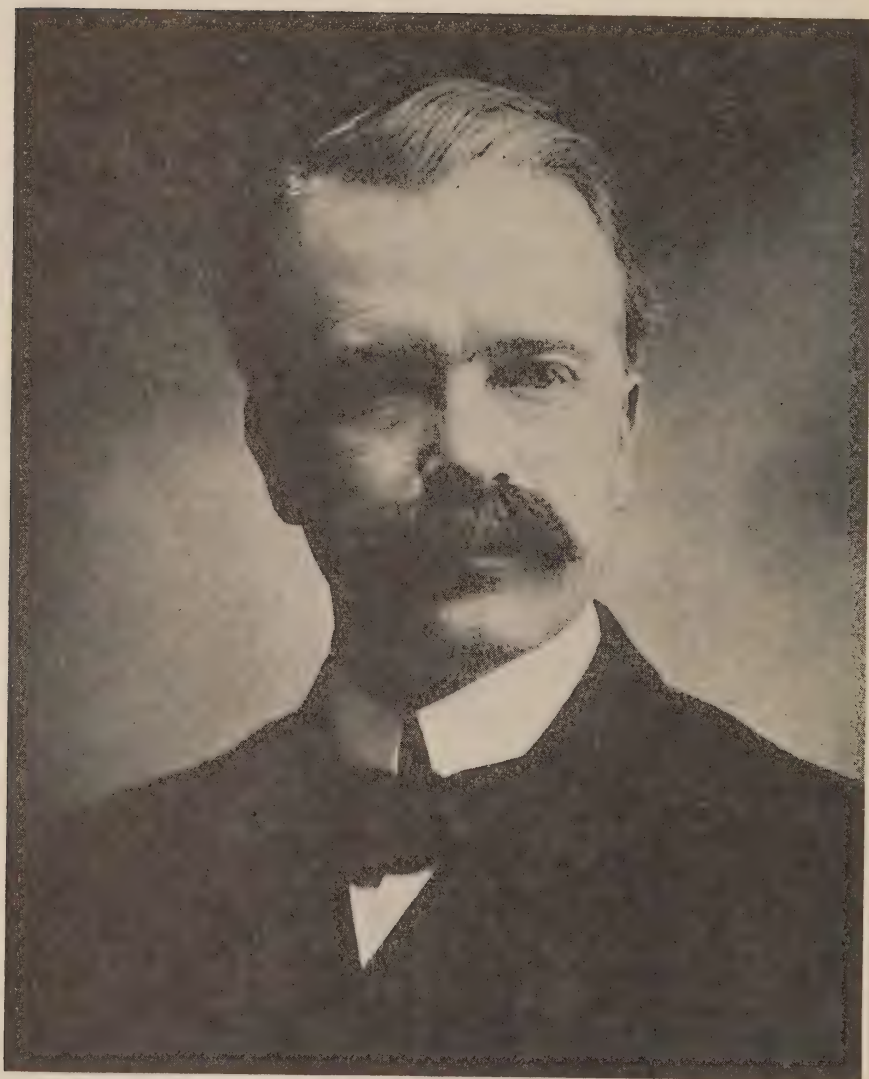
The first efforts of the Springfield training school reflected a similar viewpoint. Some physical work had been taught as part of the original curriculum, but the catalog of 1886-87 announced the formation of a course for the training of gymnasium superintendents; to be inaugurated with the next academic year and preceded by a summer session. Roberts had been obtained as the principal instructor, and as his assistant Luther Halsey Gulick, "a precocious youngster of twenty-one." This program aimed:

- (1) to put into the field men of tested Christian character, men who have had thorough drill in Bible truth and Association work;
- (2) to see that these men shall be intelligent teachers, men who shall know what to do, how to do it, and why it is to be done. . . . In brief, the aim is to place Christian gymnasium superintendents in the field—men who are first Christians, then intelligent teachers; men whose object in going into the work is *to serve Christ*. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Roberts' "complete system of floor work" would be given, but the summer school circular announced prophetically "daily exercise in both the theory and practice of outdoor sports"—presaging what may well be called the Gulick era.

#### LUTHER HALSEY GULICK (1865-1918)

In many ways Gulick was the most unique genius to touch the first half-century of the American Y.M.C.A. He was born in Honolulu of a missionary family. His education was broken by considerable travel



LUTHER HALSEY GULICK

and foreign residence and handicapped by difficulty with his eyes. "A contemporary, who described him as a tall, flaxen-haired Nordic who threw a swift underhand ball" while at the preparatory department of Oberlin, could remember years afterward how he had dominated the game. Influenced at Oberlin by Dr. Delphine Hanna, Gulick and a friend also destined to play a significant role in physical education happened upon the little volume by William Blaikie, a gymnastic instructor of New York, called *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So*. One chapter was on "What a Gymnasium Might Be and Do"; it dealt chiefly with body-building and health measures for college students. This evoked from the two friends a vision of "the relation of good bodies to good morals," and of physical training to mental training. Gulick promptly left Oberlin to attend the Sargent School of Physical Training at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Remaining there but six months, he became gymnasium superintendent of the Y.M.C.A. of Jackson, Michigan, in April, 1886; that fall he enrolled in the medical school at New York University, carrying his studies along with multitudinous activities until he received the M.D. degree in March, 1889.

The longest periods of Gulick's life devoted to the same field were his sixteen years as the first secretary for physical work of the International Committee and his thirteen concurrent years at Springfield. In 1900 he began a period of three years as principal of the Pratt High School of Brooklyn; he then served five years as director of physical education for the schools of New York City, following which he organized the child hygiene department of the Russell Sage Foundation. In 1913 he was forced to resign because of failing health, but during this period had aided in the founding of the Boy Scouts and with his wife organized the Camp Fire Girls. The remaining five years of his life were devoted to writing and lecturing, although he rendered a final significant service to the Y.M.C.A. in recruiting physical directors for its World War I program. Gulick's immense contribution to the Movement will unfold with the following pages; his contagious influence was perhaps most effectively seen in the men he infected with concern for health education, his philosophy of recreation, and his idea of the relation between the physical program and the remainder of the Y.M.C.A.'s activities. Thirty years after Gulick left the Y.M.C.A., one of his students remarked that

... so far as my observation goes, the modern leaders in Physical Education have not uncovered any new vital truths since Dr. Gulick's time, but have



simply introduced new terms and developed hair-line academic distinctions. . . .<sup>16</sup>

When Gulick appeared on the Association horizon the Movement had no philosophy of the physical work it was pursuing as a part of the fourfold program. Roberts had given his dumbbell drill a certain rationale, but no one had thought further than the Christianizing of the gymnasium. The mind-body dualism that had vitiated Western thought since Plato was still dominant, and the sports that were captivating America were largely ignored by the Y.M.C.A. and damned by its Protestant sponsors as the devil's province. Gulick more than any other man changed this as far as the Associations were concerned. Transferring his missionary motivation from the foreign field—like Luther Wishard, he was a "detained volunteer"—to the salvation of souls in bodies, he first announced his principles on the platform of the Convention of 1889, a gathering that also authorized American Y.M.C.A. expansion in Foreign Work, which was to be a vehicle for the spread of his ideas to the ends of the earth.

Gulick, a fellow student remarked, was not "so much an originator or inventor as he was an educational engineer and health promoter." His genius lay in his ability to see the relevance of contemporary psychology and theology for the interpretation of what the Y.M.C.A. was doing. Here was one of the great services rendered the Movement by the Springfield school: for the first time in Association experience, a group of scholars devoted their best thought to the philosophy that this pragmatically minded organization had heretofore neglected. Gulick was a voracious reader. In a little book that had been published in London a dozen years earlier, he read in 1890 that "however different mind and body are respectively in their end and functions, they form together an inseparable whole . . . what is beneficial to the body is so to the mind." Almost every college graduate of that day had studied Mark Hopkins' psychology text, *Outline Study of Man*, in which essentially the same position was taken. The average Y.M.C.A. secretary was hardly aware of such lines of thought. Gulick made them meaningful for the Associations.

His basic thought crystallized rapidly and may be found almost fully developed in an address before the Convention of 1891, entitled "The Distinctive Features of the Physical Work in the Association." The work of the Y.M.C.A. is a unit, he began, and all its departments, including the physical, are based upon simple fundamentals, the first of

which is "man's essential unity, body, mind and spirit, each being a necessary and eternal part of man, he being neither one alone, but the three," a "wonderful combination of the dust of the earth, and the breath of God." Christ was a perfect man "body, mind and spirit; he worked for the whole man, body, mind and spirit, and he saves the whole man, body, mind and spirit." But the universal need to be kept in sight is that of symmetry—"a proportionate development of man's whole nature." Body, mind, and spirit should be symmetrically but not equally developed; far more than mere health of the three parts is demanded: "we need development, education, training of each, but always and only in their true relations." The "all-embracing method" that must be utilized in this process is based on "the fact that God develops the worker." Use what you have, and God will give more—spiritually, mentally, and physically. As the character of the believer is developed by expending energy, and the mind by study and expression, so the body responds to proper exercise.

Gulick then applied his three principles (unity, symmetry, and development) to the work of the physical department. Contrary to accepted theory, he pointed out, the first two demand that physical education be for eternity "and is a necessary part of the building up of the perfect man": it should be as vital to the Association program as it is to the individual man. Every worker should set before himself the ideal of the perfect man and work toward it, body, mind, and spirit. And this involves an equally intimate relation between all of the several departments of Y.M.C.A. work. Undue prominence should not be given to physical culture: "it must be in proportion only, and fidelity to our Master, and consistency with the supreme aim of our work unite in urging us to superior effort for the spiritual welfare of young men." Likewise, the gymnastics and athletics taught must "tend toward symmetry of form, and symmetry of function, so that a man may become strong, quick, enduring, skilled, all in proportion," avoiding undue attention to skill, strength, or endurance. The physical director himself should be an all around man, physically, mentally, spiritually.

Gulick believed that his third principle, that of continuous growth, was fundamental in determining the nature of the gymnastic work to be done. This he thought ought to be continuously progressing, so that a man who was a Y.M.C.A. member for five years might always have something fresh to look forward to. He stressed the importance of the leaders' corps as necessary to small classes. Because men would come

only if the work were made attractive, Gulick then stressed "a good deal of recreative gymnastics interspersed with that that is more definitely educative"—a point at which his mind was to change radically in the next few years. In concluding this Convention address, he confessed that the unconscious application of some of his principles had been the reason why the Y.M.C.A. had "taken the gymnastic work of the world and remodeled it so that we can use it successfully."

#### GULICK'S PROPOSAL OF THE TRIANGLE

To symbolize these ideas Gulick devised the now familiar inverted equilateral triangle, which was enthusiastically adopted as their emblem by the students at Springfield during the winter of 1890-91, in February of which they began the publication of a magazine entitled *The Triangle*. The symbol was adopted by the trustees of the school in March, 1891.<sup>17</sup> A group of physical workers urged its adoption upon the Convention of 1891, but such opposition was expressed that they withdrew their proposal. Gulick and his followers, wishing to raise the prestige of physical work, popularized the emblem by various devices, including a ten-cent lapel pin. It was adopted by numerous local Associations, but competing devices were proposed and for a time considerable controversy raged.<sup>18</sup> As a result Gulick wrote fully on "What the Triangle Means" in the *Era*, supporting his argument for the interaction of mind and body with copious Scriptural quotations:

The triangle stands, not for body or mind or spirit, but for the man as a whole. It does not aim to express these distinct divisions, but to indicate that the individual, while he may have different aspects, is a unit. . . . Thus with the individual man, he is not a body and a mind and a spirit, but a wonderful result of their union, something entirely different from any single aspect of himself.

The triangle stands . . . for the symmetrical man, each part developed with reference to the whole, and not merely with reference to itself. . . .

What authority have we for believing that this triangle idea is correct? It is scriptural. . . . Such statements as, "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength," indicate . . . the scriptural view . . . that the service of the Lord includes the whole man. The words, which in the Hebrew and Greek are translated "strength," refer in both cases entirely to physical strength.

Then we are told that the body is a member of Christ, 1 Cor. 6: 15, "Know we not that your bodies are the members of Christ?"—that [the body] is "a temple of the Holy Ghost," and that it is eternal. . . .

. . . The modern psychology is all in the line of showing that body and mind are not two separate and individual essences, but that each is so wedded to the other that it is impossible for us to see where one begins or the other

ends, or for us to trace anything which, affecting the one, does not also affect the other. . . .

. . . The Young Men's Christian Association is the only great institution of the world which, in a large way, is putting this belief into actual practice. It aims at the salvation and upbuilding of the whole man to a greater extent than does any other institution in the world, both in respect to unity and symmetry. The triangle, in symbolizing the man, also symbolizes the association. Our work cannot be represented by the physical, plus the intellectual, plus the social, plus the spiritual, each one standing alone: for the relations that exist between them render each far more valuable than it would be by itself . . . and thus the total of our results is greater than the sum of the results in each department.

And so we have our gymnasiums and our educational classes, our libraries, reading-rooms, and our religious work, a unit in conception, a complete rounded whole. . . . All this is in line with the laws of God which we find not only in the Bible, but in science; in line with all that we are learning about man's nature, character and ultimate development, in line also with the still further perfecting of this wonderful, complete unit, this organism that God has put in our keeping.<sup>19</sup>

When the Convention of 1895 met in Springfield it authorized the International Committee to prepare an official badge. The cumbersome design that resulted—a superimposition of the triangle upon the circle, open Bible, and Christian monogram of the World's Committee—was largely reserved for official use, for Gulick's triangle had long since become the unofficial emblem on the jerseys of athletic teams, over the doors of local Associations, and on lapel pins. When the red triangle became the Association symbol—first of the British Y.M.C.A.—in World War I, Gulick again set forth his concept of its meaning, and concluded with these words:

Why did I select the Triangle and propose it as an emblem of the Young Men's Christian Association? We wanted a design that would *stick right out*; something that could be seen; something that would not be confused with the Red Cross and yet be just as simple and strong as it. We wanted something that would work well in designs on sweaters, on letter-heads, on signs of buildings, and it seems as if the Triangle met these conditions pretty well.<sup>20</sup>

#### THE TRAINING OF PHYSICAL DIRECTORS

When Gulick presented his concept of physical work in the Y.M.C.A. to the Convention of 1889, one secretary challenged him with the incongruity of expecting to find Christian gymnasium superintendents. To this Gulick is said to have countered with the challenge, "Well, then we'll make them."<sup>21</sup> President Doggett of Springfield College believed that Gulick's greatest contribution to the Y.M.C.A. was the develop-



ment of the curriculum for the training of physical work secretaries, and his raising of that position to professional status. The demand for trained physical work secretaries antedated Gulick's arrival at Springfield in the summer of 1887 when the program was inaugurated. Of the twenty-seven students attending this first summer session, Gulick placed twenty-five. The next January he had thirteen calls and three students in his course, which had opened the previous September. Such was the demand for physical directors that fewer than one-third could be supplied; during the academic year 1888-89, Gulick received sixty requests, four of which he supplied from his regular course and twenty-three from the second summer school. As a partial answer to this problem Gulick favored the development of carefully trained leaders' corps to assist the local secretary.

Gulick and Roberts were jointly in charge of the first summer schools, which were extremely popular, having been attended in 1888 by 66 per cent of the total physical work personnel of the Movement. Nevertheless they were abandoned after 1891 in order to allow the growing staff of the School to concentrate upon improving its courses for the regular school year. In 1890, however, Springfield sponsored a short conference at Lake Geneva, led by Gulick, for men already in the physical work. The Athletic League took them over after its formation in 1896, but Gulick's influence remained dominant. For a time Gulick offered correspondence courses in physical work, but the significant development of the early 1890's was the fact of the regular department having "finally gotten into its stride," with enrollment rising to twenty (four of whom were college graduates) in 1890-91. By 1895 fifty-seven men had been graduated from Gulick's program; forty-eight of them were in Y.M.C.A. work, six were in college teaching, and two had gone into business; in later years the School was to train an almost equally disproportionate number of men for public school positions. When Gulick resigned in 1900, eighty-four men had been graduated from his course.

In the course of that time he had built a strong staff from his own students, whom he inspired with his "almost passionate devotion to physical education." Among them were Amos Alonzo Stagg, later coach at the University of Chicago, James Naismith, the inventor of basketball, James H. McCurdy, Henry F. Kallenberg, Frank N. Seerley, and others. Roberts had left after two years, soon to return to the Boston Y.M.C.A. for thirty years' more service. He had not gotten on

well with Gulick—who was “not always an easy man to work with or under,” as one of his colleagues said later—and because he could not bring himself to teach the advanced work that the secretarial training curriculum demanded. He continued to train men in his own system, and held several summer schools for the purpose. Upon Roberts’ leaving, the Springfield “Gymnasium Department” became the “Physical Department” and soon reflected Gulick’s widening interest in group games. In 1894 the school dedicated the first gymnasium for “the training of Christian physical directors.” It is beyond the limitations of this History of the American Y.M.C.A. to describe in detail the course of study, but Gulick for twelve years held the chair of history and philosophy of physical training and at various times taught gymnastic therapeutics, physiology, hygiene, psychology, anthropometry, physiology of exercise, gymnastics, and athletics.

#### GULICK AND THE RECREATION MOVEMENT

Neither Gulick nor the Y.M.C.A. discovered athletics, but both made significant contributions to the philosophy and practice of group games. The Movement had been hampered by the Protestant attitude toward amusements, but Gulick’s insistence upon the unity of personality was an entering wedge into a situation already showing signs of cracking. Many Y.M.C.A.’s had considerable sports programs—rambling and camping, rowing and swimming clubs, field days, bicycle clubs, baseball, and some local athletic unions had come into being by the early 1890’s. Several leading local Associations were admitting women to their gymnasiums. Weidensall’s advice to the organization to go to young men where they were was taken literally and enthusiastically by immense numbers who saw the playing field as a new arena for “muscular Christianity.” At Springfield, Stagg coached his famous “Stubby Christians” football eleven so well they held Yale—the intercollegiate champions of 1890—to a score of 16 to 10 (Yale’s favor) in an exhibition game played at Madison Square Garden, in which the potential Y.M.C.A. secretaries “practically outplayed the giants from New Haven.”<sup>22</sup> Such enthusiasm as this event represented, together with the invention of basketball, ushered in the Y.M.C.A. era of group games, of which Gulick was the chief sponsor and regulator.

No single event in Y.M.C.A. history has been surrounded by more folklore than has the invention of basketball, the world’s most widely played athletic game.<sup>23</sup> In the fall of 1891 Gulick conducted a seminar

in psychology; a problem early discussed was the need for a game that would be "interesting, easy to learn, and easy to play in the winter and by artificial light."<sup>24</sup> To Gulick's suggestion that it should be possible to reconstruct some combination of extant games that would answer the need there was no adequate response. It happened that at the time the physical work courses for general secretaries and for men training for the physical directorship were conducted separately. The general secretaries' group resembled in its broad needs an average business men's gym class. The desire of this class for a recreational game—an indoor substitute for football—prompted Gulick to assign to James Naismith, an alumnus of the class of 1891 and then an instructor—later to serve the University of Kansas for forty years—the task of inventing such a game. A year later, when basketball was already popular, Gulick explained what had taken place:

I have often been asked how "Basket Ball" came to be invented, and as the modesty of the inventor, Mr. Naismith, is such as to prevent his saying anything about it, it might not be out of place for me to speak of it.

Last year several of us used to spend one evening or afternoon in the week in the discussion of . . . what constitutes an invention. After the formal discussion was over, Mr. Naismith and I continued, and we formulated some general conditions which should obtain in order to an invention. Mr. Naismith said that he did not see why anyone should not invent things if the principles which had been formulated were correct. About a week after this "Basket Ball" was born. A month later, in conversation with Mr. Naismith on the subject, I asked how it was he ever came to invent "Basket Ball." He reminded me of our discussion on invention, and said that he went to his room determined to invent a game which should be suitable for the peculiar conditions obtaining in the Young Men's Christian Association; that he had worked along the lines formulated during the discussion and that the game was the product.<sup>25</sup>

Naismith has told the story in more detail in his *Basketball, Its Origin and Development*—as he recalled it fifty years afterward. First he tried modifying football, then soccer (known as Association football), finally lacrosse; all were failures. Then he sat down and worked out some principles that he felt must be met if the requisite game were to result:

First, it must be interesting in itself; second, it must be easy to learn; third, it must be such as could be played indoors and in any kind of a gymnasium; fourth, it should be as free from roughness as possible; fifth, it should accommodate a large or small group of men; sixth, it should give an all-round development; seventh, it should be scientific enough to be interesting to old players.<sup>26</sup>

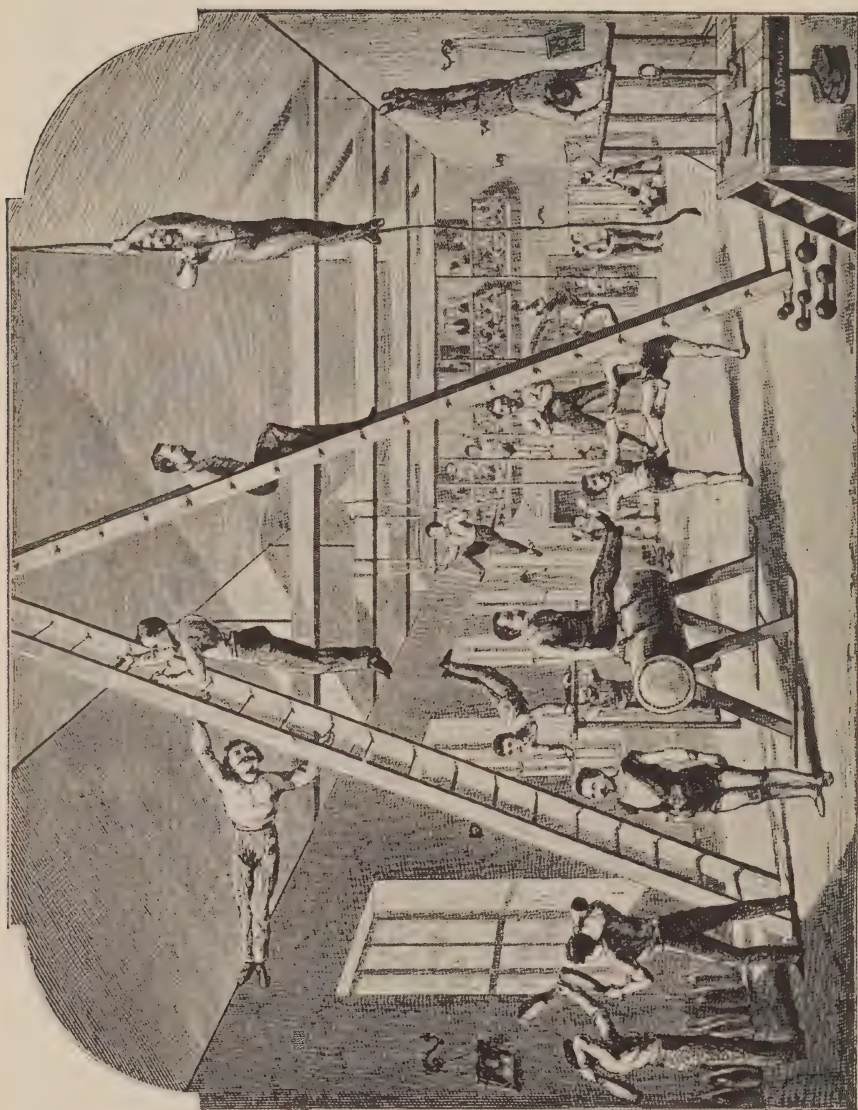
He next decided that some kind of ball must be used but did not then choose between a large or small one. Convinced that the most interesting game of the time was American Rugby, Naismith resolved to disallow running with the ball in his new game. Starting with this idea he next decided that the ball could not be struck with the fist or kicked. Last of the decisions made before the game was tried was the method of starting it—the center toss-up.

The school janitor had no boxes for goals, but a couple of peach baskets were tacked to the gymnasium balcony, ten feet off the floor. As a last thought before his class met, Naismith had the rules typed and posted them on the bulletin board. When the class arrived, he read the rules and chose two teams of nine men each, there being eighteen in the group: "The game was a success from the time that the first ball was tossed up." In an article written for the *Era* in 1894 Naismith recalled:

Basketball was thus made in the office and was a direct adaptation of certain means to accomplish certain ends. The rules were formulated before it was ever played by anyone; they were typewritten and hung up in the gymnasium before the game was started that the players might know what to do.<sup>27</sup>

The game spread like wildfire. The excitement it created drew spectators after about the third class period; students wrote home and it was taken up; they started it in a score of places that Christmas vacation. A group of teachers from a nearby grade school, hearing the noise, stopped to watch and the first girls' team was the result. Probably the first college to play the game was the University of Iowa, to which Henry F. Kallenberg, a classmate of Naismith's at Springfield and subsequently instructor at the Chicago Training School, had gone in the fall of 1891 as physical director of the University Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., which was experimenting with conducting the university's physical program. Naismith sent Kallenberg a typed copy of the rules and asked him to try out the game, which was done, with the usual success.<sup>28</sup> One of the members of the class suggested calling it "Naismith Ball" to which Naismith is reported to have replied that such a name would kill any game; the student, Frank Mahan, then suggested "basketball," to which Naismith agreed.<sup>29</sup> The rules and a description by the inventor were first published in *The Triangle* for January 15, 1892. The magazine was sent to most physical departments across the country, many of which had been looking for such a game,





THE TREMONT BUILDING GYMNASIUM, BOSTON, 1872-1883

and it was quickly accepted. The first competitive games appear to have been played by Brooklyn Y.M.C.A. teams, but the spread and enthusiasm was so great that the game immediately created a serious problem, threatening to disrupt regular gymnastic classes. The number of players was soon reduced, but many Y.M.C.A.'s would not allow ten men to monopolize a floor, that could accommodate five times that number, in an uproarious game accompanied by much yelling and undignified cheering. The result was that many players withdrew and formed independent teams and leagues; these were pursued by such numbers of spectators that professional basketball resulted. Within two years the editor of the *Era* was criticizing an Association that had organized a women's basketball team. Before a decade had passed the game had come to occupy the position among Y.M.C.A.'s that football did in the colleges. In self-defense the Y.M.C.A. organized its own league. The spread of basketball to the ends of the earth and into all groups and classes is a matter of common knowledge; in 1939 a news magazine guessed that twenty millions persons then played the game—doubtless a conservative estimate. Yet those millions were quite a different group from those Gulick and Naismith had in mind when they planned the sport.

Under Naismith's influence, W. G. Morgan came to Springfield and was graduated with the class of 1894. In his first position as physical director he found basketball too strenuous for the business men in his evening gymnastic class. In 1895 he developed the game of volleyball, then known as "mintonette." Gulick invited Morgan to bring his two teams to Springfield for an exhibition game, and the new sport was christened "volleyball" by Dr. Alfred Halstead of the Springfield faculty.<sup>30</sup>

It is said that the English game of field hockey was introduced into America by J. H. McCurdy, Gulick's successor at Springfield.<sup>31</sup> During the late 1890's quite a few Associations had football teams but for the most part the game was considered too rough and generally ill-adapted to the organization.

But Gulick was not satisfied with any one sport or athletic event or form of gymnastics. Advocating all-round athletics, he was concerned lest the physical program of the organization become professionalized and be concentrated upon one or a few events—a fear that must have been considerably heightened with the meteoric rise of basketball. In 1890 he wrote in the *Era* that an acceptable group of sports should

. . . test the strength of legs, body, and arms; they should test skill also; a man should be able to use his head on at least some of the work; the heart and lungs should also be tested by something that demands endurance and wind; agility should receive its due share of attention; speed should be tested, a man's ability to spring should also be ascertained.

Stimulated in part by a suggestion from I. E. Brown, state secretary of Illinois,<sup>32</sup> Gulick proposed the pentathlon (five events) consisting, as he finally worked it out, of the hundred-yard dash, twelve-pound hammer throw, running high jump, pole vault, and mile run.<sup>33</sup> Several years later he was convinced that this combination of types of exercises solved most of the usual difficulties involved in an all-round athletic program, for it was not constructed for the specialist nor did it demand extensive or costly equipment; a test rather than a contest, Gulick thought it most germane to Y.M.C.A. physical ideals. Of course his colleagues did not all agree with him, but he held tenaciously to his belief that the basic Association principle was to serve the many rather than the few and that the pentathlon did this admirably.

#### THE ATHLETIC LEAGUE

Chiefly at Gulick's initiative, the secretaries' conference of 1889 discussed at length the need for an agency to co-ordinate the expanding athletic interests of the Associations. The problem was delegated to a committee which soon recognized that it was dealing with a matter more properly in the province of the International Convention and Committee. The International subcommittee on physical work devoted its attention to the pentathlon, under Gulick's stimulus, but it was some time yet before the Athletic League materialized, the principal reason being that no uniquely Y.M.C.A. type of athletics had yet evolved. It was also thought that local experimentation should govern the methodology. Hence, although the Conventions of 1889 and 1891 discussed favorably the formation of an Athletic League, it remained for the spread of basketball and Gulick's perfection of the pentathlon to bring the matter to a head.

In 1892 the Illinois state committee asked the International Committee to move in this direction; the Convention of 1893 instructed the Committee to present its plan at the next Convention, which was to be stimulated by a similar request from the physical directors' conference of 1894. Accordingly, the International Convention of 1895, meeting at Springfield, adopted unanimously a resolution recognizing



"the importance of the Physical Department of our work" and commending the efforts of the Committee and physical directors

to frame an Athletic League of the Associations, to promote, not the interests of mere sport or skill, but the best development of the body, because of the relations the body sustains to the man.

A committee to govern the League was appointed the following October.<sup>34</sup> It elected Gulick, its guiding spirit, as secretary. An early historian of the League wrote that it was "indebted [to Gulick] for putting our competitive athletics on a high plane and adopting them into our present scheme of physical training."<sup>35</sup> The same month it set up an informal procedure limiting membership to Y.M.C.A.'s that applied for admission, paid their dues (of \$10.00) and adhered to the established principles; eighty joined by February, 1897. Only those sports that were "not antagonistic to rational physical training" were to be used in competition, though the League wished to maintain friendly relations with all similar organizations that stood for "wholesome and honest amateur sport." The *Era* was designated the official organ of the League and pledged its co-operation.<sup>36</sup> Not until February, 1896, was a constitution adopted; a handbook was authorized the following April, and basketball rules were published for the first time that same month. In October, 1896, articles of affiliation with the Amateur Athletic Union were signed and the next January the A.A.U. adopted the Y.M.C.A. basketball rules.

In his report for 1897 Gulick indicated that the League had endeavored to formulate uniform gymnasium work, athletic rules, and records; it had made discounts on athletic equipment equally available to both small and large Associations, and advised on such apparatus. Gulick attempted to standardize equipment and personally inspected and signed basketballs. Association interests had been represented in other athletic organizations. The League had in short acted as a general clearing house for Association athletic affairs. In all this Gulick saw the working out of "the idea that Christ's kingdom should include the athletic world, that the influence of athletics upon character must be on the side of Christian courtesy."<sup>37</sup>

The League's largest contribution to athletics during the late 1890's was its emphasis upon clean sport. When Gulick reported to the Convention of 1897, he stated its first objective to be the maintenance of high standards of Christian honesty and courtesy in athletics—referred



to as "consecrated backbone" by George T. Hepbron, Gulick's associate in the International secretaryship. Upon the advice of physical secretaries across the land, whom he circularized through *Men*, Gulick devised a "Clean Sport Roll":

1. The rules of games are to be regarded as mutual agreements, the spirit or letter of which one should no sooner try to evade or break than one would any other agreement between gentlemen. The stealing of advantage in sport is to be regarded as stealing of any other kind.

2. Visiting teams are the honored guests of the home team, and the mutual relationships in all particulars [are] to be governed by the spirit which is supposed to guide in such relationships.

3. No action is to be done, nor course of conduct is to be pursued which would seem ungentlemanly or dishonorable if known to one's opponents or the public.

4. No advantage is to be sought over others except those in which the game is supposed to show superiority.

5. Advantages which the laxity of the officials may allow in regard to the interpretation and enforcement of the rules are not to be taken.

6. Officers and opponents are to be regarded and treated as honest in intention. When opponents are evidently not gentlemen, and officers manifestly dishonest or incompetent, it is perfectly simple to avoid future relationships with them.

7. Decisions of officials, even when they seem unfair, are to be abided by.

8. Ungentlemanly or unfair means are not to be used even when they are used by the opponents.

9. Good points in others should be appreciated and suitable recognition given.<sup>88</sup>

To suggestions that players sign the roll, Gulick retorted that to ask either men or captains to do so would be a serious error: "a man becomes a gentleman not because he has agreed to do so, but because there is something within him which has responded to an appeal." He went on to point out that the situation within the Association would be the determining factor "in making men want to do the right thing."

The need for this statement of standards was evidenced in many flagrant abuses which Gulick considered a travesty on Christian ethics and Association ideals. Following a basketball game in which foul play had not been called, Gulick wrote in the Movement magazine:

... *The game must be kept clean.* It is a perfect outrage for an institution that stands for Christian work in the community to tolerate, not merely discourteous and ungentlemanly treatment of guests, but slugging and that which violates the elementary principles of morals. It hurts the religious life of the Association; it hurts the influence of the Association in the com-

munity; it hurts the personal influence of the general secretary and physical director of the Association; it injures the character of the men who play. If the facts were generally known, it would influence the financial support of the Association. It would have a large measure of influence in determining the amount of credence that the young men should give to the claims of the Association that it aims to lead men into a high Christian life. No respect for the position of officers or kindly feeling toward the persons of players or the fear of hurting feelings, or anything of the kind, should for a moment interfere with the physical director or the general secretary absolutely putting a stop to sport that is not clean.<sup>39</sup>

This was a chronic problem, and Gulick's attack upon it was as forthright as any the Y.M.C.A. produced. In his report for 1899 he marked the "particular emphasis laid upon the campaign for clean sport"—through numerous articles, addresses "and practical measures for the alliance of Christian character with Association athletics." The general verdict was that there had resulted not only the formation of "a clear and well-defined sentiment upon the subject, but in a higher standard of sport in many associations." He could not estimate the effect of the campaign outside Association circles but felt certain that there had been "wide adoption of its general principles" among colleges and athletic clubs—an example of "the power of the Association in practical directions, even outside of its own organization."<sup>40</sup>

These widening interests of Gulick's, which were ultimately to take him beyond the Y.M.C.A. when he thought his service to it had been fulfilled, were to produce at the turn of the century a strong statement from him concerning the value of play. What was stated fully in 1899 had been latent in his section of the *Hand-Book* of 1892 where he had listed ten qualities sought by physical education—symmetry, muscular strength, endurance, agility, grace, muscular control, physical judgment and courage, self-control, and expression—and then remarked that of the several aspects of physical work, recreation was for many men the most important:

When they come to the gymnasium their primary need is recreation. They are exhausted mentally. Perhaps they are tired physically. They need to be stirred up, made to laugh and throw off their business. For such classes educative gymnastics would be worse than useless and medical gymnastics thrown away. The gymnastic games are adapted to them and can be used to great advantage. A little recreative gymnastics at the end of the class work will often add zest to what would otherwise seem trying.

In the summer of 1899 the conference on physical training at Springfield was stimulated by Gulick's course on the psychology of play to

the point that it has been claimed that this was the real beginning of the war between gymnastics and play as physical education.<sup>41</sup> Gulick had prepared himself by reading widely in French, German, and Italian literature; the course was perhaps the most memorable he ever gave, for out of its philosophy over the years there had come basketball, volleyball, and the immense stimulus to the recreation movement that characterized the Y.M.C.A. during his identification with it.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL PHYSICAL DEPARTMENT

Morse's interest in physical work—when an undergraduate at Yale the eighty-pound dumbbell had yielded to his “muscular right arm”—led him and McBurney to acquaintance with Gulick during the latter's medical student days in New York, in 1886.<sup>42</sup> Beginning that winter, Gulick served until 1903 as part-time physical work secretary for the International Committee. It is impossible to separate the multifarious activities Gulick carried on under his various titles. A great deal of the influence he radiated during these years was due to his strategic position in New York as well as at Springfield. Consulted by Associations that were constructing new buildings, he was able to focus the best knowledge and many of his own ideas at the point of new gymnasiums across the country. One of the innovations he proposed was the gymnasium open to the air.<sup>43</sup> A large general correspondence was carried on with Associations and with men interested in the physical secretaryship.

In his report for 1889, Gulick had called attention to the anthropometric blank that he had been working on and considered one of his most important projects:

... Our Associations have great opportunities for the securing of accurate statistical information regarding gymnastic and athletic work, the effects of exercise, the form and proportions of the human figure, and other matters of great practical as well as scientific value; but it has been impossible to utilize these opportunities in the past, as there has been no uniform basis for study and comparison of results. Accordingly it was thought wise to offer those Associations that wished to do this work a carefully digested plan for the securing and tabulating of statistics on these subjects.<sup>44</sup>

As consultants he had called in a group of distinguished doctors and physical educators and the forms had been endorsed by them before being unanimously approved by the Conference of General Secretaries in 1888; International Committee sponsorship had commended the

work to the Associations. Gulick enthusiastically reported further that "the character of the work done has been changing very rapidly [with] the majority of the Associations today . . . working largely in the right line, that is, that the gymnasium is for the purpose of developing health and strength, of vigor of body and mind."

These developments continued through the 1890's. Gulick worked with state committees and succeeded in convincing several of the value of state supervision of physical work. He was a member of the American Physical Education Association, editing its *Review* from 1901 and becoming its president in 1903, the year of his resignation from the International secretaryship. He expressed himself and the department through the Athletic League, the summer conferences for physical directors, his column in the *Era*, his addresses at Conventions and hundreds of other places, and his countless articles written for a score of periodicals. After the formation of the Athletic League it is hardly possible to distinguish what Gulick did as its secretary from his activities as International secretary. He maintained his relation to the Committee after leaving Springfield, but, when in 1903 he became head of the physical education work for the New York City schools, he resigned from the Y.M.C.A. secretaryship.

The year after which Gulick began his services to Springfield and the International Committee, seventeen "gymnasium superintendents" had come to the conference of the General Secretaries' Association. One of the most important developments of Gulick's period was the increase of this number to 313 by 1901 and the raising of the status to the professional level suggested by the title "physical director."<sup>45</sup> Gulick set himself at once to this task, not only through the means that have been described above, but through public speeches, a pamphlet called *The Physical Directorship of the Y.M.C.A. as a Lifework*,<sup>46</sup> and the physical directors' summer conferences. These developments were seen in perspective by President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, who addressed the Jubilee Convention of 1901 on the Y.M.C.A.'s contribution to the physical development of young men. Having himself been a member of the New York Association when its gymnasium was opened in 1869, Hall was impressed by the fact that more than 455 of these had since been established and were serving over 80,000 young men. He pointed with pride to improvements made in the training of physical directors: there are, he said,

. . . well-manned training institutions for this especial purpose, first at



Springfield, later at Chicago; summer sessions, camps, conferences held for further training of leaders; courses of study extended; methods of physical examination improved; experts developed who are known and honored as leaders wherever physical training is studied; and lately the Athletic League of over one hundred associations—this is the record. . . .

Among all the marvelous advances of Christianity, either within this magnificent organization or without it, in this land and century, or in any other lands and ages, the future historian of the church of Christ will place this movement for carrying the gospel of the body as one of the most epoch-making. . . .

Another speaker on the same platform pointed out that the eighty thousand men using the physical work facilities of the Associations comprised nearly one-third of the total membership, so that it could be said that "the development of physical training has been one of the distinctive characteristics of these associations"; the important single change in that growth had been "the advancement of scientific physical training and the development of the physical director into an earnest, personal worker and organizer of Christian work in the physical department":

The men now entering the physical work are recognized as needing the same training in Bible study, methods of Christian work and the like, as those who are looking forward to the general secretaryship. This feature . . . has resulted in making the physical department a vital factor in the directly religious life of the associations, there being, for instance, Bible classes of physical department members conducted by the physical directors. . . .

Another outstanding authority, writing in *Harpers' Weekly* in 1901, reviewed the contributions of the Y.M.C.A. to the development of physical education in America. The Associations, he declared, "deserve the gratitude of the whole country for what they have done for the physical training as well as the mental, moral, and spiritual training of our youth." Yet at that time the Movement was in actuality hardly beyond the foundation-laying phase of its physical work program. How the superstructure was reared on these beginnings will be described in Chapters 11 and 13.

## Chapter 7 The Rise of the Student Movement<sup>1</sup>

Christ for the students of the world, and the students of the world  
for Christ.  
—LUTHER WISHARD, 1877

THE STORY TO BE TOLD in this chapter began with the spontaneous formation here and there of more campus Y.M.C.A.'s like those at the Universities of Michigan and Virginia, which were described in Chapter 1. Many older student religious societies were now metamorphosed into Y.M.C.A.'s, and scores of new Associations were formed as the Y.M.C.A. idea caught the imagination of increasing numbers of students. The academic year 1864-65, for example, saw the transformation of the Judson Society of Missionary Inquiry at the University of Rochester into a student Y.M.C.A. that was to be widely influential—a development characteristic of this era. Aiming to “form in its members regular habits of Christian work, and to keep their hearts warm with Christian love by mutual encouragement and sympathy,” a broad program was developed that compared well with that of the University of Virginia.

The next college year saw the inauguration of student work by the New York City Y.M.C.A. and the beginning of an Association at Washington College where President Robert E. Lee took “the liveliest interest,” because he believed the organization would “do much to fix the attention of the students upon the subject of religion and to cultivate moral and religious sentiments in the community.” In 1868 there was organized an Association to aid “the moral, social and spiritual condition” of the students of the College of the City of New York; the students of Olivet College that year formed the third Y.M.C.A. in Michigan, adapting the constitution of the Detroit Association to their needs. Two outstanding student Associations had their beginnings in 1869—at Howard University and at Cornell.

Campus Associations were fostered by Robert Weidensall from the beginning of his promotional activity. During the 1870's he reorgan-

ized a number of older societies and planted new ones, while at the same time prodding the Conventions. In 1877 a student department was set up, and through the next dozen years a movement within the Movement was developed by Luther Wishard, the world's first college secretary. This chapter will be devoted chiefly to that story. Wishard's program was soon focused upon foreign missions, and out of it there grew a student missionary movement unparalleled in the history of Christianity, one effect of which was the American Y.M.C.A.'s world expansion, as will be shown in Chapter 8.

At the close of the Civil War, what was alleged to be higher education in the United States, North and South, was in lamentable condition. With few exceptions instruction in the colleges was infinitely dull and on a level hardly above that of the secondary schools. Hard-and-fast curriculums presented to immature boys—many entering classes averaged sixteen years of age—little more than the classics taught by elementary or secondary methods. The equipment of the typical college was said to have been inferior to the average jail or railroad station. Particularly in the West there was an overabundance of small colleges with small student bodies, narrowly sectarian policies and instructors, and low admission standards that at times injured the high schools. As late as 1873 it was estimated that there were only twenty-three thousand undergraduates in the nation.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the last third of the century was marked by phenomenal growth and improvement.<sup>3</sup> Outstanding leaders appeared, provocative changes were made in curriculums, and several progressive and immediately successful institutions were established—notably Cornell and Johns Hopkins. In the Midwest the state university had been firmly rooted before the War, as had coeducation, the latter destined to spread south and east. Stimulated by federal aid in the form of land grants, higher education for the people almost became a crusade. The development of technological, scientific, and professional education followed, if slowly, the forward strides of the liberal arts, as the 1880's advanced. While in the post-War years there had been few distinguished college teachers in the nation, great names and magnetic personalities were now added to the forces that drew students in ever-increasing numbers to more and better institutions, though the church colleges found themselves in increasing difficulties as publicly supported schools increased and spread. In 1878 there were three hundred and fifty colleges; twenty years later five hundred enrolled one hundred thousand stu-

dents.<sup>4</sup> This gain was most marked in the coeducational state universities of the West whose student bodies grew much faster than did those of the denominational colleges.

Student life underwent comparable changes. Social standards were raised and for the most part the brutality of hazing was checked. As entrance requirements were tightened the age of freshmen increased; the introduction of the elective system tended to break up traditional class spirit, and on the whole there was a gradual diminution of rowdiness and the animal quality that had marked most men's colleges. A major factor in transforming undergraduate folkways was the rise of athletics. Clubs and fraternities, paralleled by debating, literary, musical, and dramatic activities, ranked next as civilizing agencies, and in releasing undergraduate energy in infinite variety. In this youthful and happy age the college Y.M.C.A. "grew lustily" among its burgeoning contemporaries, utilizing their techniques of student initiative and activity.<sup>5</sup> From the first, the life of the student Y.M.C.A. reflected the campus dynamics of the age.

#### RECOGNITION BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

The first Convention to think seriously about the relation of the Movement to higher education was that of 1868, which met in Detroit. Professor Adam K. Spence, founder and sponsor of the University of Michigan Association, presented the idea of student work. In spite of the Convention's visiting Ann Arbor, his resolution that would have pledged delegates "as a Convention and as individuals" to seek "to plant a Christian Association in each and all our universities, colleges and seminaries" was buried in committee. Yet the later adoption of a similar resolution was doubtless aided by a challenge flung on that occasion:

. . . Is this a Christian University? Can the great system of schools be a Christian system? If it can be, it must be by the efforts of the Christian Association . . . <sup>6</sup>

The Convention of 1869 heard only a sentence about "the special mission of Y.M.C.A. organizations among the students of our colleges," but in 1870 Weidensall joined Spence and Morse in an effective Convention presentation which had been anticipated by a series of articles in *Association Monthly*.

Morse had felt that student religious societies were not applying the



techniques of organization and committee work utilized not only by city Y.M.C.A.'s but by campus literary, fraternity, and athletic groups, with which latter he had become familiar at Yale.<sup>7</sup> From his first issue he featured several provocative essays and reports of successful campus associations.<sup>8</sup> The June *Monthly*, appearing on the eve of the Indianapolis Convention, gave prominent place to a plea by Spence for action. He emphasized the unique character of the campus community which he believed the Christian Association "especially fitted" to meet, and cited the dozen years through which the University of Michigan Association had been "at the very heart and center of the Christian life" of the campus, and eight years' successful work at the University of Rochester.<sup>9</sup> The Convention adopted his resolution without discussion:

Resolved, That this Convention hails with joy the organization, in some of our Academies and Colleges, of Y.M.C.A.'s, and commends this feature of our work in behalf of the young men of America, and hopes that Christian Associations may be planted wherever practicable in our Academies, Colleges, and Universities, and that we urge especially such Societies already existing that they seek to extend their work in this important field.<sup>10</sup>

This action "opened a path to the colleges" for Weidensall. Before 1870 passed he had organized—on a strictly evangelical basis—Y.M.C.A.'s in Lawrence College and the University of Wisconsin—"the first college associations ever formed by an accredited agent of Y.M.C.A.'s."<sup>11</sup> During the next five years he visited thirty-seven colleges, founding Y.M.C.A.'s in twenty-four of them.<sup>12</sup>

Weidensall's promotion in Michigan was a significant instance of this. Early in 1871, on Brainerd's instructions, he set out to assist a young but aggressive state committee. Visiting en route the two college associations already at work—Olivet and the University of Michigan, the latter "a persistent soul-winning organization"—he obtained strong support for the committee's effort to organize "a working Association on the evangelical basis in all the colleges of its own State." The state convention took "definite steps for the immediate extension of the Association work into other Colleges of Michigan," with the result that within a year they were all united in Association fellowship by a team of local, state, and international workers who utilized, perhaps for the first time, the student deputation. In Indiana Weidensall next obtained an endorsement from the state convention. One of the resulting campus Associations in that state was to nourish the undergraduate life of Luther Wishard, the student work leader "for whom Spence and

Weidensall prophesied and prayed," although it was to be six years before that prayer was answered. During that time Weidensall regularly included the colleges in his endless promotional activity.

By 1872 he had organized "or materially helped" twenty-one of the twenty-six known student Associations, placing most of them on the evangelical basis.<sup>13</sup> At least ten students attended the Lowell Convention that year, including Wishard, "a green country boy" from Hanover College. Weidensall, who "had the student delegates to meet together" at every International gathering during these years, did what he could to enable Wishard and the others "to get the most out of the Convention," talking with them in small groups, because the southern men—there as a result of his recent tour—refused to meet with the delegates from Howard University. Wishard long remembered Weidensall's warm greeting, and the Convention created for him "the mood of Peter on the mountain of Transfiguration," in which he saw "a vision of one of the world's great needs," which "the Y.M.C.A. had already arrived to meet"—an experience to be shared by generations of students.

Through the next five years Weidensall promoted the work vigorously, extending his good offices to young women's Associations and stressing the cause at Conventions. The year 1872-73 saw the formation of the first student Association in Canada, at the University of Toronto. In spite of the inability of the Committee to pay his salary during the depression of 1873-74, Weidensall maintained an immense correspondence and reported thirty-two college Associations in 1874 to a Convention that for the first time included student work in its agenda. He consistently stressed the student program with state committees and saw to it that strong student workers were included in their membership. Student deputations were frequently instrumental in promoting the newly developed state organizations; school and college people were always included in invitations to state conventions. Student delegations were often "a great inspiration" to state conventions and not infrequently returned home to start revivals that sometimes spread well beyond their own campuses; they were at times strategic in building or salvaging newly organized but as yet unstable state work. Virtually every state in which he organized a Y.M.C.A. was "from the first, deeply interested in the College Association work."

The Convention of 1875 urged both state and International committees "to establish and foster Y.M.C.A.'s in colleges and other educa-

tional institutions." Through these years Weidensall was convinced of the necessity of the Y.M.C.A. "in every State school, especially in . . . universities," believing it to be the only organized religious work that could be "harmoniously and energetically operated within them."<sup>14</sup> He did not cease to work with students whenever opportunity afforded, after Wishard became college secretary in 1877.

#### LUTHER WISHARD AND THE FOUNDING OF THE STUDENT DEPARTMENT

Luther Deloraine Wishard (1854-1925), the world's first student secretary, was born in an Indiana log cabin and nourished in a typical midwestern farm home that drew its religion "directly from the New Testament." He first heard about the Y.M.C.A. when his father returned from the Convention of 1870 at Indianapolis (where Moody and Sankey had first met) "so charged with spiritual electricity that he magnetized everybody with whom he came in contact." Shortly after this, Wishard entered Hanover College, where Y.M.C.A. activity—chiefly evangelistic—helped crystallize his sense of vocation. September, 1875, found him at Princeton, where he promptly joined the venerable Philadelphian Society, the campus religious organization. He was disappointed that it was not affiliated with the Y.M.C.A. Wishard regretted the "exclusively local character" of the Society that deprived it of "the visits of such Christian laymen as the Association was raising up, men like Dr. Munhall":

. . . I knew that we were not as likely to attract such visitors as if our Society was a College Y.M.C.A. I also knew that we were not likely to derive any benefit from representation in Association conventions which had been of such benefit to Hanover.<sup>15</sup>

He also had learned that contacts with city Y.M.C.A.'s helped to tone down "the gownishness fostered by the exclusiveness of college life." Then:

In [January] 1876 we were blessed with a wonderful revival in Princeton College. We sent delegates to Yale and Lafayette and other Colleges who met the boys in their rooms and talked with them informally about our work. This intercollege sympathy and union suggested the thought of bringing our Society into the Y.M.C.A., that it might be identified intimately with other College Associations, and also receive help from contact with the business and professional men in the Y.M.C.A.<sup>16</sup>

In the fall of 1876, Wishard was elected president of the Philadelphian Society and in November secured its consent to join the Movement

through the device of adding "Y.M.C.A." to the older name and inserting "evangelical" before "church" in the definition of membership.

What Wishard afterward called "the capital event" in the history of the intercollegiate movement took place December 10, 1876, when he met William E. Dodge, Jr., and his two sons, then sophomores, for a discussion of the implications of this move which in his ignorance Wishard supposed was unique.<sup>17</sup> As Wishard remembered the conversation, they had agreed on the usefulness of deputation work, and Mr. Dodge had proposed that they concentrate on the Convention to meet in Louisville the next June. Dodge assured them that "if it was desired the International Committee would undoubtedly make a place in the program for the discussion of the work of the Association in the colleges."

Wishard's knowledge of Y.M.C.A. college work was limited to Hanover and Princeton, though he knew of the Association at Howard. As he thought over the interview he could see Princeton taking the leadership toward an intercollegiate student movement united with the Y.M.C.A. in a national fellowship. Some distrusted the wisdom of integrating the college work into the Y.M.C.A. structure, but Wishard stood firmly for a relationship that would guarantee the values he himself had shared "from contact with active Christian business men" whom he met at conventions and in visits to the city Associations.<sup>18</sup> Separate movements, he held, would "deprive city Associations of the steady inflow of men from the colleges," and students of the stimulus to be derived from the touch of practical men of affairs.<sup>19</sup> Faculty advisors and the majority of students favored the proposal. In January of 1877, Wishard was made chairman of a Philadelphian Society committee unanimously charged with definite action. This resulted in his drafting a circular letter that was mailed at the end of March to two hundred colleges, proposing a system of correspondence and visitation "to bring about united work in all our colleges for the conversion of students and their consecration to active service for the Lord." This would be furthered by an annual meeting, so the Princeton letter proposed the coming Louisville Convention as an opportunity to "both receive and impart good." Y.M.C.A. affiliation and reduced rates of travel were cited as advantages, though it was carefully pointed out that the students would be free to choose their own form of organization; a second letter confirmed the arrangements.



In the meantime, as "one inventor who has suddenly collided with another," Wishard read in *The Watchman* an article by Weidensall on the college work which was to him "inspiring beyond expression," not only in the realization it brought of comradeship with one he had met five years before but because the veteran secretary set forth incisively the same principles Wishard had evolved:

His conception of the need of Association buildings in colleges was right in line with what we had for several years been assured at Princeton. . . . His insistence upon the need of organization and supervision by a secretary confirmed what we had already considered and had undertaken to bring about. With this experienced leader's endorsement of the conclusion which we had already reached, particularly concerning the great life which was waiting some man's leadership, I could no longer doubt that the internal call which had come to me was the call of God, although I still felt that my confidence that it was a divine call to me should be and would be made further evident by the confirmation of others.<sup>20</sup>

Some forty colleges responded to the circular and twenty-five delegates came to Louisville from twenty-one of the nearly seventy student Associations of which there is some record prior to 1877, although only twenty-six were then listed in the *Year Book*. They included three Negro colleges and represented twelve states and the District of Columbia. Meeting independently, the students enjoyed "the most cordial and helpful relations" with Morse and McBurney. They received the warm greeting and fervent Godspeed of Weidensall, who by that time—"although overwhelmed by calls for help from other classes of young men"—had been related to the development of thirty-seven college Associations in ten states.<sup>21</sup>

On June 9, 1877, the Convention voted the appointment of "a Corresponding Secretary . . . to take charge of the general work of the Associations in Colleges, and other higher educational institutions, during the ensuing two years,"<sup>22</sup> an action that followed a panel discussion of the college work and the findings of the student meetings which Wishard had chaired. He presented a "scheme for the union of students" through fraternal exchange by correspondence that would "bind the Colleges together in Christian sympathy as they never have been united before." Wishard remarked in words innocently prophetic of his own future that the college secretary "must, of course, at the outset be willing to work for nothing as far as money is concerned," and if necessary "be content to wait for his wages until eternity." Such an

officer would acquaint himself with the religious condition of the colleges of the country and act as the medium between them and the International Committee. He might need to do some visitation, but he should appoint corresponding members as associates. The delegates asked that student Associations subscribe to *The Watchman*, which would henceforth carry a column of college news, and that they try to promote the movement on neighboring campuses: "What we all seek is the winning of young men to Christ."<sup>23</sup> Foreign missions were not discussed, but "careful attention" was given to "individual work, promotion of the prayer life, Bible study, and work in the neighborhood of the college."<sup>24</sup> When Wishard twenty-five years later looked back on these proposals for "intercollegiate correspondence, conventions, visitation and publications," he felt that they had been fundamental to "the brief, simple plan of campaign which has ever since been closely followed, not only by the American [student] movement, but also by the movements in Europe, Asia and Africa."<sup>25</sup>

After being graduated from Princeton and spending the summer as general secretary of a small city Association, Wishard's appointment was confirmed in September. At a salary of \$250 per year he began the office he was to create and hold for eleven years, during seven of which he was the only student Christian movement secretary in the world.<sup>26</sup>

Weidensall, who still regarded the college work as "the most important department in the wide field the Associations are occupying," saw in the Convention's action the answer to his own prayers and agitation. Wishard was to him "a God-sent man," and as rapidly as he could he turned over "this special work" that he had "fostered so long and loved so much," using all his influence "with the state committees and state secretaries that they might regard and co-operate with him." Yet this did not mean that the veteran "agent" dropped all interest in college work. During the year 1877-78 he counseled with five and formed seven new campus Associations, four of them in state normal schools; in Tennessee he reorganized the Association at Cumberland University, and on April 9, 1878, constituted among the divinity students at Vanderbilt University what was to his knowledge "the first Y.M.C.A. ever formed in a theological school."<sup>27</sup> Comparable activity continued to mark Weidensall's promotion for another score of years. Thus the enterprise was inaugurated which Moody was to call "the greatest Christian movement of the century."

## WISHARD BUILDS THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Wishard's first year's contract called for his devoting week-ends to college correspondence and visitation while attending Union Theological Seminary. He launched his campaign by sending to 150 colleges copies of *The Watchman* containing the action of the Louisville Convention and the aims of the new movement, together with his program for its promotion. Still under the illusion that college men would respond to a system of round-robin letters, he devoted most of this statement to the scheme for committees of correspondence, asked for statistics from each campus, and proposed that the Day of Prayer be observed. May God speed the time, he concluded, when "all our colleges will be united in one mighty effort. . . . Christ for the students of the world, and the students of the world for Christ."

Although in the course of his first year Wishard received helpful information from some seventy colleges and several responded to the exchange of letters, few took action "until a personal visit was made by either [him]self or a state association secretary." Inevitably Wishard and the Committee realized that visitation was imperative if the work was to move. Seven thousand miles of travel during his first year to twenty-three campuses in ten states convinced him that "this agency was indispensable to the success of the enterprise":

Students had been approached and appealed to by their fellows, their teachers, the minister; but the coming and appeal of a man who came because he was sent by his college, yes by a combination of colleges, this was something new; this arrested attention; this compelled reflection; this started the student body into discussion and this resulted in action.<sup>28</sup>

The most important development of this first year was Wishard's discovery of the cause of foreign missions and the consecration of himself to it, in connection with which there dawned in his mind the idea of a world student fellowship. These were the two great features of the student department through the next several decades, and its largest contributions to the Movement and the world Church. Hearing of the Williams College student dedication of 1806 which had eventuated in the sending of the first Protestant missionaries from the United States,<sup>29</sup> Wishard saw at once that the student uprising he was fostering was a reappearance of the same spirit: "What they had done was ours to complete." He was himself, as Mott later said, "a flame of fire" spreading this great ideal.

Then there came to his attention a letter from the Christian stu-

dents of Sapporo Agricultural College, Japan, to the students of Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, whose president had recently founded the Japanese school and established a Bible class there. The authors of this unusual communication hoped that their own endeavor "for Jesus in the eastern side of the world" would be matched by comparable aid to His Kingdom "in the western side."<sup>30</sup> This incident "constituted the point from which began to be traced to completion the circle of worldwide student Christian brotherhood," Wishard wrote later, but at this time he "simply pondered the matter in [his] own heart" and gave his full time and strength to the movement at hand. "No marked religious uprising in particular colleges occurred," he remarked concerning a year that passed quickly; "the work had been done quietly"; but it had taught its lessons.

Financial support was found for the college year 1878-79, and Wishard carried on his duties now from Princeton Seminary. The principal innovation was *The College Bulletin*, which began in November, 1878, as "the first intercollegiate religious periodical ever published" and which "certainly advertised and popularized the movement." Still on part time, Wishard devoted nine weeks of the year to the work, during which he wrote over seven hundred letters to some one hundred colleges, published six issues of the *Bulletin* (of which fourteen thousand copies were distributed), attended three state conventions, and visited seven campuses. At the end of his second year the total of affiliated Associations had reached fifty, many older organizations had been "generally revived," personal work was being emphasized, Bible study was on the increase, and more than three hundred conversions had taken place in many college revivals "as the direct result of the association work."

The Convention of 1879 made the college work a permanent department of the International Committee, and voted to include its budget in the biennial estimate.<sup>31</sup> Wishard was continued as secretary. The student delegates approved a model constitution which provided for Wishard's program in terms of committees on devotions, membership, general religious work, correspondence, and missions. More than before, Wishard was now "a center of contagion" from which the student movement spread.

With the work integrated into the International Committee's regular operations, Wishard was forced to make his vocational choice. From his undergraduate days at Hanover he had intended to enter the min-



istry, but the missionary call was now sounding louder and louder and his success in student work placed him under heavy obligation to it. After advising with Association leaders and his Princeton professors he "came to close grips one night with old Cephas, our great chairman . . . [who] had a way of arising to an emergency . . . he was no special pleader, but he had studied the Association movement long and well and knew how to appraise it." Wishard left Brainerd feeling that "he might by remaining in this country bring about a missionary uprising such as the Baltimore Convention had planned for" and might thus reproduce his own life on the mission field many fold.

The next day he attended the Fulton Street prayer meeting where he received the assurance that he was "destined for a period of years to remain in America for the sake of foreign missions." A while afterward Wishard on a visit to Williams College knelt in the snow at the Haystack Monument and made "an unreserved surrender to the great Leader of those earlier volunteers: 'I am willing to go anywhere at any time to do anything for Jesus.'"<sup>32</sup>

There now ensued a development of the student work so prodigious and so widespread that it can be but suggested here. Wishard's contagion was caught by hundreds of students on scores of campuses across the continent, and the movement spread to virtually every state and province. In his first year of full-time promotion Wishard wrote fifteen hundred letters, circulated twenty thousand copies of eight issues of *The College Bulletin*, attended five state conventions, and visited thirty-one colleges in nine states and the province of Ontario in the course of twelve thousand miles travel which had acquainted "not less than five thousand students" with "the object and method of the work." Membership jumped to 4,268 in ninety-six Associations, forty-three of which had been organized that winter, the largest proportional increase of any single year; thirty-three of them had Bible classes and twenty-six held regular missionary meetings; sixty observed the Day of Prayer. But Wishard thought it most important that "nearly seven hundred students" had professed conversion. The work was "steadily growing in favor" with students, faculties, and the clergy. "Over one quarter of the colleges of America have tried and found this Association work practical and useful," he concluded.<sup>33</sup>

By 1891 the student work had grown until there were 345 Associations, with 22,241 members. Two hundred and fifty-seven of them reported devotional meetings; one hundred and fourteen reported Bi-

ble study classes; ninety-nine reported missionary meetings; one hundred and ninety-three observed the Day of Prayer.

As this immense activity spiraled into a movement within a Movement, the demands upon Wishard far exceeded the powers of one man, and though his endurance became part of the folklore of the Movement he soon asked for an associate.<sup>34</sup> Wishard was early drawn to a Williams College student then determined on a missionary career, Charles Kellogg Ober (1856-1948), of independent mind and versatile organizing ability.

Ober had been noticed by Association leaders when, as a Williams senior, he read a paper on student work before the Massachusetts convention of 1881. There followed a term as McBurney's assistant:

I saw the city Young Men's Christian Association, its field, opportunity, program and achievement, as they can only be seen by one who participates in its work. I also saw the Association secretaryship incarnated in Robert R. McBurney, who shared with me his vision and his method. Then I knew that a new thing had arisen within the general scheme of the Christian ministry that called for the consecration of talents ordinarily relegated to business, engineering and statecraft.<sup>35</sup>

After completing his college course Ober served successfully as state secretary of Massachusetts, bringing to the student work in 1885 a general Association experience that matched Wishard's conviction of the necessity for interchange between the city and the college programs.

#### THE STUDENT PROGRAM OF THE 1880's

Wishard and Ober saw their task as primarily religious. "The College Association is limited to spiritual work," Wishard once said, because the social, physical, and intellectual features were "provided for by other agencies" on the campus. Hence he sought to impress students with "the idea that the spiritual results should be very great" and held before them an ideal that could be realized if their work were "well organized and the responsibility well distributed." To accomplish this he developed the program inherent in the model constitution of 1879 into what became known as the "six-fold plan." The underlying principle was that "each member is to work for his fellow." On many a campus "students themselves were trained in Christian activity."

Usually described first in Wishard's reports and program outlines was a group of activities known as "individual work." These originated

as personal evangelism channeled through the committee on membership, and broadened to a wide range of campus service activities, which were at first concentrated upon the entering freshman class—a reflection of the city Associations' concern for the young man away from home. We "meet them first with hearty handshakings, and introduce them to our rooms and to one another," reported one Association.

Among the successful methods utilized on certain campuses was a booklet to be placed "in the hands of every new student"; the information it contained would prove "exceedingly helpful" and attract attention to the Y.M.C.A. The exact origin of the handbook is not known, but the Hillsdale College Association published one jointly with the campus Y.W.C.A. in 1883-84. It contained information about its sponsors, various campus religious activities including prayer-meeting topics, and the names of foreign missionary alumni. Freshman handbooks were generally popularized through Wishard's office, which "inspected" and recommended them. Cornell's edition for 1885-86 contained maps of town and campus, a description of the Christian Association, "directions for the new student," a guide to Ithaca, a short historical sketch of the University, a building directory, advice on "opportunities for self-help," a list of student organizations, a church directory, and a railroad time-table. John R. Mott, a sophomore entering in 1885, wrote:

I was met before I got here by the Christian Association, which at that time already included both men and women students. When I had written from the West asking for a university catalogue, the Association sent me a handbook of information, issued annually by the Christian Association, which it published for the benefit of the students. Its representatives met me at the train on my arrival, helped me to get settled, and introduced me to some of the upper-classmen and instructors. They broke down barriers by thus helping and befriending me.<sup>36</sup>

As a result Mott promptly joined the church and the Y.M.C.A. The membership committee was also charged with assigning every unconverted student to some Christian who should "pray for him, invite him to the meetings, and at the right time . . . kindly and firmly press upon him the claims of Christ." Regular meetings "for prayer and conference" were held universally, and as a rule weekly. Some Associations held class prayer meetings. For all of these Wishard and others prepared topics and helps. Intimately associated with devotional meetings and the evangelical purpose was the annual Day of Prayer for Colleges (the last Thursday in January), an inheritance from the

earlier campus religious societies. On this occasion, wrote Wishard in 1886:

... Many colleges suspend recitations and the time is devoted to meetings of prayer, in the chapel, Association room and students' rooms, earnest gospel addresses by men invited from abroad or members of the faculty, and personal work by the students among the unconverted. . . .<sup>37</sup>

The Day was also a reminder of the spreading world fellowship of students, though its spiritual meaning was sometimes overshadowed by financial solicitation.

The context and significance of evangelism in Wishard's program may be seen in his studied effort to obtain Moody's consent to work among the colleges, the chief result of which was the series of summer conferences at Northfield that climaxed this period. Other evangelists worked in the colleges, and Wishard himself was not unsuccessful in this realm. S. M. Sayford, for some years state secretary of Massachusetts, devoted 1888-89 and most of 1890-91 to student evangelism, holding the first "men's meetings" for students. At Ann Arbor his effect was described as "our Pentecost": four hundred attended a "Confidential Talk" of "such power that many men were pale and trembled visibly," while some wept and all but about twenty responded to the invitation. At Princeton he brought "the spirit of God . . . among us," crowding the Association room with not only Christians but "some of the toughest men in college" for seven nights "right through the intense excitement over football." Elsewhere students gave up "the tobacco habit, profanity, intemperance and other practices." Another reporter declared that after Sayford's meetings he "was in the first examination I have seen in our College where there was no cheating going on." In the course of one tour "over 1000 Christian students" were led to take "the 'higher ground stand'—to give up indulgences which were robbing them of their influence and power."<sup>38</sup>

Some state committees employed "evangelistic secretaries" who included the colleges in their itineraries, but the most effective evangelistic work was done by students. Throughout these years, student deputations, not infrequently stimulated by state Y.M.C.A. conventions—as had been the case in Wishard's own undergraduate days—or by state committees, carried on revivalistic activities that were both widespread and effective. It was reported in 1889 that revivals had

... directly touched over ninety of the pivotal colleges of the United States



and Canada, besides reaching many others through Conferences and State Conventions. . . .<sup>39</sup>

The third main division of the college program, which vied with the missionary emphasis for first place, was Bible study:

. . . It was continuously discussed in the *College Bulletin* and its successor, *The Intercollegian*. It constituted one of the main themes in all conventions . . . all kinds of methods were employed; all kinds of courses of study were conducted; the students of Yale, Amherst, Randolph-Macon College . . . and others . . . tried and tested various plans and systems. . . . The college secretaries . . . were beset with appeals for suggestions, for helps and especially for courses of study adapted to college students. We tried in vain to discover such courses. . . .<sup>40</sup>

This demand finally brought Wishard to the realization that the staff must write a study, so an invitation from Moody to Northfield was accepted, and the student movement's first co-operative study text was produced there in the summer of 1885, where Wishard and Ober were joined by Morse and Henry E. Brown. The course that resulted was intended to cover a college year and dealt with "a series of fundamental Scripture truths"; helps in personal evangelism and Bible references were appended.<sup>41</sup> The reception accorded this modest effort exceeded anything the International Committee had published, as thirteen thousand copies were sold within two years.<sup>42</sup> Later, similar outlines were released through *The Intercollegian*, which succeeded *The College Bulletin* in 1887. In 1889 a new type of lesson was inaugurated with the publication of Professor William Rainey Harper's *Inductive Bible Studies* which had proved popular at the New England College Conference of 1887. This new direction marked the student department as definitely inclined toward theological liberalism. In the next few years it frequently agitated for the study of the Bible in the university curriculum.<sup>43</sup>

A group of activities called "neighborhood work" had been integral to student Association activity since the early days of the University of Virginia Association. Deputations and student evangelistic tours were part of the outreach of active campus Associations, which also conducted religious services in almshouses and jails, sponsored rescue missions and Sunday Schools, held cottage prayer services and gospel meetings, and occasionally reported an unusual feature such as boys' work in a "rough quarter" where a club was conducted "for street mobs who cannot be influenced by the ordinary agencies"—the number of

Associations so reporting increasing steadily. From Cornell John R. Mott wrote his father in 1887:

We have new prisoners to speak to nearly every Sunday; this morning there were three new ones for drunkenness and one for forgery, besides six old ones. The young forger, who at one time was a Christian, but had terribly backslid, was completely overcome and turned to Christ. The others were more or less moved. I feel encouraged in the work and shall keep it up as long as I am in Ithaca even if I have to take fewer studies or less sleep.<sup>44</sup>

Later, when Mott was president, the Cornell Association "did a great deal of social service in the slums of Ithaca."<sup>45</sup> Mott himself was the most outstanding example of the reflex value of this work, which Wishard declared had qualified many men "for their heavier responsibilities as ministers and laymen."<sup>46</sup>

The missionary cause lay near Wishard's heart; in a sense it was the sum of his promotion, in which all other activities were included. Following his personal dedication at the Haystack Monument, he considered the next link in "the golden chain of the student missionary uprising" to have been a medical missionary conference that he and Illinois State Secretary I. E. Brown held in February of 1883. Although this meeting was small, in December of that year they attracted some nine hundred persons to an epochal conference in Chicago on the same subject. A number of such gatherings were subsequently held in New York and Philadelphia under the auspices of the city Association. The first two foreign missionary secretaries of the American Y.M.C.A. volunteered at these meetings.

Wishard attempted to enlist young missionary teachers in establishing Associations on the American pattern in their fields. The first of these was Frank K. Sanders, whom Wishard met at the Wisconsin state convention of 1880. In the late spring of 1884 he received a letter from Sanders in Ceylon announcing "the consummation of our hopes and prayers" in the formation on March 15th of an Association in Jaffna College, the first student Y.M.C.A. outside of North America.<sup>47</sup> Wishard, in a pamphlet circulated shortly after, hailed

... this new organization as the harbinger of a movement fraught with mighty significance. It will result not only in promoting among the students of missionary colleges the practical methods which have been so effective in America, but it will bind the students of the world together, and will so enlarge the sympathies of the students in America, in behalf of the students of India, China, Japan, Africa and the world, that many more of us will dedicate our lives to the salvation of their people.<sup>48</sup>

Harlan P. Beach, whom Wishard met as a student at Andover Theological Seminary, promised before he sailed for China in 1883 that he "would do everything in his power" to adapt the Association idea to the young men of his field. The result was a student Y.M.C.A. at T'ungchou, near Peking. "Without Sanders and Beach," reminisced Wishard in 1917, "I do not see how the methods of the Student Movement could have been so firmly planted in the student life of India and China." In 1887 Wishard listed fifteen such student Y.M.C.A.'s—two more of which had been formed by Sanders—in missionary schools and colleges of Japan, China, Ceylon, India, Syria, and Turkey.<sup>49</sup> "The fire was spreading. . . ."

It broke out on more than one campus at home, as in the Princeton Foreign Missionary Society of 1883, organized chiefly by Robert P. Wilder. In Canada, the Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance of colleges and theological schools was set up in 1885, to encourage "an active interest in and so far as possible consecration to mission work, both home and foreign"; it later merged with the broader movement.

#### CAMPUS BUILDINGS AND SECRETARIES

Like city Associations, college Y.M.C.A.'s early learned the value of attractive surroundings rather than dingy classrooms "where the fire has gone out and the dimly lighted lamps are rendered more dim by chimneys which are rarely cleaned, and where the furniture is limited to blackboards and hard benches." Energetic Associations emulated the student literary or debating societies and fraternities in securing "more beautifully furnished" and strategically located rooms.

Inevitably the building idea carried the campus as it had the city Association. Weidensall's provocative article in the January, 1877, *Watchman*, had called for one at or near every state university. The first such structure was erected at Princeton, "the parent of the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A.," in 1879. Costing \$20,000, Murray Hall was "the means of giving the Princeton Association, at the very beginning of the Intercollegiate Movement, much of its strength and influence."<sup>50</sup> Consisting of "two rooms, with a hallway between serving as a cloak-room—one a very tastefully furnished reading-room and library of religious character, the other a hall for the large meetings of the Association," this pioneer home, said Wishard in 1887, "led to the deep interest in buildings which has already secured like provision at three other colleges and which will doubtless continue until all the large

colleges are provided with them." These were: Hanover, which built a small frame chapel in 1883; Yale, whose imposing \$60,000 Dwight Hall was finished in 1886 after nearly five years' promotion by Morse and many others; and Toronto, also dedicated in 1886 and thus enabled "so to extend its lines of work" that it became "one of the strongest College Associations in Canada."

Under President John R. Mott, the Cornell Association in 1889 obtained a home set "on the most commanding site in the campus" and valued at \$55,000; "admirably adapted to every phase of College Association work," it helped develop "one of the best Associations in the college world." Hamilton College secured a \$25,000 building the same year. In January, 1890, Johns Hopkins dedicated Levering Hall, said to have been the most used structure of all. Later that year five more buildings were completed—at Dartmouth, Iowa State, the University of Tennessee, Davidson College, and Syracuse University, and twenty more were being planned. This increase "in volume and momentum" led to overly sanguine prophecy:

. . . The day of experiment has passed [declared a pamphlet of 1891]. The building movement has begun. . . . It may be predicted with safety that before this century closes Association buildings will have been planted in one hundred educational institutions on this continent.<sup>51</sup>

Actually there were twenty-seven.

As with the city Associations, buildings brought full-time paid secretaries. Toronto and Yale pioneered in 1886-87 in securing men whose reputations had been made in athletics and other student activities.<sup>52</sup> These secretaries served one year, "not to relieve the members of their responsibility" but to "mark out new lines of work and set many new men at work." Ten years later there were forty of them. A few churches began to wonder whether such a "gentleman of breezy address, who knows students and student life" might not be a challenge to them to employ "a College Missionary to do similar work." One churchman who didn't like the Y.M.C.A.'s prayer meetings and wished "they did not make so much of conversion," nonetheless confessed that the Movement was "doing a work that nothing else is doing or can do" and prophetically suggested that the churches "supplant it, and supply its deficiencies," rather than compete.<sup>53</sup> But the advent of the first denomination-sponsored university pastor was as yet some years away.

In 1885 Wishard calculated that in the seven years he had been at work, he had written 3,400 letters answering "innumerable questions,"



in a correspondence that had reached every American college; forty-one numbers or 151,300 copies of the *Bulletin* and more than 10,000 pamphlets had been distributed. Wishard had attended sixty-five conventions where he had met 10,000 students from nearly 200 colleges, and paid 356 visits to 205 different colleges. To tie the fellowship in closer bonds and to familiarize students with city Associations a "college vacation ticket" was invented by Ober, and 1,739 of them distributed the first season.<sup>54</sup> State committees continued the sympathetic promotion of student work which Weidensall enjoined upon them; some published student papers and a few moved in the direction of student secretaries; either Wishard or Ober, and later Mott, always attended their conventions. A few states reported college work to be in better condition than their city Associations.<sup>55</sup>

The legitimacy of this secretarial specialization was not recognized during Brainerd's chairmanship of the International Committee. In 1887 Ober asked for the title of "college secretary"—a stipulation that he had named in his original acceptance—and to be allowed to devote all his time to student work. This would, he said, give him "courage to devise and freedom to execute plans" which were otherwise subject to cancelation for emergency service in some other department. Brainerd replied that he would "not for one moment pause over the question whether the most capable man you can name be employed by the Committee as a specialist, or allowed to take on some other form of service": speaking "with frankness" he would not permit such a contract, which might impair the "proper freedom" of the Committee.<sup>56</sup>

#### EXTENSION TO OTHER GROUPS OF STUDENTS

In the early 1880's the student Association constitution was translated into the Dakota Indian tongue, and Wishard was so impressed by its potentialities that in reporting three "efficient" Indian Associations in 1887 he expressed the hope that "if we had a large force of men for work in the college department, we could organize in many of the sixty-five Government agency schools, as well as in the schools under the care of church missions, and thus help solve the Indian problem."<sup>57</sup> But little ever came of this. International work for Negroes was almost exclusively confined to students during its first twelve years, as was indicated in Chapter 5.<sup>58</sup> There were probably five Y.M.C.A.'s in Negro colleges when Henry E. Brown began this work in 1879. By

the time of his third report—which read remarkably like Wishard’s—he was devoting “the larger share” of his time to students.<sup>59</sup> Negroes were welcomed at student conferences in this period, although few appear to have attended, and were received as delegates at International Conventions; yet until 1933 student work among Negro colleges was administered by the colored work department. In the mid-1880’s the college Y.M.C.A. constitution was translated into German and an attempt made to organize Associations in the German colleges, but, like the city Association work for German-speaking youth, it did not become a permanent feature.<sup>60</sup>

A spontaneous outgrowth of the Movement was the formation in 1880 of the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance.<sup>61</sup> Its first convention, held that year, was the largest national student religious meeting up to that time, and was also the first student missionary conference. It may be regarded as the forerunner of the great quadrennial conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement.<sup>62</sup> The Alliance grew in three years to a membership of fifty schools representative of fifteen denominations, becoming both a stimulus and a threat to Wishard’s missionary program. Ober was sent as a fraternal delegate to its convention of 1883, with careful instructions to set forth clearly and forcefully the missionary program that was now the heart of the intercollegiate work. The bond between the two organizations was strengthened and the currents represented by the Alliance were channeled toward the Y.M.C.A. After the organization of the World’s Student Christian Federation in 1895, the Alliance became the theological section of the American intercollegiate Y.M.C.A.

The first Association work directed toward medical students—except for a short-lived effort in New York in 1865—was initiated by the Louisville Association as early as 1876; in 1879, with Weidensall’s help there was organized a “Medical College Branch” of the Louisville Y.M.C.A.”<sup>63</sup> Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York made similar efforts and the program developed into what became known in a few of the larger cities as metropolitan student work. This trend was stimulated by the college tour in the fall of 1887 by Professor Henry Drummond, following his appearance at the Northfield Conference of that year. The difficulties of the metropolitan student problem were clearly outlined in an article in the *Era* in 1890 in which the youthful Mott, freshly attacking the largest obstacles in sight, bared the issues and enlisted the Movement’s best techniques.

Both Weidensall and Wishard fostered Associations of college women. In 1888 Wishard wrote that the "national work of the Young Women's Christian Association" was "a direct result" of the college promotion of the Y.M.C.A. The early organizations which ultimately became the student Young Women's Christian Association grew independently in isolated colleges and usually without knowledge of one another—quite as had the student Y.M.C.A.'s. The first Y.W.C.A. was formed in the State Normal School at Normal, Illinois, during the academic year 1872-73, by Miss Lida Brown, aided by her brother I. E. Brown, also a student, who was later state Y.M.C.A. secretary of Illinois. During its first year this Association was reorganized on the evangelical basis through the "immediate help" of Robert Weidensall. He also stimulated the organization of another pioneer Y.W.C.A., that of Northwestern College at Naperville, Illinois, in 1875.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, Weidensall had believed in separate Associations for men and women, but when Wishard began organizing Y.M.C.A.'s with women members on coeducational campuses, in the interest of harmony he fell into line, convinced that Wishard's method was "possibly Providential."<sup>65</sup> This soon led to an anomalous situation, which can best be explained by Wishard himself:

It became evident when I entered the Western Colleges that no associated Christian work could be organized which did not take account of the college young women whom I found in most Western institutions. My earliest Association training was had in Indiana where the sex test of active membership adopted at the Portland Convention in 1869 was lightly regarded, in fact commonly ignored. Prior to my entrance upon the intercollegiate work I had had no touch with Eastern city Associations where the full Portland basis was universally operative; neither had I been indoctrinated by the International Committee on this point.

I assumed that it was better to have mixed associations in the colleges than none at all, so proceeded to organize such. In drawing up the uniform constitution in Baltimore we deliberately inserted the word "Student" instead of "man" in the article of membership and the Committee approved it . . . so the work of organization went merrily on until over sixty to seventy-five mixed college associations had been formed.

. . . Finally the presence of young women in a Western convention attracted the special attention of one of the International secretaries who was present and he reported the matter to the Committee on his return to New York and I vividly recall the receipt of a telegram one day in December 1882 recalling me to New York for important conference. Mr. Morse prepared me on my arrival for my interview with Mr. Brainerd, and Morse and McBurney accompanied me to the Chairman's residence. Before Mr. Brainerd had fairly launched upon his inquiry, I said, "I plead guilty, and



make no defence." Well, we had an evening of it; the deed had been done and I had done it, and I was the only one who could readjust the situation, and we all recognized that we were up against a proposition as difficult as one concerning which John Pierpont Morgan once remarked, "It is difficult to unscramble eggs." We saw at a glance that we could do nothing hastily and could do nothing at all for the mere sake of conforming to a technical requirement in the membership basis; we must discover some solution which would in no wise sacrifice the interests of the young women, so we separated and literally began a campaign of "watchful waiting."<sup>66</sup>

This reversal of two veteran secretaries by the New York triumvirate—only one of whom had ever been to college, and he to an eastern men's college—is the most vivid example of the authority exercised by Brainerd and his associates.

How Wishard unscrambled the mixed Associations can only be suggested, but its most important immediate result was the stimulus given to the organization of college Y.W.C.A.'s. Not a few of the more vigorous Associations on coeducational campuses resisted the change—notably Michigan, Cornell, and Oberlin, and the influence of the Y.M.C.A. was measureably weakened in these universities. Organization of a Y.M.C.A. had, in fact, been objected to by several coeducational colleges because it tended to disrupt the fellowship of students and faculty. Shortly after his conference in New York, Wishard visited an Ohio campus that had a very live Y.W.C.A.:

. . . This looked like the solution. I accordingly arranged with Miss Fanny Beale, one of the leading members of the Association . . . to speak at the [Ohio] Convention in advocacy of separate Associations in colleges. It was she who first made that oft-quoted assertion that "only a girl can reach the heart of a girl," which convulsed the house. . . .<sup>67</sup>

At this time the Women's Christian Association had been at work in the cities for more than a decade, and Wishard attempted to interest it in the women's student movement. When these overtures failed, the students took steps toward organization. In the meantime, campus Y.W.C.A.'s had grown so rapidly that several midwestern state organizations had been formed and in the summer of 1886 nineteen women students gathered at the Lake Geneva camp, already becoming familiar in Y.M.C.A. circles, to found the National (Student) Y.W.C.A. Wishard brought his wife to this meeting and presented "a letter of sympathy and encouragement" from the men's conference that had just met at Mt. Hermon. Weidensall was there, and his niece was made a member of the new national committee; its objectives were written up on his



letter-head. Mrs. J. V. Farwell, Jr., wife of the leading layman of the Chicago Y.M.C.A., was elected chairman; Mrs. W. W. Vanarsdale, whose husband edited *The Watchman*, was made corresponding secretary; and Miss Nettie Dunn was called as field secretary, to work "along the same line followed by the Y.M.C.A." Wishard, Ober, and Weidensall freely gave advice and actual assistance to the new movement, which grew as rapidly as had the men's Associations; Miss Dunn often included the men's societies in her visitation, and occasionally organized a Y.M.C.A.<sup>68</sup>

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STUDENT CONFERENCE:  
MT. HERMON, 1886

In the 1880's summer gatherings for cultural purposes were beginning to be popular with Americans who had the leisure of a vacation. Centers for study, inspiration, and discussion were appearing at various resorts. The adult education venture that started in 1874 at Chautauqua Lake, New York, and its extension that reached scores of communities were both well under way in 1886 when Wishard secured Moody's consent to call the first "summer school" for students. There had been conferences for the study and contemplation of "philosophy . . . modern languages . . . history and romance," wrote the special correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*, but this one "in Bible study" was something new.

Student gatherings at International Conventions had proved less effective than Wishard had anticipated in the enthusiasm of 1877 and 1879. The Conventions could give little attention to any one department and their scheduling at the end of the college year made them awkward for students to attend. Wishard had come to recognize "a wide difference" between the interests of college men and of those of most of the delegates to general Conventions, which were becoming involved in an increasing complexity of business and procedural matters and not infrequently with organizational politics. The railroad department had begun separate conventions in 1877. Wishard first tried student gatherings at state Y.M.C.A. conventions.<sup>69</sup>

The next step was independent state or regional conferences of students alone, the first of which were in Iowa and Wisconsin in January of 1883. These were student-initiated and student-led and met on college campuses.<sup>70</sup> A few weeks later nineteen men from eleven schools and colleges held the first of many New England college conferences

at Yale. The following year Pennsylvania men met at Lafayette, and New Jersey men at Rutgers. The subsequent growth of regional student conferences was rapid, both in size and influence, many soon surpassing "any of the early national college conferences held in conjunction with the international conventions."<sup>71</sup> By the autumn of 1885 the separate conference was an accepted feature of the college Y.M.C.A. movement. The summer conference, as the natural extension of this practice, declares Professor Shedd,

... has been the most creative, contagious, and kindling idea that has come out of the life of the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association. It has spread not merely through all the student movements of the world but into many different sections of the life of the Christian Church and has become the pattern for the multitude of summer conferences for young people held under the auspices of the many branches of the Christian Church in every land in recent years. Neither the wildest nor the most prophetic dreamer among the Mt. Hermon delegates could have pictured to himself at that time the ultimate significance of the conference of which he was a part. For this idea the world is indebted to Luther Wishard. For making concrete the idea and guiding its growth the world will be eternally grateful to the unlettered American evangelist, Dwight L. Moody.<sup>72</sup>

While the student staff were at Northfield in August, 1885, where they were preparing a Bible study course, Moody proposed a secretaries' conference for Bible study there the next year. Wishard watched his opportunity to convince Moody that it should be a student gathering. His opportunity did not come until late the next spring, after he had followed Moody from one evangelistic campaign to another.<sup>73</sup> Obtaining a reluctant assent from Moody, Wishard, before the week was out, had a circular in the mail calling a "college students Summer School for Bible Study—to be conducted by D. L. Moody at Northfield, Mass., July 1-31, 1886."

Having learned since 1877 that mail orders were not always filled, Wishard and Ober took to the road in "a short sharp campaign" for delegates. At Princeton Wishard obtained Robert P. Wilder, whose missionary zeal assured Wishard that that feature of the program would be well cared for. Ober enlisted a delegation of thirteen at Dartmouth. At Cornell, he recruited Mott, the vice-president of the Association, who wanted to go so badly that he considered selling his new *Encyclopedia Britannica* if necessary to defray the cost of getting "the secret of Mr. Moody's power."<sup>74</sup> Ober "clinched the matter" with Mott and the two of them "went out and got nine other men so that Cornell had a

delegation of ten picked men. . . ." In anticipation of the coming meeting, Mott wrote in the June Cornell *Association Bulletin* that the benefit towering above all others would be that of coming in contact with D. L. Moody whom Mott saw as "the greatest man of this century." Ober and Wishard could not visit all the 225 college Associations, but their letter fell upon fertile soil in distant and often unexpected places.

Some 235 students came from ninety-six colleges, most of them outside of New England, making the conference "by far the largest meeting of college association students which had yet been held." There were a few carefully recruited foreign students. Theoretically there was no program. The first hour after breakfast was devoted to informal discussion of campus Y.M.C.A. methods, followed by a voluntary period of music. The real work of the day was the two-hour period beginning at ten o'clock, the first half-hour of which was devoted to study of the Gospel of Matthew under Moody's direction; this was followed by sermon-lectures by distinguished preacher friends of Moody. Afternoons were free for recreation, athletic events, deputation meetings, and spontaneous interests. Evenings were given to inspirational addresses, entertainment, and impromptu programs. This common-sense schedule, which belied Moody's insistence that he had no program, provided for "intimate personal intercourse of students with one another, with the speakers . . . and with local, state, and international secretaries. . . ." Planners of later conferences have often overlooked its accomplishments in their zeal to include everything and sundry in schedules that have exhausted leaders as well as delegates. The conference closed on August second, twenty-six days after it opened. "We came to Mt. Hermon expecting great things from God. We return to our colleges to attempt great things for God," said the *Souvenir*.

The most significant development from this gathering was the student missionary uprising that was to lead to the world-wide "Foreign Work"—later World Service—of the American Y.M.C.A. Missions had not been featured in the advance notices, as Moody was not particularly interested and distinctly distrusted "a pledge to enter any form of Christian work before God calls. . . ." But Wishard had expected a missionary uprising. He had made sure that Wilder would be there. The well-known missionary promoter, Dr. A. T. Pierson, was to have a part. Wishard was himself a strategic figure; he wrote afterward: . . . One of our chief aims . . . was to gather up and consolidate and perpetuate the missionary interest which the previous years of promotion had

widened and deepened, and work out . . . such a policy and program for conserving and further extending it as the Conference was sure to suggest.<sup>75</sup>

The oft-told story of the emergence of the missionary "gusher," as Ober later called it, can only be outlined here. Wishard was himself more influential than has been recognized. His leadership, reported the special correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*,

. . . is nothing if not energetic, nothing if not inspiring. The young men answer readily to his call. He is joyous. Missionary letters thrill him. . . . The contagion of his example is unavoidable; it permeates the air, and many bright young men have strong attacks of enthusiasm in the work. Here and there young men are met who look eagerly toward missionary work, and perhaps a score have decided to find their life work on foreign fields.<sup>76</sup>

Under Wilder's quiet influence the volunteers who had come to the conference previously pledged now promoted the cause. Missionary interest came into the open with an address by Pierson, who stressed that "all shall go, and shall go to all." In this sermon Pierson expressed the germ of the idea that later crystallized as the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement—"the evangelization of the world in this generation," and was subsequently recognized as its originator.<sup>77</sup> More men signed Wilder's pledge. He now obtained Moody's approval for a missionary meeting to present the various foreign fields, at which ten students spoke and a veteran China missionary, Dr. William Ashmore, skillfully pulled into one persuasive appeal the diverse strands of the evening and sounded the high note of the entire conference when he demanded that his hearers "show cause why you should not obey the command of Christ, 'Go ye forth.' . . . The burden of proof is on you."

Ashmore stayed on the grounds and continued to pour oil on the missionary fire. He viewed missionary work as "a war of conquest in which the nations of heathendom were to be brought under the dominion of Christ the king," and not as a mere wrecking expedition. His and Pierson's phraseology echoed through the Movement for years. Wishard now composed a letter to students in foreign lands, which revealed not only the intimate relation in his mind between the mission crusade and the world-wide expansion of the college movement, but also the growing desire of the American Y.M.C.A. to spread its methodology abroad.<sup>78</sup> Later in his world tour, Wishard found some fruits of this proposal.

As the conference neared its close the number of missionary volun-



teers increased: at a final prayer meeting ninety-nine men on their knees were joined by the one hundredth volunteer. Thus was begun what witnesses called "one of the greatest missionary revivals since the days of the apostles." As Wishard looked back upon this memorable month from the perspective of thirty years, he saw the continuity between the first student missionary volunteers at Williams College in 1806—"the golden chain stretching from the Haystack Meeting to the greatest student uprising in all history."<sup>79</sup>

#### STUDENTS VOLUNTEER FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

To share the missionary vision with the colleges of the continent, Ober proposed a student deputation, "of course under the management of the missionary committee of the college Christian association." A team of five, which included Mott, was selected, but only one found it possible to accept—Wilder, the only one who had finished college. He was a "natural" for the mission. The amazing success of the tour was largely the result of his missionary background, the prayers and influence of his sister Grace, and the earlier Mt. Holyoke College missionary band of which she had been a member,<sup>80</sup> and of the Princeton missionary group of which he had been a founder and whose pledge the "Mt. Hermon hundred" had signed. Advised against going alone, Wilder asked John N. Forman, a Princeton colleague who had not been at Mt. Hermon but was like himself the son of India missionaries.<sup>81</sup>

Fortified with endorsements from church foreign mission boards the two men started at Bowdoin, thence "from college to college presenting the claims of the shadowed world." At Cornell "nearly thirty were led to give themselves to missions." At Princeton Robert E. Speer volunteered. They secured "the names of 27 young men and 11 young ladies for the foreign work" at De Pauw. At Cumberland University Forman "begat . . . a greater interest for the foreign mission work" and garnered a dozen volunteers. Seventy Park College students signed the pledge under Wilder's influence. At Oberlin 110 signed, one of them Laurence L. Doggett, later president of Springfield College.<sup>82</sup> In his memoirs written fifty years later, Wilder reminisced:

In spite of our weakness and mistakes, students responded to the missionary call in a marvelous manner. During the academic year 1886-1887, we visited 162 institutions of learning, and enrolled 2,106 volunteers, of whom about 500 were women. Undoubtedly there was some chaff among the

wheat, but leading men in the churches and universities saw God's hand in the Movement.<sup>83</sup>

Wilder and Forman assumed that facts about the "heathen world" would carry conviction and arranged their statistics on large maps.<sup>84</sup> The first Y.M.C.A. secretary to a foreign country volunteered following such an appeal. The year's tour evoked the amazement of President McCosh of Princeton, who wrote in *The Watchman*:

Christians cannot but notice this event occurring before their eyes. . . . Has any such offering of living young men and women been presented in our age? in our country? in any age or in any country since the days of Pentecost?

And the president of Amherst declared the movement to be "of larger proportion than anything of the kind in modern times."

Yet Brainerd had objected to "sending missionaries to the various colleges of the land, under the Committee, to exhort young men to assume or pledge themselves to the foreign missionary field" as "not necessarily a work for which the Associations were constituted, or work which the International Committee is authorized to undertake." Wishard refused to "condition the movements of the Band by any opinion the Committee may have,"<sup>85</sup> and did not comply, as he did in the case of the coeducational Associations. He discussed the matter with Brainerd and agreed to a legalistic compromise ("we must act unofficially"): the itinerary for Wilder and Forman was handled on plain paper rather than the International Committee's letterhead. Yet Brainerd later became a strong advocate of Y.M.C.A. foreign work, and bade Wishard a sincere Godspeed upon his departure on the world tour he began late in 1888.

#### A CHALLENGE TO THE MOVEMENT

Wilder's visit at Pittsburgh inspired Robert A. Orr, the influential general secretary of that city Y.M.C.A., to challenge the Movement through *The Watchman* to select some foreign city as an experimental field and send an experienced secretary to it.<sup>86</sup> A few weeks later Wilder addressed a worker's training class of young business men in the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A., who had read Orr's article. They at once began collecting pledges that paid in some \$600 within a year—the first funds raised for the "foreign work." The idea spread; Ober at the Minnesota state convention that autumn clarified the project and obtained an

endorsement—an action followed by several other midwestern conventions that season.

The second "College Students' Summer School for Bible Study" was called by Moody for the Northfield campus across the river from Mt. Hermon, where accommodations were more adequate, for June 30 to July 12, 1887. Forty-two Y.M.C.A. secretaries and 130 other visitors attended, in addition to 269 students from eighty-two colleges. The program was essentially the same as the year before, Moody having invited the speakers—a policy soon to nonplus the student staff. "Representatives of many foreign countries" included men from Cambridge University, the West Indies, and "natives of Syria, Alaska, Japan, China, and Siam." Athletics were again a major feature: a "thoughtful observer" found they dispelled any notion that "religion was synonymous with melancholy, or that the ebullient animal spirits of youth were inconsistent with the most intense Christian zeal."

The summer conference had become so completely identified with the missionary cause that Wishard in a newspaper interview denied this to be its primary purpose. Yet events were so to converge upon this conference as virtually to belie that denial. The student staff had received in June a request from an American missionary in Japan for teachers of English in the government schools there. This call for teachers, who would be free to instruct in the Bible in their leisure, fell upon the conference as an answer to prayer. Among the twoscore Y.M.C.A. workers at Northfield was a young general secretary from Orange, New Jersey—John Trumbull Swift, who more than met the requirements. How he became the first foreign secretary of the American Y.M.C.A. will be described in Chapter 8. The "organizing of foreign educational work," Ober declared, was a "direct result of the Northfield meetings" of 1887.

Another sensation of this summer school was an address by the Reverend Jacob Chamberlain of India. After reviewing the situation in each major missionary field, he paraphrased Lincoln's call for Civil War volunteers with a demand for "an army of 75,000 to conquer India for Christ." The privates in that army would be obtained there, but five thousand officers must come from America's educated classes, among whom the missionary uprising of two thousand five hundred during the past year had been the greatest "inspiration in this century." "We need in India the life, the fire, the method, which the Y.M.C.A.'s are giving to the young men in America," he declared, and asked for

"one of your best-trained General Secretaries." The idea was soon seconded for Brazil by another missionary. At least one hundred fresh "volunteers for the foreign mission field" were recruited at this summer school. It was expected that "a considerable portion" of them would be required "to man the Y.M.C.A.'s which it is hoped can be successfully established in the influential cities of heathendom." A printed greeting was sent "to the student volunteers for foreign missions," now estimated at three thousand in America and Britain—probably the first document published by the Student Volunteer Movement, which Wilder later declared had its beginnings at that conference. During 1887-88 no one visited the colleges officially for missions but the momentum from the previous year's work brought in six hundred more declarations.

At this conference the most unusual figure had been Professor Henry Drummond of Glasgow, a scientist who had achieved recent fame as the author of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, which had already sold one hundred thousand copies in this country, and who arrived at Northfield fresh from "the most remarkable college revival in history" at Edinburgh. He had brought a commission from the students of Edinburgh to the students of America. His greatest contribution to the American student movement was to be his fresh and ethical presentation of the person of Christ. He first impressed his hearers with his rationalization of the then violently conflicting claims of science and religion; his address on love as "The Greatest Thing in the World," there first delivered, became a religious classic of the English language.

Wishard planned a tour for Drummond for the autumn of 1887, hoping that he would carry home the idea of a world-wide student Christian fellowship. Joined by four more Edinburgh men, Drummond's "band of gorillas" created a profound impression at Williams, Dartmouth, Cornell, Princeton, Yale, Harvard, and Columbia. The net result of the deputation was a stimulus to metropolitan student work and a renewed use of the college deputation. Drummond "demonstrated the possibility of putting deeper intellectual content into the evangelistic work of the movement without destroying any of its evangelistic zeal and fervor," but he was uninterested in promoting the fellowship abroad. In thus for the first time identifying itself with religious liberalism, the student department had its first brush with theological reaction. *The Watchman* warned against the "fatal influence" of Drummond's "most dangerous and pernicious book," which



it claimed had caused "incalculable harm." This may have closed some colleges to the deputation but it in no way tarnished the reception or results at those that were visited. Relations between British and American students were strengthened by Drummond's visit, and although it was yet a long road to the World's Student Christian Federation, Wishard's dream of a world-wide fellowship of students was moved nearer reality.

#### ADVANCING THE STUDENT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The college year 1887-88 saw several strategic developments, the most far-reaching of which was the advancement of Wishard's long-cherished plan of a tour of mission fields. In the spring of 1888 he went to Europe to obtain a student delegation to Northfield; eleven students came—from Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Utrecht, four of them future leaders in missionary and academic life.<sup>87</sup> Wishard stayed six months, to cultivate a German student movement, in the course of which he "discovered" Fritz Mockert, "the pioneer of the German Student Christian Alliance."<sup>88</sup> At the World's Y.M.C.A. Conference at Stockholm in August Wishard later claimed to have "found" Karl Fries and "fully enlisted" him; the Scandinavian student delegation, chiefly from Uppsala, took home the story of the American movement and Wishard's hope for its world-wide expansion. He also helped Miss Jane Howard, "a Scotch lady in Paris," to establish work for students in that city. He visited students in Geneva and there "entered into an official relation with the World's Committee" to go on his missionary tour as their "College and Foreign Secretary."

Home in September, Wishard arranged for James B. Reynolds to carry on the work in Paris. Reynolds, who had chaperoned the British delegation to Northfield and had earlier studied in Germany, now became an agent spreading American student Y.M.C.A. methods widely over western Europe—notably the conference idea. He was influential in organizing the first Scandinavian conference in 1890 and through Mockert the first German conference the next year. The results of his work, wrote Wishard in 1917, "were very much greater" than

. . . any one could easily appreciate who had not preceded him . . . he touched and quickened and set in perpetual motion certain individual lives without which the European Movement might have been delayed indefinitely.

With the maturing of Wishard's plans to be away several years—

he sailed in December, 1888, and actually never returned to the American student movement—Ober became senior secretary. One of Wishard's major tasks in the interlude between his return from Europe and departure for the Orient was to aid Ober in obtaining an associate. The staff was unanimous in their choice of Mott, whose success in administering the Cornell Association had been outstanding. The parts played by both Wishard and Ober in obtaining Mott's consent to "try the work next year" is the American Y.M.C.A.'s classic example of recruiting for the secretaryship.<sup>89</sup> Mott began in the autumn of 1888. At Northfield that summer, Moody had been asked who the new college secretary was. In responding, commented Morse in retrospect, "Moody was really introducing to us the man who was to succeed him for many years as president of the Northfield Student Conference." Morse might well have said that Moody was introducing his successor as evangelist, organizer, financier, and statesman.

The Northfield conference of 1888 attracted four hundred students from ninety colleges, mostly in the eastern half of the country. Yale led the delegations with forty men, including Charles Foster Kent and Amos Alonzo Stagg, "the most scientific baseball pitcher in America," who had recently "refused to join the New York club of professionals at a salary of \$5,000," and who returned to Yale as secretary of the Association for two years. Twenty men came from Oberlin; Canada and the South were more widely represented than before, although there is no evidence that any Negroes attended. The dozen men whom Wishard had invited from European universities "made a lasting impression upon all who came in contact with them." Toward the end of the conference, Morse entertained them at dinner, and discussed "whether some similar intercollegiate fellowship and work was not practicable in Great Britain." Later, when this eventuated, the Northfield impulse was partly responsible.<sup>90</sup>

Although there were important developments for Bible study at the 1888 conference, the missionary theme again rose to prominence. Wilder was there and Mott was appointed to head the missionary promotion—a thirty-one-year assignment. A sixteen-page printed greeting was again sent to all volunteers, this time extending to Germans and Scandinavians. It included a cogent statement of the crisis that had grown out of the centrifugal tendencies that had asserted themselves because there had been no supervision during the preceding year. "All sorts of missionary societies and bands—with different pur-

poses, methods of work, and forms of constitution"—had sprung up, some even calling themselves "Wilder Bands." Lack of supervision had also resulted in some decline and in a few places there was conflict with existing societies.

Ober, concerned lest these peripheral groups "de-missionaryize our college Associations," was at the same time certain that "the hope of making the Missionary Volunteer Movement a success was to make the college Associations responsible for it." Under his chairmanship the group adopted the simple form of organization that on the following December sixth became officially the "Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions." To Ober, wrote Mott not long afterward, was

. . . due in large measure the credit of safely passing the crisis. He recognized clearly the possibilities of the Movement if properly guarded, developed, and extended; and firmly believed that all the dangerous tendencies would be checked by judicious organization. As chairman of the committee appointed by the volunteers at Northfield for that purpose he suggested, in the main, the flexible yet comprehensive scheme of organization under which the Movement has since been working. . . .<sup>91</sup>

Although then and always "an independent organization with its own executive committee and separate budget," the S.V.M. was an agency of the missionary departments of the college Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s of the United States together with the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance and the Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance. Mott was appointed the representative of the student Y.M.C.A. and, at Ober's insistence, chairman, which positions he held until 1920. The two Alliances agreed upon Wilder as their representative. As secretary he was followed in 1891 by Robert E. Speer and the next year by D. Willard Lyon. During the next sixty years of Y.M.C.A. history, over fourteen thousand young men and women went out to missionary posts in every conceivable human habitation through the good offices of this "department of the College Associations," which the International Committee recognized later as "an outgrowth" of the foreign missionary promotion of Luther Wishard.

#### THE STUDENT Y.M.C.A. UNDER OBER AND MOTT, 1888-90

After Wishard's departure "to extend the College Association work among the students of the Orient," Ober and Mott were in charge. Their emphasis was upon "the internal development" of the college

work, the chief aspects of which were the summer conference, the visitation of Wilder in behalf of the S.V.M., evangelism, and deputation work. Mott traveled "from Nova Scotia to New Orleans and from St. Cloud, Minnesota, to Savannah, Georgia" spending four months in the first intensive college visitation of the South, while Ober moved between New Hampshire and Nebraska, "and from Montreal to Kentucky." Sanders gave half time as editor of the *Intercollegian*. Wilder merged "over fifty independent missionary societies" into the student Y.M.C.A.; he also, wrote Mott, had

... directly touched over ninety of the pivotal colleges of the United States and Canada, besides reaching many others through Conferences and State Conventions. Forty-nine institutions—principally colleges—have been led to undertake the support of a missionary. Several of them have already selected alumni to represent them on the foreign field. In addition to the work of organizing, Mr. Wilder has extended the movement to several new colleges and added about 600 to the volunteer force.<sup>92</sup>

At Minneapolis and St. Paul he raised "considerable money" for Y.M.C.A. missionary purposes.

The Northfield Conference of 1889 attracted "fully five hundred delegates." Translating into action Moody's axiom, "it is better to get ten men to work than to do ten men's work," the augmented student staff had a dozen committees in charge of an expanded program which nonetheless closely resembled those of previous summers. Twenty-two Japanese students studying in America were there as a result of Wishard's asking in Japan for names of men likely to profit from the experience; he hoped to help "counteract the damaging influences to which these young men are exposed in America, and send them home consecrated to the Christianization of their countrymen." David McCaughy, Jr., general secretary of the Philadelphia Y.M.C.A., described his call to India in response to Chamberlain's plea of the preceding summer;<sup>93</sup> among his listeners was a youth named Willard Lyon, from Wooster College, Ohio, who was to pioneer for the Movement in China half a dozen years later along lines suggested by this address. John T. Swift was home from Tokyo and shared in a panel on "The Crisis in Japan."

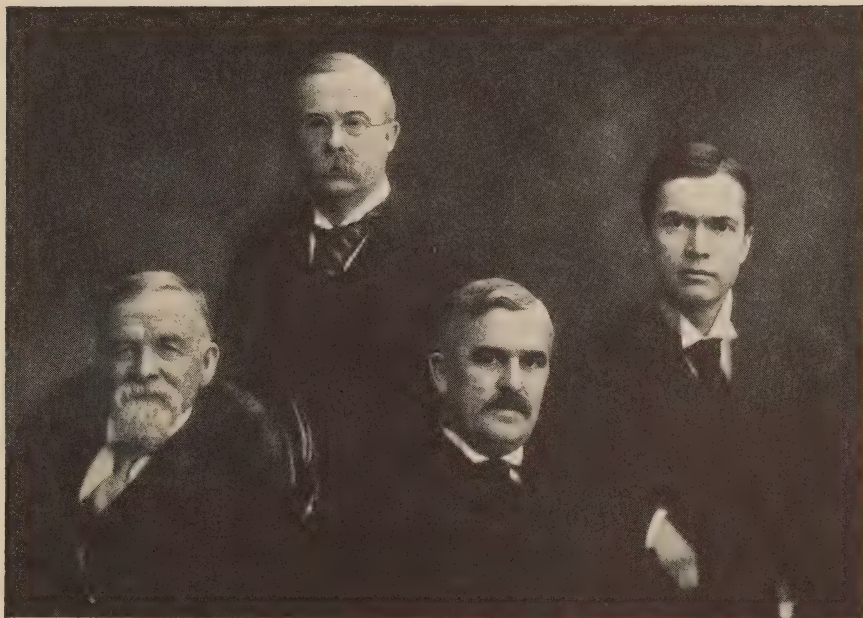
A letter from Wishard reported on his experiences in Japan, one of the most stirring of which was his contact with a Japanese student volunteer group of 1876 that had reminded Wishard of the Haystack Band: one of the Japanese volunteers was at this Northfield session,<sup>94</sup> which received a cable from Wishard in Kyoto: "Make Jesus King.



Five hundred students." In holding that conference Wishard was actualizing his dream of spreading the summer school idea to the students of the world. Due also to Wishard's forethought and Reynolds' promotion, "a fine lot of men" were at Northfield from Oxford, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Dublin. A few months later they acted as the nucleus of "the most widely representative gathering of Christian students ever held in Great Britain."

With the college year 1889-90, the work of the department began to take on the expanded character that was to mark it in the twentieth century. To meet this "crisis of opportunity" the secretaries planned their strategy at an extended retreat, the principal outcome of which was a device for the multiplication of the tiny staff by means of student deputations. Three regional training conferences followed, at which about seventy men were briefed by Mott and Ober, who later calculated that the aggregate of week-end time given by them in college visitation amounted to twenty months. Many state Associations cooperated in the plan; the year's experiment was so successful that the deputation idea became an integral part of the student program as Mott developed it in the next decade.

Among the delegates from England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Holland to the Northfield Conference of 1890, was the future archbishop of Sweden and ecumenical leader, Nathan Söderblom. No better evidence could be cited of the far-flung influence of these pioneer student conferences than the effects upon this youth. In New York he had been shown about by Morse and McBurney and he thought the Y.M.C.A. "a wonderful institution." At Northfield he was delighted by the vigorous, buoyant Christianity "without any unctuousity and Sundayface." Impressed by "*the strong spirit of the unity of the church*," he "felt himself one in the essential thing, in faith, with those who represented these movements." Moody's ecumenical attitude marked "a new chapter" in his life's history, he wrote to Fries. In addition to impressions and ideas, Söderblom formed lasting friendships. Wilfred Monod, later influential in student and ecumenical movements in France, was at Northfield, but Mott made the deepest impression, saying at the close of the conference, "I'll tell you, Mr. Söderblom, I have learned to love you." Asked to speak at the farewell meeting, Söderblom—unlike some delegates—had refused to forecast, preferring "that you should hear it afterward." As Söderblom left the conference he was anticipating the next month "the first Scandinavian



PIONEERS OF THE STUDENT WORK SECRETARYSHIP

Robert Weidensall, Luther Wishard, Charles K. Ober, John R. Mott

Northfield, if it can be called a Northfield without Mr. Moody." When he and Mott each received Nobel peace awards—Söderblom in 1930, Mott in 1946—these were at least in part a recognition of their cultivation of the plantings by a Hoosier youth named Wishard and an unlettered revivalist called Moody. Söderblom's biographer wrote that his ecumenical ideal was unquestionably "a child of the Y.M.C.A. and [of] the internationalism of the American student movement."<sup>95</sup>

In the autumn of 1890 Ober moved from the college work to be Morse's general associate, it being clear that both he and Mott were no longer needed in the student department. This decision was precipitated by two attractive offers to Mott, while a call to Africa raised in Ober's mind the question of his "greater service to college work outside of it than in it." In close discussion of the issues involved, Morse noted in a memo the judgment of the three men that the college work "now in its infancy" would grow "in three directions, (1) local secretaries, (2) buildings, (3) relation to faculties and American university development." They saw it as "a structure of Christian work which needs for its building up maturity, experience, age and continuity." These Mott possessed, in spite of his youth. The International Committee agreed, and Mott became college secretary, to fill this post until 1915.

In the years just preceding 1890, wrote Ober later,

. . . The Student Volunteer Movement had been organized and, to use Mr. Morse's favorite term, "domesticated" in the responsibilities of the College Associations; the Students' Summer Conference was that summer to hold its fifth session in the East and to reproduce itself in the West; the program of the training of undergraduate student Association leaders had been inaugurated in the deputation training conferences; Mott was now identified with the student Association movement for something more than an experiment. . . .<sup>96</sup>

The development of that experiment will be the subject of Chapter 16.

## Chapter 8 The Movement Expands Abroad

They have cleared the wilderness where now are being built cities of refuge for the young men of great countries, and continents.

—LUTHER D. WISHARD

THE NORTH AMERICAN Y.M.C.A.'s had felt a kinship with the world-wide Association movement long before they became missionary-minded in the late 1880's. They were themselves the fruitage of foreign visitation, and the reader of Chapter 2 will recall that from their very beginnings the American Associations had corresponded with the older societies in Great Britain and on the continent. The custom of publishing the names of officers and addresses of all known Y.M.C.A.'s, established in the 1850's by Langdon, was continued by the post-Civil War Conventions. With the appearance of separate *Year Books* at the end of the 1870's, this world directory was included as a regular feature, which it has remained with modifications throughout the first century of American Associations. The *Association Monthly* always reported movement news from abroad. Its successor, *The Watchman*, carried this as a special column and gave large space to reports of visits by Americans to foreign Associations and to interpretation of world-wide Association events. The International Committee very early appointed "corresponding members" in every land where a contact could be made and the letters thus received were included in its annual reports regularly for thirty-five years and often in the periodicals as well. Proceedings and significant papers read at conferences abroad were not infrequently printed in *The Watchman*, which also noted new programs adopted by the World's Committee, as when in 1881 it began boys' work. Pictures of Association buildings in other lands often appeared as features in the paper, one of the first such illustrations being of the Melbourne building, in 1878.

Greetings were exchanged between American and European Association conventions, and fellowship as well as interchange of news was



fostered. Foreign visitors were almost always found among the notables seated on the platform at American conventions, most of this reciprocation naturally taking place between the American and British Movements. An example was the election of W. Hind Smith, secretary at Manchester, England, as honorary vice-president of the Convention of 1874. Later, George Williams visited at least two International Conventions, and subsequently his annual messages were published in *The Watchman* or the *Young Men's Era* each January. In 1878 European Associations contributed to the emergency relief effort of the New Orleans Association during a yellow fever epidemic<sup>1</sup> and a decade later the employment of the first full-time paid secretary by an American Negro Y.M.C.A. was made possible by the generosity of an Englishman in Norfolk, Virginia. These were but isolated instances of the effects of a growing world fellowship.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD'S ALLIANCE, 1865-1890

American delegates had played a determining role in the organization of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s in 1855, and the Movement was well represented at almost every subsequent meeting of that body. Americans frequently participated in the programs of the world gatherings; Morse, McBurney, and Thomas K. Cree were regular delegates. Upon the establishment of the World's Committee in 1878 Morse became the American member for ten years and an honorary member for the remainder of his life. The first large impact of the American Movement upon the World's Alliance in this period occurred at the Geneva Conference of 1878, which was attended by an American delegation of forty-one secretaries and laymen. To facilitate the understanding of their addresses these had been translated and printed in the three languages of the conference. The French delegates brought a proposal for an ad interim executive committee. They were opposed by some of the British, who feared that such a body might become a vested interest interfering with the autonomy of national Associations. Morse was called on to explain how the American committee "accomplished a desirable work without the exercise of any authority or control over the local associations." Following long and earnest discussion, in which Morse and McBurney were separately quizzed on the American setup (resolutions based on the two meetings proving almost identical), George Williams, who had been favorably impressed by what he had seen of the American International Committee on a recent visit, carried

the vote in favor of the French proposal. The International Executive, or World's Committee, was thus established in Geneva, with Charles Fermaud as its first secretary, Morse, McBurney, and Williams having raised the funds for his salary. The next year Fermaud attended the Baltimore Convention as the guest of the American secretaries, and went back "to promote in Europe" the features that had impressed him in this country: the local general secretaryship, supervisory agencies, and buildings, all of which he had studied especially under McBurney's guidance.

At the London Conference of 1881 McBurney introduced the technique which he had proposed at Albany in 1866 of an agenda comprising the recommendations of a committee to which had been referred the report of the central committee for the previous three years. This committee became a standing committee of the World's Conferences and McBurney was its leading member at the conferences of 1884, 1888, and 1892, exerting an immense influence on the world's work. Morse remarked that McBurney had been "the brains of that committee" and that he was "invaluable in carrying the American method into the fiber of the world's conference."<sup>2</sup>

McBurney was influential in advising the British in the preliminary steps leading to their National Council. His personal counsels to Christian Phildius, Charles Fermaud, and Karl Fries were conspicuous examples of the mediation of American influence to the European brotherhood. Thomas K. Cree attended each World's Conference from 1878 to 1888, becoming "a strong factor in the management of each." Following the Stockholm Conference of 1888, he was asked to draw up permanent rules of procedure, which, as he worked them out, embodied "the main features of the standing rules of the American International Convention." The World's Conferences were a significant broadening influence upon those who attended them.<sup>3</sup>

The North American International Convention of 1864 commissioned Thomas S. Pycott, a member of the Boston Association, who planned extensive travel abroad that year, "to act as a representative of the Convention" to the Y.M.C.A.'s of Great Britain and the continent. In the course of his journey he visited and was warmly received by the London and numerous other British Associations, as well as that of Paris. He had circulated a message from the Boston Convention that was designed to foster fellowship and intercommunication between "the Associations of the Old World and the New" by means of an

annual letter.<sup>4</sup> The next important commission of this kind was the similar accrediting of James Stokes, Jr., a life-long member of the International Committee, who in 1868-69 visited Y.M.C.A.'s or laid foundations for them in France, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Switzerland, and Great Britain.<sup>5</sup> This was the beginning of more than forty years' concern for the spread of the Association idea on the part of Stokes, who subsequently provided for the first Paris secretary to visit and study the American Movement for six months; later he aided in the erection of Y.M.C.A. buildings in strategic European cities. In 1886 John Wanamaker provided the salary for the first paid secretary of the Zurich Association. Other leading American laymen toured widely, evangelized for the fourfold idea, brought home reports of the work in other lands, and underwrote similar projects such as the work of von Schluembach in Germany and Reynolds in Paris. Not the least of these ambassadors was Dwight L. Moody, who first rose to fame in Britain under Y.M.C.A. auspices.

The fourfold idea was also taken abroad by workers who came to get it. Almost every pioneer European general secretary studied the American Movement under the tutelage of Morse and McBurney—Phildius, Fermaud, Fries, Kennedy, Van der Beken, Oatts. At the end of the first two years of personnel service attempted by the International Committee, the secretary in charge reported that applications had been received from Europe and Australia as well as nearly every part of the United States and Canada. The second year of the Springfield Training School saw the enrollment there of two men from abroad.<sup>6</sup> The increasing numbers of such students led the School later to grant them substantial assistance. Many leaders in distant lands were so trained. G. Van der Beken, the first general secretary of the Paris Association, spent some time at Springfield in 1888, as did Paul Theis, his successor, in 1890.<sup>7</sup> The Stockholm conference of 1888 endorsed Springfield and expressed its pleasure that "young men from twelve different nations" were then in residence.<sup>8</sup> Considerable literature of the American Movement was exported. In the course of his extensive visitation of 1868-69, James Stokes distributed "the various documents and papers issued by the Committee." Quite a few program papers were translated into other languages.<sup>9</sup> In 1890 the library of the Bombay Y.M.C.A. was receiving seventeen American Y.M.C.A. periodicals.<sup>10</sup> Thus the American Movement was aware of its world outreach long

before Wishard and the student movement made it overtly and aggressively missionary.

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE FOREIGN EXPANSION OF THE AMERICAN Y.M.C.A.

The nineteenth century was the greatest era in the history of Christianity for its expansion into new lands and to "heathen" peoples. And of this expansion, that of the Protestantism of Great Britain and the United States was in turn the most significant. From simple but heroic beginnings by William Carey, who reached India in 1793, and the Williams College band three decades later, there sprang a veritable flood of men and women missionaries backed by such an outpouring of money as the world had never seen. This paralleled the "opening" of the Orient to world trade, and the consequently inevitable impact of Western culture upon it. "As the century progressed," wrote Latour-ette, "the rate of Occidental penetration was accelerated. With it the growth of Christianity also gathered momentum."<sup>11</sup> It was not surprising that the development of Western power in Asia was matched by "an hitherto unequalled growth in the movements for the propagation of the Christian faith."

This double attack from the West brought varied reactions in the several countries to which the American Y.M.C.A. was to expand. The impact of Christianity upon the East was influenced not only by the political and social situation, but the decadence of most of the ethnic religions seemed, to the pioneer North American Y.M.C.A. secretaries, to create a cultural vacuum in their fields. Yet oriental interest in things Western was largely materialistic and did not always eventuate in the acceptance of Christianity. Often the Westerner was frankly disliked and only his gadgets appropriated. It is also important to observe that the total number of conversions in most oriental lands comprised but very small minorities: except in Ceylon the proportion of Christians to the total population barely reached one-half of 1 per cent by 1890. In India it was only slightly more than that. Protestants were a minority within this minority though almost everywhere they were growing.

Hence such effects as Christianity had upon these cultures, while widespread and in many cases quite remarkable, were only at their beginning. The sense of crisis that characterized the student missionary



uprising was an acute reflection of contemporary forecasts that saw the arena of world affairs moving toward the Pacific basin. This missionary outpouring, the late fruitage of generations of evangelicalism, had in its inception no nationalistic ambitions. Neither the United States as a power nor the thousands of individuals scattered across the land who provided the funds for the missionaries harbored any imperialistic interests. The foreign venture of the North American Y.M.C.A. was the natural expression of the vastly greater missionary urge of the American churches in the late nineteenth century—a phenomenon in many ways without an equal. “In this, the great missionary period of the Church’s history,” wrote the first foreign secretary in 1890, “the Young Men’s Christian Association is not exempt from the general order to carry the Good Tidings to distant lands.”

Prior to the acceptance of this directive by the American Y.M.C.A., a number of Associations had appeared in mission lands. The *Year Book* of 1889 listed six city Associations in India, although later research uncovered evidence that thirty-two had lived or died in that subcontinent up to that date. There were six Associations in Japan, five in China, fifteen in Ceylon, eleven in Asiatic Turkey, six in Syria, one in Persia, one in Mexico, four in South America, and a prosperous organization with four branches in Honolulu at the time the American and Canadian Y.M.C.A.’s decided to embark upon what for many years was called “foreign work.” The “spasmodic, uncoordinated activity” represented by these far-flung Associations sprang chiefly from the initiative of British and North American missionaries and business men. Entirely under volunteer leadership, they were composed either of Europeans “away from home on business and in need of a stabilizing factor” or of young Christian nationals toward whom the Europeans or Americans felt a sense of obligation or friendly interest. After the mid-1880’s they were joined by a few student Associations founded by missionaries, as we have seen in Chapter 7. Programs were simple, following their prototypes from the religious club toward some broadening of a fourfold nature. Libraries were common and some of them were excellent. A few Associations possessed buildings, though these were really but “rooms.” Some Associations were based on an evangelical test but most assumed the adequacy of the Paris basis. For the most part the smaller Associations pursued a religious program with Bible classes and prayer meetings and occasional charitable under-

takings such as Sunday School teaching or providing food for the poor.<sup>12</sup>

When the first American secretary went to India, the Bombay Y.M.C.A.—which had been organized in 1875 as the result of evangelistic meetings conducted by a Moody convert—had a fourfold work maintained in four branches, one of which was primarily for railroad men, ministering to a membership of five hundred. It had opened a coffeeroom in 1880; its “physical department” had begun in 1883 and enrolled a growing group of tennis, cricket, and football players; it owned a building then valued at \$8,500 and maintained a small dormitory.<sup>13</sup> The program was essentially evangelistic, the secular features being intended to attract young men who might be converted. Religious services were conducted on shipboard and the coffee-bar was especially intended to provide sailors with nonintoxicating drinks. Full membership was open to young men belonging to “any Protestant Christian Church”; the governing board represented seven evangelical denominations. This, doubtless the largest and most influential Association in Asia, even published a house organ—all without a paid secretary.<sup>14</sup> Although Bombay was the leading Y.M.C.A. of eighteen known to be active in India, those at Lahore and Calcutta also had buildings.

The pattern in Japan was somewhat different, but there were by the time of the arrival of John T. Swift, as first American secretary, two Y.M.C.A.’s in good condition at Tokyo and Osaka, both of which aimed their programs primarily at students. The Tokyo Association’s constitution of 1878 set forth the fourfold purpose of the work and offered its services “to strangers and sojourners in Tokio” in the form of “society, and home, and Chrisian influence.”<sup>15</sup> Basing its church-test membership upon the constitution of the Yokohama Association, the Tokyo group “began to study Christianity.” It “held meetings for discussing religious subjects,” and published a periodical said to be one of “the leading magazines of Japanese thought.”<sup>16</sup> A voluntary secretary “gave himself enthusiastically to the service of the Association,” which was once described as “the heart and soul of aggressive Christianity in Tokyo.”<sup>17</sup> City Y.M.C.A. work in Japan was first more fully provided for, however, in Osaka. The completion of their building in 1885-86 was provided by funds from American, British, and Australian friends. The secretaryship, as we have seen, was considered in that year by the “detained volunteer,” Charles K. Ober.

## HOW THE FOREIGN WORK BEGAN

What came to be called "foreign work" by the International Committee—the "World Service" of the mid-twentieth century—began as the direct result of the student missionary uprising, described in Chapter 7, which had its first eruption at Moody's Mt. Hermon "Summer School" of 1886 where one hundred men volunteered for missionary service. The aggressive promotion by Wilder and Forman during the winter of 1886-87 not only enlisted two thousand more student volunteers but also opened the issue to the Movement at large. In the spring of 1887 Robert A. Orr, popular general secretary of the Pittsburgh Association, raised the question of expansion for the brotherhood through the columns of *The Watchman*, in an article inspired by Wilder's visit.<sup>18</sup> It will be further recalled from Chapter 7 that at the Northfield conference of 1887 the American Movement was squarely faced with this challenge by a veteran India missionary, the Reverend Jacob Chamberlain, who asked for "one of your best-trained general secretaries" and "five younger men to be general secretaries in the five capitals of India" where they might build a program similar to "Y.M.C.A. work here in America." "Let each large city association," proposed Chamberlain, "support its own representative in some foreign field."<sup>19</sup>

A few weeks after this, *The Watchman* remarked that the subject of foreign missions was awakening the interest of many Associations and that state conventions were discussing it. The editor believed that American methods could be "adapted to the needs of the field."<sup>20</sup> Since it was a cardinal point of Association strategy that no such step could be taken until full clearance had been obtained from the churches, Chamberlain's appeal was technically held in abeyance until he could return to India and obtain a petition from the missionaries of his district. But Wishard took steps toward finding a man to send out. It was April of 1888 when the petition reached New York. By that time John T. Swift was already in Japan.

On the eve of the 1887 Northfield summer school, Wishard had received word through an executive of one of the major mission boards that the "government colleges in Japan were calling for American teachers of English." His informant "appeared to think these calls might be answered by the college associations."<sup>21</sup> Disappointed in following up this tip, Wishard laid the matter before Moody, who authorized cabling to Japan for specific information. The response, too

late for recruiting at the conference (although Wishard "practically closed" with Swift there), indicated that a dozen men could be placed at \$700 per year on three-year contracts, but advised awaiting detailed information. There ensued a considerable correspondence with the Reverend John Hyde DeForest in which this veteran Congregational missionary provided invaluable advice.

Because of the delicate nature of the relationship to the Japanese government, the venture could be given but little publicity. Yet the correspondence exchanged between those who were planning this pioneer approach to a new field indicates plainly that they were consciously developing a device for the sending of an American Y.M.C.A. secretary to Japan through the medium of providing teachers and that they leaned heavily upon the active missionaries at every step. In September, 1887, while the plans for the teaching venture were yet embryonic, DeForest wrote to Morse (to whom Moody had turned over the negotiations) that thoughtful people in Tokyo had "recently consulted together to see if it were not time to suggest to you to send a foreign secretary out here. That the plan has come out of the two nations independently looks like a divine leading."<sup>22</sup> He cautioned against selecting anyone who had been related to a particular mission board, yet felt the need of a secretary to supervise the teachers and a local advisory committee.

Specific steps were now taken to actualize what Morse later described as "a new phase of union foreign mission effort promoted by Association workers." Moody offered to raise the transportation costs (the Japanese government assumed the salaries) of two of the twelve men DeForest asked for if Wishard would "get the rest and the men." Wishard astutely proposed to the St. Paul Y.M.C.A. that it match the Minneapolis pledge (which has been described in Chapter 7) and "appealed successfully to the New York City Association to unite with the Twin Cities" in providing adequately for Swift "so as to relieve him from educational work and enable him to devote his full time to the City Associations in Tokyo."<sup>23</sup> Thus did Wishard arrange matters before there was either authorization for foreign work by the International Committee or as much as a "Foreign Education Committee" set up. At the same time he sent out a confidential circular letter to strategically placed friends of the student work, recruiting men for the positions waiting in the Sunrise Kingdom. Three were ready to sail in January, 1888.



The leader of these and the first American Y.M.C.A. secretary to be sent to a foreign country under the Movement was John Trumbull Swift (1861-1928), Yale 1884, who had been induced by James McConaughy to abandon a law career for the Y.M.C.A. secretaryship. From an apprenticeship under McConaughy and McBurney he had gone to the general secretaryship at Orange, New Jersey, in 1885, where he served until his call to Japan. During a medical missionary conference held by Wishard in New York in December, 1886, Swift, then assistant secretary of the Twenty-third Street Y.M.C.A., had offered himself for foreign service. At the next Northfield summer school, where he joined the volunteers, his opportunity came in the call to Japan. The others sailing with Swift were Charles Wyckoff of Chicago, a graduate of Knox College and Chicago Theological Seminary, and Franklin Bassett of Minneapolis, a graduate of Minnesota State University, both of whom were later to find missionary careers in Japan.

Swift, in line with DeForest's proposal, took an advisory relationship to the other men, aided Wishard in screening candidates, and made plans to meet the administrative problems he foresaw. Uppermost among these was the relation of the secretary—which in this case was himself—to "the parties who send me out" and the areas in which he would receive specifically designated authority. To his astonishment the sponsors of the plan took some offense at his requests for delineation of policy. Nevertheless he went ahead toward a future "very bright with the promise of God" even though the gentlemen in New York were vague. A preliminary meeting of the group that was subsequently to call itself the "Foreign Education Committee" took place on January 9, 1888, when several "dangers to be guarded against" were faced: "Interference with existing organizations or with the work of the missions in Japan; independence of the missions, unfitness in the applicants, possible lapse or default of moral character."<sup>24</sup> A second informal meeting on January 19 approved a bond "to be signed by each person who should be sent to Japan, bidding him to return all outlay in his behalf in the event of his voluntarily relinquishing service, or of moral default, within the space of three years." This was forwarded to Vancouver and agreed to before sailing on the thirtieth though it was actually not signed until the trio were in Japan. At the meeting of the nineteenth, it was acknowledged that "the original impulse to the movement came from Mr. D. L. Moody," and so it was

agreed Moody or Morse should "invite such gentlemen as he should select, to act as a Committee in furtherance of the objects of the meeting."

The first formal meeting of the resulting Foreign Education Committee was held March 15, 1888, a month after its men had reached Japan. It elected as chairman Elbert B. Monroe, president of the New York City Y.M.C.A., who had recently made a world tour of missions; most of a short session was given to a discussion of the qualifications of prospective teachers. At the next meeting Morse was instructed to prepare a constitution, which was presented April 6 and adopted April 27. This document stated the object of the Committee to be:

... To send out persons who are ready to teach in schools in Japan and other foreign countries where a similar need exists and who equally desire and stipulate to devote their spare time to active Christian effort with special reference, so far as may be practicable, to work for young men. This object shall be carried out in strict harmony with the views and methods of the various Mission Boards and Evangelical Churches. The Committee shall be composed of gentlemen—lay and Secretarial—identified with various Boards of Foreign Missions of American Evangelical Churches and Young Men's Christian Associations.

The mission boards were in no wise to be involved. Procedure for selecting personnel was set up and an advisory committee contemplated "in every country to which teachers may be sent." The bylaws further provided for a five-year term of service (later reduced to three), except for men entering missionary work, who would be released after two years upon the repayment of transportation costs. In addition to Monroe and Morse the Committee was made up of the secretaries of four mission boards—Presbyterian (U.S.A.), American (Congregational), Methodist, and Reformed. This meeting accepted three candidates, two of whom were to be supported "by friends in Montreal" whose secretary, D. A. Budge, had been vitally interested in the project from the beginning.

Thus were the ways laid down upon which the foreign work of the North American Y.M.C.A.'s would be launched. Morse wrote informally to Swift on January 19 in explanation of funds sent on that the money had been given "with the impression that it would be fully earned on the part of those who used it by their pledging themselves and carrying out the pledge to engage in actual Christian work (Y.M.C.A. work if possible) wherever they might serve as teachers. . . ."

Monroe had held that the first teachers should be either regular Y.M.C.A. secretaries or others who had "had good opportunity to study our work," yet he realized that there would probably not be a demand for their services in Japan as Y.M.C.A. workers. At the same time DeForest stated that several missionaries in Japan believed the time ripe for an American general secretary, though some were not so convinced. In the light of this uncertainty the conservatism of the New York group is understandable. Brainerd was cool to the move but does not appear to have opposed it, as Wishard had gone over the plans with him. Monroe felt that the project ought to be handled without a special administrative setup as long as possible, and even if a committee were to become necessary the matter should be kept quiet "or we would have Japan lying down on us for more money and men." He expected that China would soon be making a similar plea. Upon reaching Japan, Swift was appointed corresponding secretary of the International Committee for that country. These developments make it plain that the underlying purpose of the foreign education venture was the establishment of an American general secretary in Japan. Swift's first report letter said that a "Japanese National Committee" was considering extending him a call. This proved illusory, but it indicated the trend of events.

The three men arrived in Japan on schedule and quickly made contact with those who had prepared their way. Swift at once elicited "full confidence" in his "sincerity of purpose, consecration to the work, and energy to follow it up."<sup>25</sup> He felt that he ought to "quietly look about him for a season before entering upon any definite work," staying in Tokyo "to do correspondence and if possible to work up the Y.M.C.A."; a friend obtained employment for him "of a literary character" while he studied his field, though he soon found a temporary teaching post at the Meiji Gakuin in Tokyo. His principal concern at first was with the teachers yet to be sent out. Much of the previously agreed procedure was overhauled in frequent meetings of the Tokyo advisory group which about a week after Swift's arrival resolved itself into a committee that was to function for a number of years. Swift took "entire charge" of the negotiations and acted as secretary of the committee, which was shortly expanded to include representatives of all major denominations working in Japan. He wrote to Morse that "the key word of mission policy here is 'Union.'" Moving rapidly to publicize the scheme among the resident missionaries, Swift

found the original expectation of hundreds of openings a gross exaggeration. Those subsequently sent out as teachers did splendid service in the often lonely and even hazardous posts they assumed. The project was later handed over to the foreign department of the International Committee; from it there grew an organization in Japan concerned with the teaching of English and publishing a magazine for such teachers. By 1912 there had been 111 "Association teachers" in sixty schools in thirty Japanese cities. Some 20 per cent of the men subsequently entered foreign missionary service—for which the teaching experience provided an excellent trial—and 10 per cent of them went into the Y.M.C.A. secretaryship.<sup>26</sup> The significance of the venture for the history of the American Y.M.C.A. is that it provided the vehicle for the settling of the first American secretary abroad.

#### PLANTING THE FOURFOLD PROGRAM IN JAPAN

Of the several foreign fields entered by the North American Movement within a few months of one another, that of Japan was by far the most difficult. Save for an isolated remnant of Roman Catholic converts who had survived from the sixteenth century mission of St. Francis Xavier, Christianity was in 1888 a relatively new phenomenon in the island empire. Until Commodore Perry's forceful opening of the country to foreign trade in 1854, Japan had been sealed against the Westerner and his universalizing religion which constituted a potential threat to the isolation imposed by the ruling oligarchy. Hence the great missionary surge of the nineteenth century reached Japan much later than it did either India or China. But "when Japan once opened her doors she adopted Western culture more quickly than did China"<sup>27</sup> and was able to maintain the structure of her social institutions essentially intact—in contrast with China. Nationalism was accentuated by the contact with the West, and Christianity accepted only by some groups and at certain times when it appeared to aid in strengthening Japan's efforts to terminate the "unequal treaties" with the Western nations. The Japanese to whom Christianity most appealed were the recently dispossessed samurai, who had been cast adrift by the collapse in the 1870's of the feudalistic structure which had supported them. There resulted a modest stratum of middle-class Christians—in contrast to China and India where the majority of converts were from the lower classes—comprising teachers, physicians, engineers, and some businessmen, mostly in the cities. They were



chiefly Protestants, and the product of missionaries mostly from the United States.

During the 1880's Japanese Protestantism experienced a remarkable growth, on the crest of which the American Y.M.C.A. effort was launched. In the half-dozen years prior to Swift's arrival, Protestant churches had increased from 93 to 249 and their membership had grown from 4,987 adult members to 25,514. There were now 14 theological seminaries and 101 other mission schools enrolling almost 10,000 students. Much of this growth was among intellectuals; many students and government officials were Christians. Missionaries saw the country "embracing Christianity with a rapidity unexampled since the days of Constantine," and the New York *Independent* predicted that by the turn of the century Japan would be "no longer a foreign mission field, but predominantly Christian."<sup>28</sup> The decade of the 1880's saw the entrance into Japan of no less than a dozen new western religious agencies in addition to the Y.M.C.A., while those of longer standing increased their efforts.

Yet shortly after 1890 it became apparent that this rapid growth was not to continue and that the extravagant forecasts of Japan's becoming a Christian nation were illusory. Protestantism did continue to grow, but at a much slower pace, there being but 416 churches with 37,000 members in 1900. Furthermore, the 1890's were a period of stress, for when all efforts to end the treaties failed, a serious antiforeign animus developed, with rising resentment shown against missionaries and Christianity. This reaction was reflected in the decline of students in the theological schools from 316 in 1891 to 98 in 1900, a situation that affected the growth of the Y.M.C.A. somewhat less than the churches. Yet it was to exert a profound influence upon Swift's efforts, which were to be based upon what was after all a very small Christian community.

Swift found the Y.M.C.A. name widespread in Japan. In addition to several city Associations, almost every evangelical church—probably 150 of them—had its young men's Christian society "organized merely as a part of the working machinery of the churches with which they were connected." The membership of these groups often included all the men of the church, and so served the same purposes in the church life of Japan that young people's societies did in America. Swift found that these organizations increased his difficulties, for "an intelligent interest in true Association methods or an appreciation of the existing needs of them" was hard to obtain.

Yet there were some exceptions. In Tokyo, wrote Swift in his first annual report, a downtown Association club had maintained a library inherited from the earlier Y.M.C.A. for foreigners. The evangelical test had recently been adopted and Bible study and evening classes introduced. "This Association owes its continued existence and much of its life to the faithful, self-denying labors of Rev. K. Kimura a graduate of Hope College, Michigan, and the New Brunswick (N.J.) Seminary," he added. When Swift visited the small Association at Kobe he learned that it had "done good work in sustaining a night school by which many unbelievers were being brought under Christian influences," an effort in which they were significantly aided by the ladies of the Congregational mission. At Osaka he was disappointed to find the building whose construction five years earlier had elicited the first American interest in the Y.M.C.A. cause in Japan to be, as he confided to a friend, a "mere hall." Yet at that time the evangelistic activities centered in it probably represented the most fruitful work that could be expected in the absence of a general secretary. Library and reading room had recently been added. Swift found that an Association in one of the mission schools had translated the American student Y.M.C.A. constitution but that the interpretation of it and the resultant program were influenced by the young people's groups of the churches. The society at Sapporo, a letter from which had been a great stimulus to Wishard several years earlier, was "well known throughout Japan as a body of earnest Christian men who without a pastor to direct or help them [had] for years carried on a substantial and aggressive gospel work amongst the people of that region of the northern island."<sup>29</sup>

In addition to making this survey, carrying on the multitudinous duties of settling his colleagues and providing for new teachers, advising the Tokyo Association about a general secretary, lecturing on Y.M.C.A. methods, teaching English, and attempting to learn the language, Swift devoted himself to the students of Tokyo, which city he immediately recognized as the most strategic center of the Empire for reaching young men. Less than a month after his arrival he had a Bible class of fifteen students from Tokyo Imperial University and Upper Middle College as well as one in the city Y.M.C.A., both of which he conducted on Sunday in addition to an evening meeting in his house. Upon missionary advice he sought out several dozen individuals each of whom claimed to be the only Christian in the University; Swift invited them to tea and with twenty-three students laid the founda-

tions of three Associations—solidly on “the basis of the evangelical test.” He wrote to Morse on April 26 that thus “the Lord goes before us according to His promise.” By the next February the twenty-three had increased to 115.

When Swift had been in Japan hardly a month, he came to a conclusion that would naturally occur to an American secretary: “An Association building here would do tremendous good when you consider that there are in Tokyo over 20,000 students and young men are constantly going and coming from all parts of the empire.” The sense of need for a building became so strong that he enlisted the support of the missionary group whose enthusiasm reached new heights when it learned that Swift had succeeded in organizing Associations in each of three government colleges. In early October, 1888, Morse received word from Swift “that God has in answer to our prayers sent to me the first subscription towards an Association building for Tokyo—\$25,000 (gold).” Swift indicated that he was not at liberty to reveal the name of the donor, and hoped that Morse would place the matter before the friends of the movement in the United States in the hope of matching this sum with an equal amount in order to insure at least \$50,000 for the project. This initial gift was Swift’s own, though it was never so acknowledged.<sup>80</sup>

In thus diverting his patrimony to this fund, Swift not only forced the hand of his sponsors and set a precedent for each new foreign venture, but unwittingly created for himself a serious handicap, because through the depression period of the 1890’s it was difficult, if not almost impossible, to raise even the funds for the regular budget of the foreign work. Yet Swift believed himself on sure Association ground. The Tokyo building would be a thorough test of Y.M.C.A. principles in the Orient, he wrote to Morse, stressing the need for a student center. The “grand work” done in the large hall of the Y.M.C.A. at Osaka (“nowhere else in Japan do I find so near an approach to true Association work”) demonstrated the need and value of such in the educational district of Tokyo. Further, Swift pointed out to Morse, “as I wrote you some time since, an Association building in Tokyo is desired by the leaders of all missions.” At the end of October he announced to Morse the receipt of the first payment of \$5,000 on the initial gift, and explained his belief that the Association ought not to be under foreign control, but that the property should

be so. This Swift then believed desirable because the use of the building would "bear directly on the vested mission interest and they should have some control over it" and thus provide the most favorable environment for the growth of the Association. This letter strengthened Brainerd's view that "*we* should act with caution." Swift had already begun to look for a site, moving carefully lest prices rise.

As his experience broadened Swift reversed his opinion that the property should be controlled by the donors:

The Japanese people are a high spirited people [he wrote to Morse November 27] and at present are grieving deeply at the oppression of their country by the extraterritorial powers of the so called Christian nations. . . . The great Doshisha school of the Congregational mission is managed on the plan of Japanese control and foreign advice and such I feel after much thought on the subject will be the best plan for Association work. . . .

In October, 1888, a distinguished missionary returned to Japan from a furlough in the United States and wrote back to friends in New York in a letter used to solicit funds for the project that Swift had been "successful beyond expectation." He had "demonstrated the fact that there is a broad field of work for the Association, and that the Japanese young men are ready for the enterprise." The missionaries were "much pleased with his energy and practical good sense."<sup>31</sup> This missionary, the Reverend George William Knox, who was later on the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, then reviewed the need for a building near the University of Tokyo and pointed out that "all the arguments that may be used at home to justify the erection of buildings for the Y.M.C.A. are equally forcible here" but that the facilities would have "a use wider than at home," being "in a peculiar sense . . . the representative of Protestant Christianity," demonstrating "the fact of our unity." In subsequent propaganda, Swift dwelt on the oft-repeated point that "in no other nation" were the young men centered in any one city as were the Japanese in Tokyo, the fountain head of the new national life of Japan. In his matured plan, the board of directors controlling the building was to be composed "of prominent native Christians, representatives of the evangelical missions and two or three lay Christian residents of influence." Yet it was to require extended effort before the building was dedicated in 1894. The Orthodox cathedral, to which it was once compared, was threatened by dynamiters, so intense was the antforeign feeling at one time. But Swift persevered and his quiet promotion laid lasting foundations.

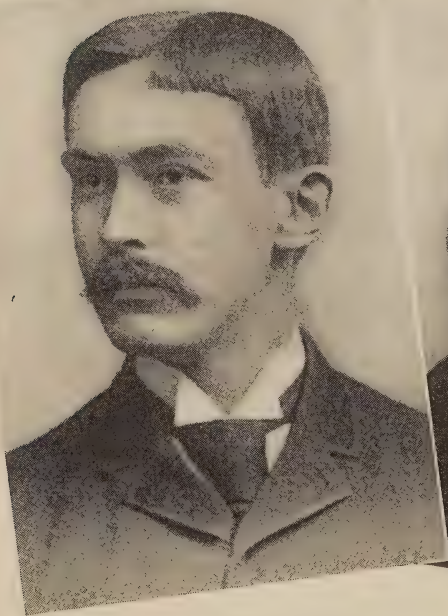


## THE FIRST FOREIGN SECRETARY

Parallel with these activities was the transfer of Swift's relationship and duty from the Foreign Education Committee to the secretaryship for Japan of the North American International Committee. There is reason to believe that this had been discussed between Swift, Wishard, and possibly Morse before Swift left the United States. It was never far below the surface of his mind after that. He had hardly landed in Japan when the resident missionaries proposed that he return to New York at once and lay such a proposition before Morse; that he did not do so suggests that the groundwork for such a move had already been laid. In August, 1888, several missionaries raised the question of Swift's discontinuing teaching. He relayed to New York their arguments for his establishing himself in Tokyo, for his training Japanese Y.M.C.A. workers, for nation-wide visitation of the Association teachers and Y.M.C.A.'s. Now apparently convinced of the wisdom of the change, Swift pointed to his unique relation to the government as different from that of any missionary: he was convinced that "under some other name than that of '*missionary*,'" he could do the best work there. But if the New York group were to seriously consider this move, he would want them to consult the missionaries and through them the Japanese leaders.

Whether this was done we do not know, but the minutes of the International Committee meeting in New York on November 13, 1888, record an action constituting the informal assignment of Swift to the national secretaryship for Japan, although this could not be implemented until the International Convention met the next summer. On November 30, the Foreign Education Committee, at Morse's initiative, considered favorably "Mr. Swift's inquiry as to the propriety of his being released from his obligations . . . and relieved from teaching," in order to accept "a secretaryship." This was because of "steps already taken in Mr. Swift's case, by parties outside the Committee."<sup>32</sup> The news of this action was conveyed to Swift by Morse but awaited Wishard's arrival in Japan, in January, 1889, for clarification. In the meantime, unaware of these developments, Swift wrote to Morse:

. . . In the event of my being appointed to such a secretaryship I should of course wish that my appointment should come absolutely and unconditionally from the International Committee and that to them alone should I be held responsible: *but* at the same time and for the same reasons that I have recited in connection with the holding and management of the property I should very much like to have the Association of Tokyo, (where our



PIONEERS OF THE FOREIGN WORK SECRETARYSHIP

John T. Swift, Japan

David McConaughy, India

Myron Clark, Brazil

work will be most thoroughly tried at first) formally request the International Committee to set me apart for an "advisory General Secretaryship" in this city. I am at present *pulling wires* to bring this to pass and all seems going well. You will I think appreciate my position in all this and the necessity which rests upon me in this work of being perhaps more philo-Japanese than most missionaries are or try to be.<sup>33</sup>

The outcome of the matter was that Swift's provisional "secretaryship" under the International Committee became effective January 1, 1889. The advisory education committee in Tokyo then elected him a full member and made him its secretary, a relation which he maintained for a number of years. In mid-January he resigned teaching "to devote his entire time to the acquisition of the language and the development of the Association."<sup>34</sup> Great emphasis was placed upon the necessity of the new move not being referred to as a missionary project: Swift was to be called "the secretary in Tokio or Japan."

#### THE BEGINNING OF WISHARD'S WORLD TOUR OF MISSIONS

In 1883 Luther Wishard began planning a world visitation of missions in the interests of the student movement.<sup>35</sup> Evidences from Japan and several other fields during the winter of 1887-88 convinced him and others that the time was now ripe for his trip. The International Committee did not feel justified in sending him abroad, but Morse, as a member of the World's Committee, was aware of the interest of that body in such an investigation as Wishard proposed. He suggested to the World's Committee that Wishard go "as their Secretary for the work of this tour, provided no expense to them was involved." Preliminary arrangements made possible the setting up of the budget in March, 1888.<sup>36</sup> Something of the nature of the financial methods of the time may be gleaned from Wishard's account of how he obtained a large subscription:

I next approached John Wanamaker. It was the day of the 1888 March blizzard. He listened to about half of my statement and interrupted me with, "When do you propose to sail?" "Next Saturday," I said. It was then Monday. "You are going Saturday and still require two one thousand dollar annual subscriptions?" "Yes, but I expect to tackle Mr. J. V. Farwell for one of them in London." "Well," he exclaimed, "all I can say is (I fairly gasped—I feared I had lost him) that I'll do it with a great deal of pleasure." "You will?" I cried.

"Yes, I will; if a man is willing to cut his salary in two and give all he has saved besides and go out into those great fields and do the grubbing and harrowing and ploughing, the least we business men at home can do is to stand by him with our money."

Wanamaker was later to read Wishard's report letters to President Harrison in the White House.

Having determined to go to Europe first, Wishard proceeded to Geneva where he met the World's Committee, "under whose auspices it was decided that I should make the tour." This authorization was made on April 15, 1888. Returning to the British Isles, Wishard devoted the spring to recruiting delegates to Northfield and then decided to remain in Europe through the summer to promote student work in Paris and in Germany. In August he attended the World's Conference at Stockholm, where his assignment was confirmed (although "most of the English brethren voted against this appointment" on technical grounds),<sup>37</sup> thus establishing on the part of the world body for the first time "a working relation to the Foreign Mission Field"<sup>38</sup>—a relation which was actually extremely tenuous as far as Wishard's agency in it was concerned. At home in September, Wishard prepared his itinerary. Developing a procedure later followed by Mott, he communicated with scores of missionaries and acquainted them with his purposes. He also laid the groundwork for American secretaryships in the more likely countries well before he left the United States—he had, in fact, approached David McConaughy in the summer of 1887 about the possibility of the secretaryship for India.

Going first to Japan, Wishard had been there less than a week when he declared that "now's the time and now's the hour for a critical and epoch-making movement among the students and young men." He brought Swift up to date on the developments in New York, with the result that Swift now devoted himself full time to the promotion of the Y.M.C.A. Wishard spent about three of his nine months in Japan in Tokyo, working with Swift until the latter's departure for America in the spring of 1889. March 29, "a day worth remembering in our Association calendar," Wishard wrote Ober, "I bought the lot" for the Tokyo university Association building.

Wishard decided to stake his reputation as an evangelist upon a campaign at the Doshisha, pursuing "exactly the same course which we had followed so often in American colleges."<sup>39</sup> The effort, to which he devoted three weeks, resulted in 103 students joining the college church, which Joseph Neesima, president of the institution, called "the largest number of Christians ever baptized at one time in Japan."<sup>40</sup> This spread Wishard's name through every mission school in the empire, and he subsequently visited all the leading ones, spending from



three to seventeen days in each, evangelizing and organizing Associations. Students in the government schools invariably received him cordially and sometimes he was able to address them in university buildings but more often in theatres or halls. He occasionally faced hostile audiences but turned most of these situations to good account. At Osaka his meetings twice a day in the Y.M.C.A. hall were crowded; "The last day was enriched by such an outpouring of the Spirit as I never before witnessed in Japan, and seldom in America."<sup>41</sup> As the tour continued, Wishard visited twenty of the leading cities and twenty-nine Government and eighteen Christian universities, colleges, and preparatory schools, where he conducted "over two hundred public meetings attended by tens of thousands of students and business men and women." He also met "a majority of the leading Japanese Christians and conferred with many Japanese ministers, teachers, business men and Government officials."<sup>42</sup>

Wishard regarded the student conference held at the Doshisha June 29 to July 8, 1889, as the high point of his stay in Japan. He planned the conference on the Northfield pattern. Wyckoff, who had come out with Swift and was now teaching at the Doshisha, was "a combination of Sankey and Towner"; he had trained a choir and led the singing at this "first national student Christian conference ever held outside of America." Five hundred men attended. In addition, "one hundred young women students were given seats in the auditorium and sat throughout the sessions as attentive auditors and students of the problem of organized Christian work among students." The message of the conference cabled to Northfield, which was in session during the same days, "Make Jesus King," sent a thrill throughout the Christian world, wrote Wishard in his autobiography.<sup>43</sup> Harlan P. Beach, who had founded the student Association at T'ungchou, attended the conference, and reported that Wishard's magnetic leadership had "caught the fancy of young Japan."<sup>44</sup> Wishard wrote a lengthy letter to the Northfield summer school describing his experiences and preparing the American student gathering—which was highlighted by Swift's presence at Northfield—for the cabled greeting from Kyoto.<sup>45</sup> Reports of the Kyoto conference were widely circulated in Japanese; so also were several Christian apologetics, including Drummond's *Greatest Thing in the World*. Nine months to a day after their arrival Wishard and his wife set sail from Japan, his "first Oriental field and love."<sup>46</sup>

THE OFFICIAL BEGINNING OF FOREIGN WORK BY THE  
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

Swift returned home in the spring of 1889 to marry and to campaign for the \$35,000 necessary to complete the Tokyo buildings, for the group there had decided to build a downtown Y.M.C.A. center as well as one in the student quarter. He found in America a mounting interest in the Association missionary venture, though the actual subscription of capital funds moved slowly. *The Watchman* was keeping the matter before the brotherhood, and state conventions had discussed it through the winter. Swift was greatly in demand as a speaker and presented the Japanese story wherever possible. His influence was felt most significantly at the International Convention at Philadelphia in May, 1889, upon which it had been planned to concentrate the foreign work propaganda for the purpose of obtaining official approval of the new program which had actually outrun official sanction.

In presenting the biennial report of the International Committee, Brainerd, after reviewing Wishard's activities and the remarkable developments in Japan, acknowledged the Committee's awareness of "the great interest which [had] been taken by the Associations in this foreign missionary work, and the disposition which they [had] exhibited to contribute money for its prosecution." But he indicated that the Committee was "not yet in possession of information justifying it in making definite recommendations," inasmuch as there were known to be not more than four places "where such work could now be prosecuted with success, or where it would feel justified in sending secretaries," although what might be developed "in the course of Mr. Wishard's tour remain[ed] to be disclosed." However, a specific request had come from India for "an Association worker of experience like Mr. Swift." The secretary of the Philadelphia Association, David McConaughy, Jr., felt himself called to that post and the Philadelphia Y.M.C.A. had "indicated a desire to sustain him there." In view of all this, Brainerd asked the Convention for action to guide the Committee in its dealings with this burgeoning growth, concluding that it might be "entered upon cautiously, prayerfully and with the highest hope."

The reading of this report was immediately followed by a presentation of the "Responsibilities of Members of American Associations to Young Men in Foreign Mission Lands" by Elbert B. Monroe and Swift. Monroe, a member of the International Committee and chairman of the Foreign Education Committee, asked the Convention

whether the American Y.M.C.A. should take out a patent on the machine it had perfected for work with young men and, after warning off all infringements, "sit down by ourselves, and let the machine do its work within the limits of our own continent"?

Rather, he proposed, let us reach out a helping hand to our brethren in the Orient. . . . "The proposition is not to undertake general missionary work, but to band together the Christian young men of these lands," helping them to do the work of the Master. For the time is not far distant, concluded Monroe, "when that wonderful electric power of one young man over another shall encircle this globe, for its benefit and salvation." Swift declared that the response he had met at home made him feel that it was hardly necessary "to incite the Associations of America to this work." The question was rather how best to answer the call from the young men of Asia, the first responsibility of the Y.M.C.A. being to the Christian young men in the "intelligent communities" of the East. "We must furnish them with our form or organization and methods of work," he insisted.

A second responsibility, continued Swift, was for the actual presentation of the gospel to the non-Christian young men as well. But he envisioned no such general missionary work as was prosecuted by the mission boards of the churches; the number of Association workers to be sent out must be small:

. . . We are simply inviting our fellow Christian young men in these distant lands to join us in systematic work for other young men. The workers must be the native young men. From them will soon come the leaders needed. . . . If we occupy the few places already calling us, to introduce our methods, we shall fulfill the first condition of success. . . .

If there is a danger, he went on, it is that we may try to begin in too many places at once. There are now Y.M.C.A.'s in Japan, China, India, and Turkey—hundreds of them—but most are such only in name. Better to form Associations "in one or two influential places on the foreign mission field, thus presenting to the surrounding cities a well-prepared object-lesson in special work for young men." Swift was recalled to the platform to describe the Tokyo building plan which he had omitted from his prepared address, indicating the further need of \$33,000. "Mr. Sankey then sang 'Throw out the life line.'"

The Convention rose to the occasion and empowered the International Committee "to establish such Associations, and place such secretaries in the foreign mission field, as in its judgment may be proper,

and to receive such contributions for this work as Associations or individuals may contribute to it."<sup>47</sup> The last clause of the resolution was "somewhat reluctantly" adopted after debate; it meant a separate budget for the foreign department and specially contributed funds.<sup>48</sup> The official implementations of this action required some months. In June the International Committee referred the foreign work to their college committee but the next month established a "Committee on Work in Foreign Mission Lands." The first action of this group was to clarify basic policies:

The Convention did not contemplate the sending out of general missionaries, and therefore, any such course . . . is unauthorized.

The chief aim . . . should be to train and develop native Christian young men in the principles and methods of Association work, and to plant native self-sustaining Y.M.C.A.'s. . . .

The work . . . should . . . be carried on not only in harmony with the evangelical missionaries, and pastors of churches . . . and with the various foreign mission boards . . . but most earnest effort must be made . . . to secure their approval, sympathy, and co-operation.

This American representative shall be known as Secretary of the International Committee for the field to which he is sent.

. . . The International Committee . . . cannot assume for the salary and other expenses of these representatives, a financial responsibility beyond the contributions offered and pledged . . . nor can such expenses be made a charge upon the Committee's general treasury.<sup>49</sup>

On September 26, 1889, a statement embodying these policies was adopted by the International Committee, Swift was formally made secretary for Japan, and David McCaughy appointed secretary for India. Thus was officially inaugurated the foreign work venture, later known as World Service, to which the Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States and Canada gave themselves with increasing intensity through the next six decades of their history.

#### FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN JAPAN

The new venture was dramatized on October 2 when McCaughy sailed eastward for India and Swift with his wife started westward, carrying his credentials and pledges of \$43,000. He arrived in Japan November 5, to find that Wishard had left a strongly favorable impression. The student Associations were growing steadily; one had objected to holding athletic events on Sunday, with the result that "no more sports in that College [were] likely to be appointed to occur on Sunday." But of far-reaching import were an outburst of denomina-



tional rivalry and a new and frightening reaction against Christianity and everything Western, both of which were seriously to handicap the work. In December Swift reported happily that he had obtained a competent Japanese college secretary. The next spring he secured for the city Association Seijiro Niwa, a graduate of the Doshisha and at that time a student in its theological department.<sup>50</sup> Swift found "great dissatisfaction" among students over Wishard's domination of the summer conference; they proposed running the next one according to their own ideas. To his horror they proposed a program "of the wildest character, embracing subjects all the way from Political Economy to the latest German materialistic Sociology." But "in answer to much prayer and fasting" on his part the committee "decided on a safer programme" which went no further to the left than the "new theology," then quite widely accepted in the United States, although there was no official connection between the Association and the summer school of 1891 because the conference was "in the hands of students of whose opinions we can never be certain" and also because Swift rationalized that all resources "should be devoted to the greater necessities of the Association." In subsequent summers the conferences returned to Association auspices.

In March, 1891, R. S. Miller, Jr., former student secretary at Cornell and supported chiefly by that Association, joined Swift. At first he devoted himself to the acquisition of the language, aided Niwa in Bible study, and addressed meetings occasionally. This same season brought the organization of the Tokyo Association upon American principles, including the Portland test. A constitution was adopted on March 19, 1891, and the board of directors elected the ensuing April 14<sup>51</sup>—in spite of strong antforeign feeling. Only a few weeks previously a lot had been purchased for this Association; an earthquake caused a complete revision of building plans. In the meantime Bible classes, an evening school, the first observance of the Week of Prayer, an Association for railroad workers, the foreign educational committee, and general supervision occupied Swift's energies. The cornerstone for the Tokyo city Association building was laid March 23, 1893, and the "handsome edifice" dedicated May 5 of the next year, shortly withstanding an extremely severe earthquake. "Of three storeys, containing fine suites of rooms for offices, library, reading-room, dining room . . . a spacious and airy lecture hall seating about a thousand persons," it represented an investment of about \$40,000. The total fund ultimately

aggregated slightly over \$56,000 but it was another four years before the university building was completed, Swift having stopped work on it when the student Associations dropped the evangelical test without his knowledge.

A national committee, which Swift had cultivated since his arrival and which he insisted must be "entirely Japanese and have entire control," was planned at the summer conference of 1893. A national basis of union was proposed and an annual national convention projected,<sup>52</sup> but not in Swift's time did these materialize, due, as he wrote Morse that year, to "the lack of men of national repute who clearly understand Association work."<sup>53</sup> This reflected the tremendous odds against which he labored: antforeign sentiment, sectarian rivalry, his own ill health, a decided reaction against evangelical Christianity, and the long-range effects of the American depression of 1893. Not only did this pioneer worker face the almost insuperable wall of the language behind which there lay a strange culture, but the extremely small and poverty-stricken Japanese Protestant community provided almost no base upon which to build. The Movement at home refused to modify its original and arbitrary rule of no support to infant foreign Associations beyond the salaries and some personal expenses of secretaries sent to the field—a decision supported by the success of its men in India where conditions were radically different. Likewise there appears to have been a lessened interest in Japan on the part of the North American Movement when with the planting of other new movements the spotlight naturally shifted.

#### THE FIRST AMERICAN SECRETARY TO INDIA

David McConaughy, Jr., (1860-1946), first American Y.M.C.A. secretary to India, was the most notable young executive in the country at the time he resigned at Philadelphia to accept the foreign call, having within an incredibly short time—with the help of Moody—transformed into "a very beehive of life and activity" a great city Y.M.C.A. whose handsome but heavily mortgaged new building had stood empty and unused, "a reproach to the name." The product of a devout Presbyterian home—three uncles were ministers and another a missionary—McConaughy had attended Gettysburg College in his home town and received his first Y.M.C.A. training when his brother James asked him to substitute as general secretary at Harrisburg in the summer of 1878. Upon graduation from college he was called to that

Association and thence to the Harlem Branch in New York, during which time he studied in a theological seminary, not for the ministry but "to enlarge himself for the work of winning men to Christ and training them for work in his Kingdom." In 1883 McConaughy had taken his "big job" at Philadelphia. Two years later, when Wishard appealed to an audience of medical students in the Philadelphia Y.M.C.A. to "go any time, anywhere, to do anything for the King," McConaughy had volunteered. After the Reverend Jacob Chamberlain's appeal at Northfield in the summer of 1887 for an American secretary for India, McConaughy had been "deeply impressed." The next March, when Wishard and Ober were snowbound at Philadelphia during the great blizzard, Wishard pressed the call upon him.

On the other side of the world, at that moment, Chamberlain was asking the Madras Missionary Conference whether such a movement by the American Y.M.C.A.'s would be welcomed and "if the time were ripe for it." The conference enthusiastically and unanimously expressed its approval of the proposal as "a providential response" to its appeals and gratefully welcomed "such well qualified thoroughly trained agents" as the American Y.M.C.A.'s might send and promised them its "cordial sympathy and cooperation." The Madras group instructed Chamberlain to point out to the Americans the importance of their agents being "well trained and spiritual men;" they considered a full theological education together with "undoubted culture in philosophy and literature" to be indispensable. In concluding his letter, addressed to Morse, Chamberlain remarked that similar appeals had been sent the year before to Scotland and England but had not been answered.<sup>54</sup>

In early October, 1889, McConaughy with his bride sailed for India via Britain and the continent. He carried greetings to the British National Council and the World's Committee and was instructed to confer with each and to secure if practicable "their fraternal sympathy and cooperation." In London he shared the platform with outstanding pulpit orators at a great missionary convention in his honor and was entertained by George Williams who naively remarked in public that McConaughy was going to India "to spy out the land." Appreciating the delicacy of his position in being "sent by an American constituency into British possessions," he was encouraged by receiving a warm welcome at all of the twenty-eight speaking engagements he filled at practically every major Association of the British Isles. He departed with "the most valuable indorsement that could possibly have been given"

—a memorial from the National Council commending him to “the friends of young men’s work in India and whatever other countries” he might visit. He also received a heightened appreciation of the differences between American and British Y.M.C.A. program and outlook and a new awareness of current criticism of missionary methods.<sup>55</sup> At Geneva he conferred with Pastor Tophel, chairman of the World’s Committee, and presented his credentials.<sup>56</sup> But as with Wishard, this relationship sat very lightly upon his shoulders, receiving no mention in his reports or correspondence either then or afterward.

The India that unfolded before McConaughy and his wife when they docked at Bombay on the morning of January 1, 1890, was a very different field from that upon which Swift had set foot in Japan almost two years before. British rule had opened India to Western culture and had greatly facilitated the spread of Christianity. The English language, taught in most schools, was the vehicle for governmental and professional advancement of a large and substantial middle class and provided the tremendously varied groups and regions with a common cultural bond. Although the impact of Western culture was tremendous, the basic Indian institutions of caste and family held their ground while religion decayed. Intense nationalism—the Indian National Congress was organized in 1885—endeavored to maintain the ancestral faith as a cultural bulwark but secularism took an increasing hold upon the leaders of the country. In this situation not only was Christianity’s progress numerically significant but its impact upon Indian life was marked, both within and without the Church.<sup>57</sup> India received as large a share of the nineteenth century missionary outpouring from America and western Europe as did any major field. By the time of McConaughy’s arrival in Madras, scores of mission societies had been established for decades and there was a Protestant population in India of not less than five hundred and fifty thousand. American missionaries approached in number those from the British Isles, of which latter the Anglicans were the most numerous.

Y.M.C.A.’s likewise had had a long history in India. That of Calcutta had been organized in 1822 as the “Calcutta Christian Juvenile Society” and had changed its name to Y.M.C.A. in 1857. Its historian claimed that it “had been practically a Young Men’s Christian Association from the moment of its birth.” Since a very early date its second rule required that it stand on “those Catholic principles in which all Protestant denominations are agreed.”<sup>58</sup> McConaughy found this or-



ganization, which until recently had performed services "specially suited to a large foreign British seaport,"<sup>59</sup> to be virtually defunct, but others were quite active. Landing at Bombay, McConaughy, cordially received, "spent a week looking into the work of the Association in that city and getting acquainted with the workers" in order to "disabuse the minds of those already engaged in such work of any possible misunderstanding" as to his purpose and "to get the benefit of any experience that had been gained."<sup>60</sup> He later wrote that this Association might as well have had a sign over its entrance reading: "None but Christians need apply," which he saw as "quite out of line with the spirit of the Association Movement, which had now sent its representative to India to introduce a very different order of things."<sup>61</sup>

McConaughy started the "very different order of things" within twenty-four hours of the moment when, on January 9, 1890, he alighted from the train at Madras to be greeted by Chamberlain and Wishard, thus joining hands "to set up the Association standard here on the shores of the Indian Ocean—the young men's Movement thus for the first time completing the circle of the globe."<sup>62</sup> The "very morning" after this reunion McConaughy discovered a vacant building in the heart of the Madras student quarter, promptly rented it, and engaged a nearby auditorium for "a meeting of all classes of young men to be held there the following week."<sup>63</sup> The building was shortly renovated; the average daily attendance rose from fifteen the first week to 140 the ninth week; the structure, "already too small" after three months' use, served ten years. McConaughy, who had derived great benefit from women's auxiliaries in his American secretaryships, next enlisted a group of distinguished ladies. They proposed utilizing the yard in front of the building for an open-air restaurant which soon became known as the "caste-breaker," where Brahmins, Untouchables, Eurasians, and Europeans mingled. McConaughy insisted upon hiring the best cook to be found rather than a high caste chef as his advisers suggested. His religious program, including street preaching, gradually brought conversions among Hindus, which soon attracted wide attention.

The first annual report of the new venture required eighteen pages to describe its fourfold program. The reading room, open daily, was "stocked with 75 newspapers and magazines" and three hundred books. *The Young Men of India*, an eight-page paper, had been published since March, 1890, "doing much to bring isolated organizations to-

gether." The social life of the members had been nourished by affairs "of an informal character," by members' meetings, by the restaurant, by the ladies auxiliary, and by a New Year's reception. A beginning had been made "on the physical side" with bicycle and cricket clubs; a petition was before the city authorities for athletic grounds. The spiritual life was aided through the general secretary's Bible and training classes, by young men's meetings and the observance of the Week of Prayer.

The Association constantly kept before itself the principle that "*our privileges are accorded absolutely without distinction of race or creed.*" Analysis of the roster of members—and their names—bore this out: Of 207 who had paid (sixty-one of whom were active), twenty-one were Europeans, three Burmese, forty-three Eurasians, and one hundred and forty Indians—three of the last being Moslems, fifty-nine Christians, and seventy-eight Hindus. There were eighty-eight students and twenty-three clerks together with a considerable sampling of other vocations. Only eleven were over forty years of age; one hundred and thirty-five resided in Blacktown, the nearest and least reputable neighborhood. The work had expanded "only so far and so fast as funds were furnished by the community, locally." Plans were being laid for a new building, the Association had been "registered as a corporation," and in fulfillment of McConaughy's hopes it had exerted a considerable influence outside of Madras: of thirty-one Associations with which correspondence had been opened, nine had been organized during the year (1890). "A vast field is opening before the Association," concluded the report. By the time McConaughy had been in Madras six months, McBurney had appraised the conditions which made this program so apparently successful in contrast to Swift's: "The work of McConaughy is obvious, that of Swift, one of silent patient waiting, praying and hoping. One can speak for himself and 'boom' his work, the other cannot do either."<sup>64</sup>

Obvious it was, yet not without difficulty. McConaughy confronted directly the Madras Theosophical Society's "dark secrets" and appears to have been a party to an exposé of its "trap doors and other deceitful devices for conducting occult séances, to which were attracted hosts of guileless non-Christian students."<sup>65</sup> High Church Anglican circles were suspicious and some moves were made to embarrass the Association, but after the knighting of George Williams in 1894 this disappeared. The most serious problems arose out of "lack of unity within the

ranks of those who bore the name of Christ" in the leadership of the movement. An "almost unbelievable suspicion that America was trespassing upon the preserves of another nation" was stirred among the British by George Williams' "very innocent but unfortunate expression 'spy'" at the farewell in London; this was but the superficial evidence of a deep-rooted disagreement on basic principles. In the meanwhile McCaughy was faced with a delicate problem of intercultural misunderstandings when the friends in America found the membership test of the Madras Association, which used the phrase "Protestant Christian church" instead of "evangelical church," to be out of harmony with their assumptions.

Luther Wishard had left Japan the previous autumn to stop briefly in China, Siam, Burma, and Ceylon before reaching Madras a week ahead of McCaughy. The two worked together laying the groundwork for the new movement and Wishard conducted some evangelistic meetings among students in Madras prior to touring colleges; he spent several days in Bombay with "the English Association," hoping "to help them in securing a Gen. Sec'y"; he left for Rangoon late in March. Almost simultaneously, W. Hind Smith, traveling secretary for the English National Council, was engaged in a tour of the colonies and while in India influenced the founding of four Y.M.C.A.'s. The result of this visitation was to quicken interest in foreign expansion on the part of the British movement, appeals to which went from India, Ceylon, Australia, and other colonies; before long two British secretaries were sent to Bombay and another, J. H. Oldham, to Lahore,<sup>66</sup> with the full approval of the World's Committee.

The first evidence of opposed viewpoints concerning foreign expansion had appeared on the occasion of Wishard's appointment as foreign secretary of the World's Committee for his tour, at which time the British consistently opposed the action, and alleged that the Americans wanted to move the World's Committee headquarters to New York. Shortly after the Stockholm conference of 1888 at which Wishard's appointment was confirmed, a Scottish editor remarked that "the future danger of this [the World's] Committee will be in its being governed in the future, as in the past, by the 'Autocrat of America.'"<sup>67</sup> This attitude rested upon a quite understandable dislike of American aggressiveness and cocksureness, which were altogether too obvious features of the era now under discussion. At the same time the British and continental patterns of work were essentially pietistic and satis-



fied with the Paris Basis, while the American was fourfold and doggedly devoted to the Portland test which was everywhere on the field superimposed upon the Paris Basis or other local membership test. The British Movement lacked centralization while the American was dominated by the International Committee. The British were undoubtedly stung by the failure of the initial appeal to them from Madras to reach responsible hands, due apparently to the lack of adequate organizational machinery. Furthermore there were certain personalities who clashed and some ill manners were exhibited.<sup>68</sup> Hind Smith's tour left a wide trail, McConaughy claimed, of misrepresentation and antagonisms, but he firmly believed "this feeling of British vs. American will find its grave in India. God grant that it may!"<sup>69</sup>

American rationalizations of their position rarely reached print, but the leaders gave a great deal of attention to this problem. Aware that in sending Wishard abroad as the agent of the World's Committee a precedent had been created which was now consistently ignored, they found refuge in the preamble to the Paris Basis which, as Morse reminded Wishard, expressly stipulated that, outside of the fundamental principle of unity, the various national movements asserted for themselves "a complete independence as to their particular organization and modes of action."<sup>70</sup> The relation of the Movement to the evangelical churches was cited against submitting American policy to the World's Committee which it was alleged could not understand the Portland basis. Once when funds were low, it was suggested, perhaps facetiously, that a solution might lie in obtaining secretaries for India from Canada and asking the British to pay for them.<sup>71</sup> Yet the basic position which rendered the tension unresolvable may be seen in Morse's word to Wishard on the eve of the 1891 World's Conference at Amsterdam, not long after embarrassing questions had been asked on the floor of the American International Convention at Kansas City:

In all of these countries (India, Great Britain itself, Germany, France, Scandinavia) there is more or less of American influence, and that influence tends to a genuine solidarity on what we feel are right lines. And, as Americans, we are sanguine to see, and to think we see, a sort of general tendency throughout the world toward the adoption of American ideas in Association work. It is a sort of leaven that is working, and your visit helps it to ferment a little more; and I hope we may be able to put enough more leaven into the foreign mission field to keep the process of fermentation in vigorous operation.<sup>72</sup>

At Amsterdam "some . . . doctrinaires who [had] no practical knowl-



edge of Association work in foreign mission lands" attempted to have a commission appointed "to spur up the Geneva Committee" to this end, wrote McBurney to McConaughy, adding that he had prevented the proposal's coming before the Conference.<sup>73</sup>

The major achievement of McConaughy's second year was the formation of a national committee at the first Indian conference, held at Madras in February, 1891. Both McConaughy and Wishard participated vigorously in the discussions, in the course of which the clash between the British and American viewpoints almost defeated the plan for a national agency, although Wishard interpreted this as "jealousy of American methods." Obtaining both the national secretary and chairman from the same city proved difficult; a compromise finally obtained these and a resident quorum—cardinal principles of administration in both North American experience and in that of the World's Committee. Wishard assured the British and Indians that the North American Committee would be "most happy" to see the work in India directed exclusively by the Indian National Committee, but he was hardly able to convince the Indian group that the American Committee would adhere to such a policy as long as it controlled the finances.<sup>74</sup> Wishard further suggested that McConaughy cease to call himself an American secretary "and simply appear in all publications in India as a secretary of the Indian Committee," while listed in the North American *Year Book* as "the representative of the American Committee or of the American associations in India." Wishard wrote to Morse during these negotiations that he regarded the situation in India as serious but he was "hopeful of coming out all right" if McConaughy could be placed in the national secretaryship.<sup>75</sup> This was done, though not without difficulty; as the Indian National Council emerged from the committee in 1894, it took on much of the complexion of the American International Committee. Under its leadership further appeals were made directly to England, America, and Australia for more traveling secretaries.

Shortly after the first national conference, McConaughy reported to the *Young Men's Era* that the work was succeeding beyond all expectation. The program at Madras expanded and comparable developments took place in numerous other cities. Additional American program features appeared: boys' work was started in at least one Association in 1892;<sup>76</sup> the next year Robert P. Wilder spent some months working among students through the Y.M.C.A. of Calcutta.<sup>77</sup>

McConaughy could have used any number of qualified assistants, but asked for three, the first of whom proved to be a close-communion Baptist who was promptly sent home. The home base could not meet the many calls received from a dozen countries, but by 1894 J. Campbell White was on the field in student work at Calcutta and Raymond J. Davis had gone out as McConaughy's assistant. The British movement also sent some very able men in the early 1890's.

Although occasional criticism was heard of the Y.M.C.A. as a tool of Western imperialism,<sup>78</sup> McConaughy held consistently to the ideal of a mission to all the young men of India rather than to certain classes; gradually this viewpoint came to be understood and implemented by local Associations, and as his influence grew a real impact was made upon caste. At the beginning he had been willing to accept a subsidy for his general program in case of emergency. Indeed, Chamberlain and others had understood "that *all* financial responsibility was to be assumed *in starting the work* by the friends in America."<sup>79</sup> Yet McConaughy immediately set out to obtain funds in India. When he had succeeded he rejected Wishard's suggestion of outside help. No funds from the West were received and local support grew steadily.<sup>80</sup> This made impossible any subsidy to the struggling work in Japan where the emergency was chronic. McConaughy early emphasized in India the ecumenical concept, which the Y.M.C.A. did much to advance. This was one of the features that had interested the missionaries. In 1893 Dr. Jacob Chamberlain was reported as having declared before an important missionary gathering that "the cry for union" and "the strong desire that there should be one united Indian Church" were "to a certain extent fulfilled in the Y.M.C.A."<sup>81</sup>

By the mid-1890's the Indian Movement had passed the pioneering phase. In May, 1894 there were seventy-five Associations as against eighteen in 1889. Three strong local Associations—Madras, Bombay, Calcutta—were the pivots upon which enlarged national work swung. Madras in 1894 obtained an option on a strategically situated lot and the prospects of a modern building were excellent. Additional secretaries were in view. A thoughtful commentator wrote in 1904 that in all this the influence of the North American Movement had been strategic.<sup>82</sup>

#### BEGINNINGS IN CEYLON

"I consider the bearing of the work started in Ceylon upon the present movement in India too important to be ignored," wrote

Wishard in March, 1891. It will be recalled from Chapter 7 that the first student Y.M.C.A. on the American plan outside of North America had been organized—to Wishard's delight and at his suggestion—in Jaffna College on March 15, 1884, by Frank K. Sanders, a Ripon College graduate who had taken a mission teaching assignment in Ceylon. "Another one soon followed in a Normal Training School in Tellipallai near Jaffna," and two more were subsequently organized "through Sanders' instrumentality in [Ahmednagar] and Pasumalai, India."<sup>83</sup> In November, 1885, Sanders, as editor of the newly published *Bulletin* of the Jaffna College Y.M.C.A., reported the forming of the Jaffna Union of seven Associations; he further remarked that "as far as the editor's knowledge goes, there are now eleven YMC Associations in Ceylon." That at Colombo had been organized in 1859 by a colleague of George Williams; the association at Kandy—which "served European, Burgher, and Singalese young men"—in 1861.

The impulse started by Sanders (my part, he wrote afterward, "was little more than striking and applying the match—the fuel was ready, it ignited at once, and it needed no bellows") resulted after he returned to America in the indigenous growth of the Jaffna Union to fourteen Associations. Three hundred delegates from them greeted Wishard in December, 1889, at the first regularly organized Y.M.C.A. conference held in Asia.<sup>84</sup> The four-day meeting, called by Wishard and presided over by him, resembled a Northfield summer school with ball games, seminars on Y.M.C.A. methods, Bible readings, and inspirational addresses.<sup>85</sup> The conference hoped that a secretary might be obtained for Ceylon. Shortly afterward Jaffna and Colombo pastors and missionaries sent Wishard a formal request,<sup>86</sup> but it was not fulfilled until 1896.

#### AROUND THE WORLD WITH LUTHER WISHARD

Following his nine months in Japan, Wishard made the first of two visits to China in the autumn of 1889. Several student Y.M.C.A.'s had been organized earlier. The first was in the Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow in 1885; the second in the North China College at T'ungchou, near Peking, in 1886, and the third in the Presbyterian College at Hangchow in 1887.<sup>87</sup> The Hangchow Association had resulted from the letter sent by the Mt. Hermon Conference of 1886 to the students of mission schools. Wishard found the association at T'ungchou "more flourishing than any other in China or in all Asia," due largely to the

thorough foundation laid by Harlan P. Beach, its founder. It was carrying on devotional meetings, Bible study, committee work, entertainments, chapel preaching, deputations to surrounding villages, and missionary work of a very practical sort—paying for the education of a young man in a mission school in Africa.<sup>88</sup> Wishard also found a decaying work among students in Peking, which he reorganized. He reported that there was an Association in Amoy about two years old “composed of about seventy young business men,” which was ripe for a secretary,<sup>89</sup> but it was at Shanghai—where the first Y.M.C.A. in China had been formed during the 1870’s by non-Chinese young men<sup>90</sup>—that he finally endorsed a call to the North American Movement for a secretary. There he addressed “the largest conference of foreign missionaries ever assembled” (430 of them), who represented one-third of the Protestant missionary force in China. This preliminary excursion convinced him that although China was hardly ready for the kind of evangelism that had been successful in Japan, the dawn of opportunity would come there much sooner than was generally believed. A veteran missionary entreated him to return in the spring of 1890, when he carried out an extensive evangelistic tour of the colleges.<sup>91</sup>

Wishard everywhere left the impression that American Y.M.C.A. men were to be obtained for the asking. Morse, upon whom fell the burden of financing the growing work and even of Wishard’s own expenses, was forced to write him at Shanghai in April, 1890 that he “must go more slowly. . . .” Wishard therefore limited himself to recommending one man for China—to Shanghai—whence came to the International Committee in 1891 a request, unanimously adopted by the missionary society there and supported by the most elaborate argument yet presented, for “a secretary to work up the interests of the Y.M.C.A. in China.” Almost simultaneously a similar petition arrived from Peking. With deep regret Wishard left China, foreseeing there “Asia’s greatest Church, greatest in all enduring elements of true Christian manhood.”<sup>92</sup> The first American secretary, D. Willard Lyon, was sent to China in 1895, as we shall see in Chapter 17. Wishard’s visit was an important stone in the foundations upon which the work there was later built.

In Siam, Wishard found the Christian forces unprepared for the employment of Y.M.C.A. policies and methods but believed that the time would come when “they would be in demand,” perhaps after another decade of aggressive evangelization and education.<sup>93</sup> From Bangkok he went to Ceylon and thence to India where he remained six months



and traveled ten thousand miles, spending five weeks each in Madras and Calcutta and two weeks in Bombay. He visited twenty-seven other places, spending from one day to one week in each. He delivered "over one hundred public addresses to at least six thousand different students and graduates connected with thirty-three Christian and nineteen Government colleges and had very many conversations with students." He also met "at least three hundred missionaries connected with fifty-seven stations associated with fifteen church missionary societies."<sup>94</sup> From the perspective of two years Wishard was certain that "if the Associations in the West" would do their duty before God, the Y.M.C.A. would become "a powerful factor in the evangelization of India's fifty million young men."<sup>95</sup> A short visit to Burma convinced him that the situation there was "far more promising" than in Siam but not yet quite ripe enough to introduce the Association.<sup>96</sup>

It had been determined that Wishard would report to the Amsterdam Conference of the World's Alliance in August, 1891. Leaving India in early spring, he found evangelical Christianity "becoming anchored" in Egypt and was "deeply impressed with the great opening" which was there presented for a vigorous Association program.<sup>97</sup> Two and one-half months devoted to a vacation to the Sinai area and to Syria and Palestine convinced Wishard that in spite of the presence of a small but earnest Y.M.C.A. in Jerusalem, recently organized by Hind Smith, and of interesting companies of young men desirous of founding Associations at Nazareth and at Damascus, that the need here was "overshadowed by the urgent need in other countries." At Amsterdam Wishard "had many happy reunions" and reported on the situation in each country he had visited. He emphasized that success in establishing the Y.M.C.A. in oriental cities depended upon the missionaries and upon sending out "experienced general secretaries of university education." He dwelt especially upon the latter in contradiction to the British viewpoint as stated by Hind Smith on his tour which was also being reported.

Following the Conference Wishard was off to Russia where he soon discovered that the Y.M.C.A. had not been recognized by the Czar. In Moscow he saw the "intolerance of the Church of Russia and the opposition of the Government toward evangelical Christianity." In Persia five weeks were devoted to surveying the field, without positive results. Thirty-five days in the saddle—twelve hundred miles—from Persia to Alexandretta gave Wishard's party, which included his wife, contact

with remote but "very promising centers of Christian activity."<sup>98</sup> In the heart of the Kurdistan he found copies of *The Watchman* used as window panes.<sup>99</sup> At Harpoot the four members of the group conducted more than forty meetings and were pleased to find a Y.M.C.A. among the students of the missionary college.<sup>100</sup> At Aintab Wishard reviewed the work of the city Association which had been in existence almost ten years. Since 1888 it had been under the first general secretary in Asia, who had been trained at Springfield College; his organization had completed and financed the best Y.M.C.A. building in Asia.<sup>101</sup> Following two weeks in Greece, January of 1892 found Wishard in Constantinople. In Bulgaria he visited the country's one Association in Samokov Mission High School. Soon after, he met James B. Reynolds in Berlin, subsequently making a hurried tour of the European student capitals, where he "met former acquaintances and formed new ones" that helped to complete the "circle of world brotherhood" he had compassed in almost four years' travel—a circle "which three years later was destined to be completed in the World's Student Christian Federation," as will be described in Chapter 16.<sup>102</sup> Concerning the tour, Wishard concluded in his autobiography, which unfortunately remains unpublished:

The germ idea of the extension of the Student Movement to non-Christian lands which had been conceived as a result of reading the letter of greeting from students in Sapporo, Japan to the Agricultural College in Amherst had been made real and we had seen fulfilled the forecast made in the little pamphlet written in the autumn of 1884.<sup>103</sup>

Wishard returned to New York to face "the most anxious period" of his public life, for the "backward" attitude of the Movement toward the support of foreign extension required all of his energies as the first secretary of the foreign work department of the International Committee.

#### BEGINNINGS IN LATIN AMERICA

At the Northfield Conference of 1887 the urgent plea for a Y.M.C.A. secretary for India was "seconded and confirmed as to Brazil" by the Reverend George W. Chamberlain, a Presbyterian missionary to Brazil who had been a classmate of Morse at Princeton Seminary, and who continued "stirring around very vigorously to get a man for that country."<sup>104</sup> In the summer of 1890 he reported to Morse that he had obtained an outstanding young graduate of Macalester College, Myron A.

Clark (1866-1920), who had that spring received his M.A. with honors. Clark had been one of the founders and was first president of the boys' department of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A. and had acted as secretary of the Y.M.C.A. at Faribault, Minnesota, during two summers, and of Lexington, Missouri, one season. He was called as assistant secretary at Kansas City in 1890, committed to the Brazilian venture as soon as funds became available. These came first from Buffalo, St. Paul, and Albany with Chamberlain continuing active in promotion. Some Associations hesitated to underwrite the project until the usual call had come from mission boards on the field, inasmuch as Chamberlain was thus far almost the only sponsor. By March, 1891, this had been obtained, probably by Chamberlain, over the signatures of representatives of four missionary bodies other than his own.<sup>105</sup> Clark's support was subsequently met by several state and local Y.M.C.A.'s. At the Kansas City Convention of 1891 the delegates were told of requests for secretaries from China, Ceylon, and Brazil—"and while we wait, the calls multiply and press." Clark was introduced and spoke briefly; in August he sailed for São Paulo, to develop a work quite distinct from that of either Swift or McConaughy. His first years were discouraging, but he built solidly and came to be known as "brother," "simpatico," or "distinguished American" among the people of his adopted land.<sup>106</sup>

Clark devoted his first five months to learning the language. Brazil, the first Roman Catholic nation into which the American Y.M.C.A. had projected itself, presented a radically different picture from either Japan or India. Its Europeanized culture seemed progressive but secular to Clark who was shocked by strange folkways; he thought the culture indifferent,<sup>107</sup> neither pagan nor Christian. Thirty years of Protestant missionary effort had gained but six thousand converts in a population of fifteen million. Outside of Rio de Janeiro the field for any type of Association work was at first meagre; in that city the Protestant young men were mostly from the clerical and laboring classes. Yet Chamberlain had chosen well: Protestantism was destined to make in Brazil its strongest impression upon a Latin American nation.<sup>108</sup>

There was no evidence of previous Y.M.C.A. activity in Brazil, although an Association had been maintained in Buenos Aires for four years from 1870;<sup>109</sup> it was revived in 1883 with advice obtained from the International Committee<sup>110</sup> and soon after his arrival invited Clark to visit Argentina. In 1881 an Association had been organized at Concepción, Chile, by a missionary who had been a member of a college

Association in the United States,<sup>111</sup> and Clark once planned a vacation trip to visit this group.

Chamberlain had recommended that the work be inaugurated at São Paulo and Clark began there but found "an utter lack of preparation for such an organization as ours." In August, 1892, a visit to Rio opened possibilities. He became engaged and married to a Brazilian young woman and in May, 1893, established himself in the capital. In June, after the most careful preparation, Clark organized an Association on the North American plan. In August strategically located quarters were opened. Handicapped by revolution—the rooms were damaged by shellfire on one occasion—the work was merely maintained the first year. The Week of Prayer was held in spite of the state of siege which interrupted the life of the city for months; yellow fever broke out and both Clark and his wife fell victims but survived to resuscitate the Association in May, 1894, whence its effective beginning must be reckoned. "The month of June," he wrote, "was one of continued progress and animation." The first annual meeting registered a membership of eighty-six and "quite encouraging" program statistics; another Association was anticipated at Campos. The second annual report showed the membership as 108. By August, 1895, there were three Associations in Brazil—at Rio, Campos, and São Paulo. Continued growth was steady but understandably slow as McBurney had foreseen long before Clark sailed.<sup>112</sup> A building at Rio did not materialize for several more long years. The first national convention met in 1903; Clark hailed it as the first interdenominational gathering to be held in South America.

The International Committee aided in the development of the Y.M.C.A. of Mexico City. A "Christian Society" of the young men of the English colony there provided the nucleus for an Association in January, 1891, of which the first secretary was George N. Taylor, who had made a preliminary survey on behalf of the International Committee. Taylor's untimely death in 1893, when the Association had just obtained a home, was followed by the resignation of his successor only a few months after taking office. In the mid-1890's Edward P. Gaston, an American business man with Y.M.C.A. experience, took over as general secretary and shortly liquidated a debt, made the gymnasium the best of its size in the city, and obtained the support of high government officials.<sup>113</sup> This Association gradually expanded its program to Mexicans.



One of the most interesting foreign Y.M.C.A.'s of this period was that of Honolulu formed in 1869 by ten young Americans, several of whom, notably the Association's first president, Sanford B. Dole, later became the "makers of Hawaii." A reading room was early established and in 1876 a Chinese Y.M.C.A. was organized for the immigrants of that period. It did a notable work. During the next decade, work for Japanese was inaugurated; the program for native Hawaiians was also kept separate from that for Americans.<sup>114</sup> A secretary of the Honolulu Association was recruited in 1885 by H. J. McCoy, the aggressive San Francisco secretary, who visited the Islands in that year.<sup>115</sup> In the mid-1890's the Honolulu Y.M.C.A. published a paper, held religious services at the barracks, admitted women to membership—two of whom carried on the boys' work program—and reported a Y.M.C.A. among the lepers of Molokai.<sup>116</sup> This unusual Association was a remarkable example of what occurred when the Y.M.C.A. idea was carried to a foreign shore by American emigrants.

#### THE "KANSAS-SUDAN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT"

In the midst of the launching of the foreign venture, the integrity of the entire American Y.M.C.A. in its relation to the churches and virtually every cardinal point in the philosophy of the foreign work were dramatically challenged by a faith mission movement that developed under Association auspices in the distraught Midwest of depression, drought, and Populism. The "Kansas-Sudan Missionary Movement" brought into the open the first serious tensions between state and local Association units and the International Committee. Compounded of misguided enthusiasm, Biblical literalism, and the missionary conscience which with its disinterested concern for the perishing millions of heathendom belied the isolationism of mid-America, it showed how much the Y.M.C.A.'s resembled the sects of the time.

The movement was actuated by George S. Fisher, a protégé of Weidensall, who had gone to Kansas in 1886 as state secretary at the age of thirty. In a comparatively short time he developed the largest state staff and budget in the country. Placing great emphasis upon rural work and evangelism, Fisher obtained large numbers of conversions and gradually introduced the missionary motive, while building an organizational structure loyal to himself. He attracted the more extreme evangelicals who were soon to move toward fundamentalism and under whose oratory state conventions subscribed unheard of sums.

By 1889 the Associations in Kansas had thirty-one general secretaries against nine when Fisher had taken over; the state budget had risen from \$4,400 to \$15,000; thirty-five Associations had grown to sixty-four; and in the previous year there had been 844 conversions compared with about half that many the year Fisher came. In demand in neighboring states, Fisher was "a flaming evangel[ist] of a gospel that centered attention on complete personal surrender and commitment" and which caught many secretaries in its enthusiasm. One of them was told that "conversion, regeneration, or decision for the Christian life was merely one step; the next and most important was to allow the Holy Spirit to dominate one's life completely." The mechanics of organization and careful planning were referred to the Spirit, according to this observer. When Fisher was threatened by lack of funds, he placed his staff upon what he called the "Biblical" basis of salary in terms of need rather than ability or position. The movement "swept like a prairie fire not only over the West and South-west, but pushed northward into Iowa and Minnesota."<sup>117</sup>

The International Committee watched with some misgiving. Brainerd, who had distrusted Fisher all along, wrote Weidensall that "the exhibition is of such an extraordinary nature" that it would bear "the most watchful and cautious attention."<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, in view of the Kansas statistics and other pressures, Weidensall was not sent there. Fisher, "left practically alone as far as the influence of the International Committee was concerned . . . was led by his own almost irrepressible nature" into untrod paths, as Weidensall wrote afterward.<sup>119</sup>

In June, 1889, Fisher held a "Bible School" on the Northfield pattern at which a highly emotional appeal was made for men and women to give their lives to missionary service in Africa—the Africa of Stanley and Livingstone. The prophet of this "wildcat scheme"—as a layman afterward called it—was the Reverend Henry Grattan Guinness, of London, who had appeared at the Confederation Convention in New Orleans in 1860 and upon numerous Y.M.C.A. platforms in the interim. He now proposed a faith missionary expedition, with no denominational ties, to "the largest, most difficult, and most neglected portion of the world"—the Sudan. Several general secretaries were among those who volunteered.<sup>120</sup> As the summer progressed, Guinness, accompanied by a Congo youth, spoke before other Y.M.C.A. gatherings throughout

the Midwest and his words were echoed by a prominent speaker at Northfield.<sup>121</sup>

The climax of enthusiasm was reached in October at the first interstate convention of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory Y.M.C.A.'s. John V. Farwell and Robert E. Speer were featured; Moody spoke fourteen times; Guinness fanned "the missionary fire" until it became "a great flame and melted many hearts as the lost condition of the world was forced upon them." Morse appealed to the nine hundred delegates "to respect the understanding and tacit compact between the Associations and the churches" of which this was a flagrant breach. They responded favorably, as did Fisher, but this was only a technical reservation.<sup>122</sup> At the final session several secretaries who had volunteered were given a farewell; a tall hat . . . was passed and came back "containing a goodly collection of watches, rings and other articles of value to be used in this great work."<sup>123</sup> The first volunteer sailed the next January and was followed by eight others, including two women, one Negro, and several secretaries. Three died of fever shortly after reaching the tropics. A fourth, who could have been a member of the first "Hi-Y" club—at Chapman—or of a similar group, such as will be described in Chapter 11, for he was only eighteen years of age, soon joined them.<sup>124</sup> Declaring that "divine providence would protect them," these zealots refused the customary medical precautions; even the usual diplomatic arrangements were ignored and the British government protested to Washington that they constituted a health hazard.<sup>125</sup>

The effect of this upon the Movement can well be imagined. The State Y.M.C.A. of Kansas could not be ordered to drop the project. The crisis was real; Morse's attempt to control it by modifying a resolution proved completely ineffectual, and everywhere the Associations and the churches looked to New York for light. The International Committee kept in the background for a time. "When a state may be off the track," wrote Brainerd, the utmost care and patience are required "for its successful treatment." Later, he became "exceedingly tired" of the whole business and declared that he didn't "want any more Fishers in the far western states"; any secretary who showed sympathy with the Sudan affair aroused his ire.<sup>126</sup> McBurney forthrightly condemned the movement as a "breach of contract with the churches" that would be "suicidal to the association cause in America."

Although some individuals were swept away, the other infected

states were brought into line during the winter of 1889-90, in spite of the fact that the Kansas volunteers evangelized widely and Fisher attended most midwestern state conventions. The International staff and numerous laymen concentrated upon obtaining resolutions from these conventions,<sup>127</sup> condemning this "departure from the recognized principles of the Y.M.C.A." that were intended to avoid theological controversy.<sup>128</sup> A ministerial organization in Kansas considered the movement disloyal to the churches and challenged the state committee to change its policy or face a boycott by the clergy. The majority of ministers who preached on the subject counseled the Kansas group to adhere to the basic policy of the Movement and the *Era* published numerous articles by distinguished clerical leaders who took the same position. The *Advance* of Chicago, a Congregational paper, reflected the general viewpoint when it declared that the Y.M.C.A. was justified in sending missionaries if it worked closely with the churches and missionaries on the fields. The International Committee asked to meet with the Kansas state committee, and, against his better judgment, Brainerd, Morse, McBurney, Ober, and five others went to Topeka. A lively, but to the Kansas men "very unsatisfactory" discussion—subsequently inaccurately reported, with recriminations on both sides—failed to convince either. The Kansas state convention in October, 1890, tempered its missionary resolutions somewhat but Fisher's power remained undiminished; he was allowed to defend himself in the *Era* that autumn but after a few articles only the official viewpoint appeared in the periodical.

In the spring of 1891 the issue was submitted to key laymen across the country by means of a cogent brief prepared by Morse; the resulting overwhelming vote of confidence in the International Committee's policies helped provide a favorable atmosphere for the forthcoming International Convention. Weidensall was sent to Kansas but Fisher held firmly to premillennialism and verbal inspiration, interpreting the latter as a corollary of the word "infallible" in the Portland basis. He insisted upon the faith principle of support of his staff, and doggedly planned on increased Sunday School work. Weidensall made no impression upon Fisher but expected resignations of prominent laymen from both the Topeka Association and the state committee to bring a sudden collapse.<sup>129</sup>

When the Convention of 1891 met in Kansas City the strongest oratorical artillery and resolutions were trained upon missions. Fisher had



tried to offset this by appealing to the Movement, over the signatures of a score of lesser secretaries, for delegates sympathetic to the doctrines he claimed were the true interpretation of the Portland basis and hence the foundation of the Kansas scheme, but the one argument of this sort that reached the floor of the Convention was disposed of by invoking the rule against doctrinal controversy.<sup>130</sup> When the Kansas convention met that November, a resolution renouncing the missionary project was passed by a safe majority, but such was Fisher's strength that he was re-elected. He resigned a few weeks later and was last heard from as "world's secretary" of the "World's Gospel Union" of New York, Chicago, and Abilene. Association work in Kansas gradually returned to normal, the International Committee giving careful supervision.<sup>131</sup>

The "Kansas Movement" revealed growing tensions within the Associations that were soon to produce abundant evidence that the American Y.M.C.A.'s had passed their pioneer phase.<sup>132</sup> Other questions would before long be asked about the Portland test. The qualifications of secretaries would become a major concern. The Kansas heresy focused attention for the first time upon conservative doctrinal irregularity. However, the chief immediate results of this challenge to institutional orthodoxy were the crystallization of foreign work policy and the reaffirmation of the traditional relation of the Associations to the churches. Wishard wrote from China that Fisher's movement ignored the guarantee that the Y.M.C.A. would not undertake any work except "when called to it by a large majority of the missionaries residing in the city where the association is [to be] organized." He also showed how the Kansas action had compromised him with the World's Committee, to which he had given the same pledge.<sup>133</sup> The position of the International Committee and of the vast majority of the membership was summarized by a featured speaker at the Kansas City Convention: "The call has come from the Church through its missionary agents to this organization as such, for the precise work that it is organized to do."<sup>134</sup>

#### ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPORT OF THE FOREIGN WORK

"There seems more need at the present time for regulating than for arousing the missionary enthusiasm of Y.M.C.A.'s," declared Edwin F. See, metropolitan secretary of Brooklyn, before the New York state convention of 1890. Although See had the Kansas movement in mind,

his remark was apropos of the situation in the Movement as a whole, for the speed with which the foreign work had developed and the *laissez-faire* nature of its spread had entirely outrun available administrative facilities. As we have seen, the host of personnel, financial, and supervisory problems created by the expansion were at first handled by McBurney or Morse through student channels, but after 1889 by a subcommittee of the International Committee on "Work in Foreign Mission Lands." During Wishard's absence—and largely because of his world-wide promotion—the need for an executive became acute. His service with the International Committee in that capacity began the day he landed in New York, April 21, 1892, and continued six and one-half years. Finding himself for the second time in his relationship with the Committee the pioneer of a new venture, he resolved to move slowly—though he was several times chided by McBurney for not doing so—convinced that "a sufficient and efficient base of supplies could not be developed with great rapidity."<sup>135</sup>

The knottiest problems were those of the relationships between the men on the field, their constituencies, their colleagues, and the International Committee. The position of the foreign secretary, whom it was early agreed must not be called a missionary,<sup>136</sup> with regard to his constituency was often a delicate one. We are in a position, declared Swift before the Philadelphia Convention of 1889, "to disabuse both our Japanese brethren and ourselves of the impression that we seek them as an ignorant, degraded class of men." Rather, "we are going to some of the brightest and proudest men on the face of the earth." Swift was early forced to complain in the *Era* that careless use of the words "native" and "heathen" could wreck his enterprise, but the International Committee continued to use both in its minutes.<sup>137</sup> Although it was necessary to work intimately with local leaders, the actual responsibility of the secretary to his newly created indigenous committee was often ambiguous and the principle of nationally controlled movements frequently underwent considerable strain as the man on the field tried to serve two masters. The concept of a model local Association for each country underwent such rapid transformation in India upon McConaughy's move to the national secretaryship that the New York committee expressed "deep concern" at his tendency "to push out into new enterprises without previous consultation;" he "manifested a disposition to anticipate the judgment of the Committee and also to ignore its judgment when expressed."<sup>138</sup> A work-

able division of responsibilities was hammered out in the pragmatic manner characteristic of the Movement. Although the International Committee tended to cling to policies that often seemed on the field to be theoretical and dogmatic, it usually yielded to cogent argument by the men abroad. Like Weidensall before him, Swift was forced to protest the attitude of the Committee on more than one occasion. If foreign secretaries were not entrusted with discretionary powers sufficient to enable them to pursue their work according to their more intimate knowledge of their field and its peculiar needs he wrote the Committee in 1893, then "surely the secretary is not needed and the work might better be carried on by direct correspondence by the Committee with the foreign Associations."<sup>139</sup>

While flexibility was not one of its more obvious characteristics in these post-Kansas movement years, the Committee did attempt to clarify the areas in which it considered its authority paramount. In 1895 a long discussion attended by both Swift and McConaughy established as "within the province of the International Committee":

1. The maintenance of the Portland evangelical test.
2. The fixing of the salaries of the foreign secretaries.
3. The solicitation of funds on the home front.

"The Committee or advisory board on the foreign field" would have charge of policies regarding location and the use of the secretary's time.<sup>140</sup> This tardy recognition of local autonomy and the professional competence and integrity of its own representatives was secured at high cost to the men on the field. Swift had confessed to Wishard in 1892 that his disappointments all came from America.<sup>141</sup> This History cannot enter the maze of detail concerning an almost infinite variety of personnel matters, yet in most of them—from marriage allowance through furlough arrangements to secretarial assistance (he claimed in 1892 that preparation of the report materials demanded of him by headquarters for promotion took half his time)—Swift, more than either McConaughy or Clark, was the "guinea pig."

"Getting men was more difficult than getting money," said Wishard of his administration. While the standards proposed by the Madras missionaries who expected the Y.M.C.A. men to be theological graduates were only occasionally reached, Wishard's recommendations to the Amsterdam Conference of 1891 usually were. Repeating these in a letter to the Western Secretarial Institute, he held that the foreign secretary must be "a man of experience as a general secretary"—or,

as Swift put it, the candidate should have a year's grinding in McBurney's mill. He also "must be a man of college education."<sup>142</sup> These technical requirements were not met in all cases, with consequent disappointment and inefficiency, but the screening process of the pioneer period produced an astonishingly high percentage of outstanding leaders. It soon became evident that a prime requisite was the ability to work behind the scenes in the cultivation of indigenous leadership. This was particularly true in Japan, whence Swift wrote McBurney in 1893 that he was "in danger of being looked upon as the 'foreign bishop' of the Young Men's Christian Association." The policy of the International Committee, he advised R. S. Miller, Jr., who later joined his staff, was that secretaries "should work mainly in the developing of native general secretaries and not in trying to build up a work for themselves," while keeping in the background. He went on to say:

To do this requires much personal humbling, great love for Christ, and great faith that God will control and direct affairs which our earnest desires, and teaching seem powerless to affect. We have to constantly remember that we are working for a people that are very different from ourselves, and that the trouble may be often in our not being able to understand them and the situation as it really exists in the oriental mind and not as it may appear to us.<sup>143</sup>

Unconsciously Swift was revealing the secret of his own inner strength—the reason for the great affection the Japanese were to hold for him and the motive behind his dedication of life and fortune.

The natural extension of the idea of indigenous movements was the discovery and training of local leaders, in which Swift was both fortunate and able, recruiting in S. Niwa the first Asiatic secretary, who, like many others to follow him, soon saw the desirability of further study in the United States. As was indicated previously in this chapter, foreign students early began to enroll at Springfield College, which always numbered a notable group of them among its student body. Several foreign secretaries obtained in-service training in American Y.M.C.A.'s in this period, notably on the Pacific coast.<sup>144</sup>

In establishing the foreign work, the International Committee obligated itself to support each project only to the extent of paying the salary and expenses of its own man on the field, from moneys "specially contributed" that comprised an account separate from its regular funds. This was soon interpreted to mean that all additional costs must be obtained on the field, a natural corollary of the idea of self-supporting,



indigenous movements.<sup>145</sup> In establishing scales for salary and perquisites the experience of mission boards was at first relied upon, but it was soon found that the demands made upon Y.M.C.A. men were sufficiently unique that relatively higher remunerations were desirable, a policy, subject to frequent review, which has tended to remain in force. In these matters the Committee, wrote Wishard to Swift in 1894, did not propose to be "bound by precedents or cast-iron regulations of any kind, preferring to deal with each important question upon its distinctive merits." From the beginning Wishard insisted that salary and expenses be entirely adequate, writing to Morse from Tokyo that "we may as well begin our foreign work with this matter clearly before the Associations." Yet converting this into policy and underwriting it required years and immense hardships on the field, to say nothing of the strenuous efforts of Morse and others at home.

The Convention of 1891 heard the International Committee's recommendation that as the foreign work became established it "should take its place among the regular charges upon the Associations until it becomes self-sustaining,"<sup>146</sup> but the subsequent sixty years have not produced the fulfillment of that hope. "It will be a very easy thing to get mixed up in this work so that we will not know where we stand," wrote McBurney in 1891.<sup>147</sup> A "special tax" or percentage financing plan for obtaining support from members rather than relying upon friends was seriously proposed by Swift in 1892, but the Committee was not then favorable to such a method,<sup>148</sup> nor did the Movement accept Wishard's proposal that local Associations contribute regularly. Financing in the period covered by this chapter was mostly personal and fortuitous, such as Wilder's solicitation in Minneapolis or Wishard's approach to Wanamaker for funds for his tour. Most of it was at first handled by Morse, though upon Wishard's return he gradually shouldered the burden, which was tremendously increased by the depression of 1893.<sup>149</sup> "The financial support at home has not been organized," he wrote Swift the next year.

The maintenance of the regular budgets of Swift, McConaughy, and Clark was further complicated by the demands of the Tokyo building fund.<sup>150</sup> In fact, the financial burden during Wishard's administration caused him "the most anxious period" of his public life. The Committee, which gave him little aid, made it clear that "not only the incomes of the secretaries on the field but the administrative budget," which included his own salary, would be provided for only by his

efforts.<sup>151</sup> The nature of the problem was first brought home to him at a meeting of general secretaries in 1893 when he realized that "they were going to be lined up if at all only through prayer and fasting and everlasting prodding" which almost disheartened him. Yet to this pioneer promoter must be given the credit for laying the foundations for the largest gifts received by the foreign work. As the result of an address and careful cultivation by Wishard, "Mr. Rockefeller began a series of contributions to the student movement abroad which has been prolonged and has piled up into many hundreds of thousands."<sup>152</sup> In 1895 the Committee reviewed its financial policies and attempted to co-ordinate solicitation for all purposes, authorizing an appeal for funds "for both branches of the work"—home and foreign. That this was highly desirable will become obvious from a consideration of the methods pursued up to that time.

The first offer of support for the foreign venture came from the Y.M.C.A. of Minneapolis in the late spring of 1887, as was indicated in Chapter 7. As interest in Swift's mission spread, other local and state Associations offered or were solicited to share in it. Philadelphia enthusiastically promised to support McConaughy but failed so completely that for a time the project in India was seriously jeopardized.<sup>153</sup> The interest and reliability of local Y.M.C.A.'s fluctuated so violently—Wishard used the word "disastrous"—that it was necessary to turn to other means. One of the most successful devices was the use of Moody's name on form letters sent to his supporters across the country. McBurney likewise circularized the constituency and Brainerd suggested a per capita gift of fifteen cents a year from each of the one hundred thousand members in the country. Similar letters were sent out by the Canadian Associations. Efforts were made to interest "men of means" in the entire support of one secretary. Colleges were appealed to for support of an alumnus or volunteer. Though this method was looked at somewhat askance by the student department, Cornell sent Miller to Japan. Subscriptions were regularly taken at conventions, which were one of the main sources of support for all phases of the work.<sup>154</sup>

The extension fund promoted by special secretary Taggart, beginning in 1890, proposed to earmark one-third, later reduced to one-fourth, of its receipts for foreign work, but the most productive method of raising funds, aside from Morse or Wishard's cultivation, was by

the foreign secretary himself either before leaving home or while on furlough. Yet it became necessary for the Committee to forbid its men to solicit without clearing with headquarters and to route all funds through its treasury, the latter decision resulting from Swift's taking a teaching post in order to pay a pledge of \$500 he had made to his own budget.<sup>155</sup> The general publicity methods characteristic of the Movement were utilized in promoting the foreign work, with the significant addition of such devices as mission study books and libraries, and the beginning in 1894 of *Foreign Mail*, a periodical made up of carefully edited excerpts from the letters and reports of men on the several fields. The Student Volunteer Movement continued its aggressive promotion of the cause.

Thus were the foundations laid for what may well have been the greatest development of the American Y.M.C.A. century. Of the pioneers of the foreign work Wishard wrote, in an unconsciously autobiographical vein, that

they buried many of their worriments and defeats and were too modest to record all their victories; their defeats were but the beginning of new engagements, the ordering of the battle which they always won, if human power backed by divine could win. . . . They have been satisfied in the realization that, where they labored and other men entered into their labors, the sower and the reaper rejoice together. They have cleared the wilderness where now are being built cities of refuge for the young men of great countries, and continents. . . .<sup>156</sup>

And yet, continued Wishard, the work had

long been too vast and far-reaching in its possibilities for its life to be conditioned or limited by dependence upon any particular man or men. It is too vitally related to the councils and outreaches of eternity to be entrusted entirely to anyone of finite limitations. . . . The Student Movement throughout the world is too ramified, too universal, too productive to be centralized in any one mind or any one executive. It is absolutely dependent upon the mind and heart of Him who inhabits eternity. What it has accomplished for its generation and its century is indeed but the genesis of the ever-increasing, ever-evolving, ever-abiding service which will mark its life until the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our Lord and Christ.<sup>157</sup>

And so the foreign venture, still intimately related to student work, faced toward the twentieth century.

## Chapter 9 The American Y.M.C.A. and the Christian Religion

The best thing for you and for me is to engage in earnest Christian work for the bodies and souls of men. . . .

—ROBERT R. MCBURNEY, 1893

. . . In theory and practice the Young Men's Christian Association recognizes the essential unity of the Church of Christ, and is bound to extend the hand of fellowship, love, and sympathy to all who, in accordance with the Gospel, honor the Head, and who love the Lord Jesus, whatever their ecclesiastical name, or the peculiarities of their denominational polity. The shibboleths of sects, the rules of church order and discipline, the minor differences in creeds . . . must be ignored by us. . . .

—CONVENTION OF 1869<sup>1</sup>

THE MOVEMENT OF WHICH THIS BOOK is a History was in the nineteenth century the outgrowth of the American Protestant churches. It shared their climate of opinion in theology, ethics, and social thought. It mirrored these facets of American life as did no other institution. Its God, its Bible, and its organizational pattern were derived from the religious bodies from which it sprang and after which it modeled its institutional forms. All this has been implicit in the eight chapters that have gone before, but it remains here to set it forth somewhat more specifically. Without an examination of the theology and the ethics of the Associations, the picture that has been sketched of their development in this formative period would remain incomplete.

No problem faced by the revived Movement emerging from the Civil War was more acute or fraught with more serious consequence than its relations with the churches. When Robert Weidensall later reviewed the difficulties he had faced in his first field work, he pointed not only to the evil effects of the War, such as the shifting population and economic stresses, but to denominational jealousies and the narrow sectarianism of the times. When it was imperative to develop close ties



with the churches, he found that the purpose of the Associations was often misunderstood. This was in part because many Y.M.C.A.'s were not clear as to their aims, and there was considerable fear lest the Movement become another denomination and usurp the work of the Church. Its interdenominationalism was often suspect, and in many communities the Sunday School movement tended to absorb such interest as there was in unified work; some ministers feared that the Associations' union meetings would become sounding boards for doctrinal disputes—which in a few cases proved true.<sup>2</sup> The Y.M.C.A.'s of the post-War period were almost entirely dependent upon the churches, so that the cultivation of their good will, their solicitation for financial support, the attendance of ministers at Association meetings and conferences, their approval of the lay activities that the Movement fostered—all these demanded the utmost diplomacy in dealing with the clergy and the local church as well as the cultivation of amicable relations with the denominations themselves.

#### THE EVANGELICAL TEST BECOMES MOVEMENT POLICY

Yet to suggest that the problem was merely a matter of "public relations," in the usual sense in which that word is used, would be to misunderstand completely the nature of this problem in the post-Civil War era. The relation of the Association Movement to the churches was the determining factor in whether or not the Y.M.C.A. was to become a major American institution, for without the wholehearted support of the Protestant public it could hope to be little more than another young men's improvement society, with the remains of which the institutional graveyards of the time were well filled.

Churchmen began to insist that the Movement declare itself both with regard to its ecclesiastical intentions and its theology. The leadership of the Y.M.C.A. recognized the importance of a precise formulation of policy in regard to these two matters and early went on record that it had no separatist aspirations. The Association is "a mission of the evangelical churches to young men," editorialized *The Watchman* in 1879, expressing what had long been held as a basic tenet. The fifth of McBurney's "settled principles" of 1888 was "that the Churches to which our members belong have a prior claim on their sympathy and labors."<sup>3</sup>

But if the growing Movement expected to obtain the hearty support of the churches it was imperative that it identify itself unequivocally

with evangelical or trinitarian ideology. The evangelical test had been a cardinal point in the organization of the Boston Association in 1851, and the majority of pre-Civil War Y.M.C.A.'s had adopted it. The first American Convention, in 1854, had recommended it but the revised Articles of Confederation of 1859 had used the broader Paris Basis, narrowed by Americans to emphasize doctrine rather than faith. The Convention of 1863 had nullified this organizational foundation by extending its invitation to all Y.M.C.A.'s of the loyal states, regardless of their membership bases.

With the close of the War the issue was raised afresh by the New York leaders in particular and broached to the Albany Convention of 1866, which recommended to the various Associations that they make "Christian character and sympathy with the Evangelical principles of our organization, rather than ecclesiastical connection or representation, the basis of their membership and government." The New York state convention which followed soon after agreed that "none but Christian young men should be admitted to active membership in these associations." The next year it discussed the evangelical test and heard McBurney urge the limitation of active membership "to those who are members in good standing in evangelical churches." When the discussion revealed considerable division, McBurney made one of his rare but stirring addresses, declaring his belief that the evangelical test was the most important issue before the Movement. The motion was adopted, and other state conventions followed suit.

The February, 1868, *Quarterly* featured on its first page a strong article by Brainerd supporting the evangelical basis. He took issue with those who proposed "good moral character" in its place, and appealed to the Paris Basis as the universal statement of evangelical doctrine or principles. Rejecting moralism, he declared the Associations to be emphatically Christian and "an arm of the Church, as much as the American Board or any other of its many kindred corporations." If we now surrender this unique principle, concluded the chairman of the Executive Committee, these Associations would add another "long, sad, dark chapter to that portion of our history which now records the utter failure" of groups resting on other bases. "The work we have in hand cannot safely be committed to those who do not heartily love God, and who do not openly avow that love."

When the International Convention met at Detroit in 1868, almost 60 per cent of the Associations reporting to the Executive Committee

had the evangelical test of membership. Eight per cent more required church membership without distinction of denomination. Thirty per cent reported a "good character" test.<sup>4</sup> Although it admitted that the practice of "permitting all young men of good moral character to exercise a voice of control as voters, and even to hold office," had not been disastrous, the Executive Committee recommended to the Convention that it go on record in favor of the requirement as the "unvarying test of active membership in the Y.M.C.A.'s." It also asked for authorization to use "all reasonable and proper measures" to get local Associations to write it into their constitutions. Both McBurney and Brainerd worked actively among the delegates in behalf of this legislation, with the result that it was overwhelmingly adopted in the form in which they had written it:

*Resolved*, That, as these organizations bear the name of Christian, and profess to be engaged directly in the Saviour's service, so it is clearly their duty to maintain the control and management of all their affairs, in the hands of those who profess to love and publicly avow their faith in Jesus, the Redeemer, as divine, and who testify their faith by becoming and remaining members of churches held to be Evangelical and that such persons, and none others, should be allowed to vote or hold office.<sup>5</sup>

Upon legal advice the definition of "evangelical churches" had been deliberately omitted, there being neither clergymen nor trained theologians on the Committee. It was intended that interpretation of the phrase would be left to popular understanding of its meaning. The resolution, it should be noted, was a recommendation only.<sup>6</sup> The results expected from this move were not entirely satisfactory to the Committee, although the action was heartily approved by those evangelical denominations that noticed it. "A cavalry force is added to the hosts of the Lord," wrote a contributor to the *Congregational Review* in September.<sup>7</sup>

The Committee asked for a reaffirmation of the test by the next Convention, together with "the adoption of some stringent instructions to the agents of the Convention, in regard to the organization of any Associations upon a basis other than that so approved." When the matter came before the Portland Convention (1869), two delegates asked to have the Detroit resolution clarified. The Executive Committee has asked for a resolution stating the qualifications of membership, commented General O. O. Howard, and has specified membership in an evangelical church: "What do the words 'Evangelical Church' mean? Is it one whose members love the Lord Jesus Christ?"

Thane Miller of Cincinnati called out "That's just it." A minister arose to point out that "many Unitarians in our churches and Associations . . . love the Lord Jesus Christ as much as either of us" and they should be admitted. But another clergyman doubted that anyone could really love the Lord Jesus Christ if he denied "that he is the Son of the living God." A third minister felt that although there might be "some good, moral Unitarians" it was unsafe "to take them into our full fraternity."

The Reverend Howard Crosby of New York, a charter member of the New York Y.M.C.A. and its second president, then minister of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church and later chancellor of New York University, proposed that evangelical churches be defined as those believing in "the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, as our Divine Redeemer, received by faith, as the sole source of salvation from eternal death." Another clergyman and a layman both suggested modifications of this, and then it was proposed to recommit the resolution to the special committee that had studied it. The move was frustrated but before tempers became too frayed the Convention united in prayer—as was the custom when discussion approached the boiling point—and sang a hymn. The matter was then referred to a special committee.

McBurney obtained the floor and named the members of the committee. With Crosby as chairman, it comprised five who had championed the orthodox viewpoint in the discussion: General Howard, an eminent Congregationalist and at that time president of the Washington Y.M.C.A.; the Reverend Samuel Henry Lee, a Congregational minister of Greenfield, Massachusetts, who had received his theological training at Yale and was later to teach at Oberlin and to be president of American International College at Springfield, Massachusetts;<sup>8</sup> the Reverend George Monro Grant, pastor of St. Matthew's, the leading congregation of the Church of Scotland in Halifax and later to be principal of Queen's University;<sup>9</sup> and the Reverend Day Otis Kellogg, rector of Grace Church, Providence, Rhode Island<sup>10</sup>—two Congregationalists, two Presbyterians, and one Episcopalian. They retired while the Convention, following prayer by Moody, took the annual subscription for the support of the Executive Committee.

The committee returned after about two hours to recommend the reaffirmation of the Detroit resolution. To it they added as "a definition of Evangelical churches, the following":



And we hold those churches to be Evangelical which, maintaining the Holy Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ (the only begotten of the Father, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, in whom dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and who was made sin for us, though knowing no sin, bearing our sins in His own body on the tree), as the only name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment.<sup>11</sup>

"The Report," according to the *Proceedings* of the Convention, "was adopted with entire unanimity and great enthusiasm, the Convention rising and involuntarily breaking out in singing, 'All hail the power of Jesus' name.' " McBurney later remarked that he had never heard that hymn sung more enthusiastically or with greater emotion. "Strong men wept like children," and the New York secretary realized that the action would make "an indelible mark upon the Association movement of the continent." Later the same afternoon the Convention voted that Y.M.C.A.'s formed after that date would be admitted to its future sessions only if they were composed of "young men in communion with Evangelical churches" and required that test for "active membership, and the right to hold office."<sup>12</sup>

To later generations the Portland Test appeared to be an involved theological statement, almost a creed. It was neither, nor was it derived in phrase or word from any of the great creeds of Christendom or from denominational liturgy or statements of faith. General Howard had suggested that the committee "use only Scriptural language in the definition," and this was done. The "test" was a simple compilation of New Testament phrases currently accepted as proof texts for the doctrines held by orthodox Protestants—a vivid example of the central place of the Bible in the Protestantism of the time:

Only begotten Son of God. John 3: 18.  
 The Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father. II John : 3.  
 Lord of lords and King of kings. Rev. 17: 14.  
 For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead  
 bodily. Col. 2: 9.  
 For He hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin.  
 II Cor. 5: 21.  
 Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the  
 tree. I Peter 2: 24.  
 For there is none other name under heaven given among  
 men, whereby we must be saved. Acts 4: 12.  
 And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but  
 the righteous into life eternal. Matt. 25: 46.

Both Conventions and Committee refused to name the evangelical

churches. The Committee published a pamphlet, of which more than 20,000 copies were distributed, setting forth the organization's position, but no denominational distinctions were ever drawn. Where a problem arose the local community had to make its own decision.<sup>13</sup>

The rapid growth of the Movement, as far as that could be aided by the churches, was now assured. "Wide and favorable" comment appeared in the religious press. Those who had been uncertain as to where the Movement stood were now persuaded of the "genuinely loyal and vital relation of the Association to the churches." McBurney later dated from the Portland Convention "a permanent growth and a sympathy and co-operation on the part of the evangelical pastors such as the Associations had not experienced before." By 1873 only thirty-five of the 432 Associations reporting to the Committee did not conform or failed to furnish copies of their constitutions. Gradually the small number adhering to a general test of good character declined. Statistics indicated that they had a higher mortality rate than did the regular Associations, *Association Monthly* editorializing in 1872 that "no single rock has wrecked more of our societies than the unwise bestowal of voting power and official station upon merely moral men." Morse wrote of this development that "it was the church basis Associations which procured the Secretaries who were needed to give their lives to the work, the buildings necessary for adequate equipment, and also a membership the majority of which were associate, non-voting members." By 1885 the test had been almost unanimously adopted.<sup>14</sup>

The test was applied rigidly to all new Associations and program expansions. State committees fell into line, requiring it for representation at their conventions. New Associations of all types were founded on the basis—student, Negro, railroad, city; it was insisted upon for boys' work and required of newly formed Associations under the supervision of the International Committee in foreign countries.<sup>15</sup> Although Langdon had objected to it in the early 1850's as removing the basis of membership from the direct control of the Associations, he gave it his approval in later life.<sup>16</sup> The extent of organizational acceptance of the test by 1891 was indicated in the International Committee's report of that year, which saw in its universal adoption a proof of "the character and value of the progress" made to that date.

Yet by that time some defects in the operation of the test were becoming apparent to a few, although such objections as had been raised were not regarded seriously. As the Movement expanded its program

in an effort to reach the industrial groups, it found the test a definite handicap, for few laborers were Protestant church members. Luther Gulick expressed his dissatisfaction in terms reminiscent of Langdon's youthful objections, when he declared in 1900 that he would like to see the concept of active membership restored to its original purpose—the enlistment of Christian men who had the desire and capacity for organized Christian work among young men.<sup>17</sup> The Portland test was increasingly restricting the Y.M.C.A. of the nineteenth century within the class limitations of the urban Protestantism of that time. The true greatness of McBurney was never better illustrated than when toward the end of his life he declared that “we have reached a point when our written constitution and the deliverances of the International Committee are more important than the work of saving young men. . . . If our outward name is in any way a hindrance and we are prevented from leading young men to Christ . . . the name should be changed.”<sup>18</sup>

At the same time, the Movement was making every endeavor to invite “young men of every religion and creed and of no religion—Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic and young men without any religious conviction whatsoever—to enter its portals and partake of the benefits afforded.” But such young men could not become active members: they were of necessity the passive recipients of benefits. The larger share of the Y.M.C.A. constituency had by that time long been inactive, for the Portland test imposed “an inflexible standard that permitted no variation until well into the new century, yet one which, as developments showed, was powerless to ensure the spiritual ends it was invoked to guarantee.”<sup>19</sup> Toward the end of his life Brainerd admitted that the Associations ought to have held to the Detroit statement and never to have defined an evangelical church.<sup>20</sup>

The Paris Basis produced no such problem, but it was too broad for the strong rivalries among American Protestants. Reaffirmed by the Albany Convention of 1866, it continued to be regarded as a more fundamental basis than the Portland test, which was considered a graft upon it. Weidensall declared in his memoirs that he was instructed to prosecute the work “on the principle involved in the Paris Declaration of 1855.”<sup>21</sup> He believed that he had been faithful to the trust, but the record is that he founded Y.M.C.A.'s across the country on the evangelical basis, as has been abundantly illustrated in previous chapters of this History.

That the Paris Basis was definitely in eclipse in North America after 1869 was significantly demonstrated by an exchange in *The Watchman* in 1879, when Paul Trivier, editor of the *Journal* of the French-speaking Associations of Switzerland, posed the question of whether a member of a European Association based on the Paris statement and who was not a church member would be accepted by an American Y.M.C.A. Morse in answer declared that the Paris Basis was intended to be a bond of union rather than a basis of membership, and that Article 1 allowed local Associations complete freedom in their internal affairs. He declared that foreign visitors would be "cordially received and welcomed" by Americans. He made it clear that "to have demanded of our active members, as is the custom in Europe, subscription to a creed-statement, however brief and simple, would have been construed into the organization of a new sect" rather than a move toward unity. He insisted that the Portland test had kept the control of the American Associations in the hands of "young men possessed of vital practical piety" and that it had "commanded the sympathy of the evangelical clergy and churches." The "entire history and experience" of the American Associations, he believed, testified to its validity.<sup>22</sup> Actually the American Movement paid little attention to the Paris Basis through the remainder of the nineteenth century. In 1899, C. K. Ober wrote of it in *Association Men* that it would be difficult to find another instance outside of the Bible "where God helped men to say so much in so few words of such an enduring character." Interestingly enough, he found in the still mistranslated word "doctrine" support for "the study of the teachings of Jesus [as] a help to Christian unity." The world does not need another denomination, he continued, but it does need the Y.M.C.A. "as a special agency of the church evangelical. . . ."<sup>23</sup>

#### Y.M.C.A.-CHURCH RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY<sup>24</sup>

The strategic significance of the churches and the clergy in the founding and development of the American Associations has been apparent throughout this narrative. These relationships were two-way, the Y.M.C.A.'s rendering the churches valuable services in return for the sympathy and support they received. At the beginning and well into the period described in Part II of this History, the Y.M.C.A.'s obtained far more from the churches than they gave. In many communities the very life of the new Associations depended upon them,



and there were few places where they could get started without the support of the clergy. Virtually all American Y.M.C.A.'s were organized at meetings held in churches. There were usually clergymen to advise, to solicit the young men of their congregations, to give annual lectures, lead prayer services, and speak at revivals. In some communities the churches attempted to capture the new idea for themselves by organizing Y.M.C.A.'s among their own youth, but these groups gradually disappeared; in a few places it was not possible to organize a regular Y.M.C.A. because of these denominational societies. The most obvious debt of the entire American Movement to Protestantism was, however, the unquestioned assumption of all Associations from the beginning that the local Y.M.C.A. was the "original and independent unit"—exactly as was assumed by all congregational type churches.

When Weidensall began his field work he made it his policy to first solicit the clergy; he found that he could not start an Association without this support, and did not try to do so when the ministerial group was unfriendly.<sup>25</sup> To prove their good intentions the Associations not only declared their purpose and evangelical position but performed many specific acts of service to the churches. A common practice was the publication of local directories that listed the evangelical congregations of the community. Much of the religious effort of the post-War period took the form of stimulating and training laymen to "personal effort for Christ." The Associations' interdenominational revivalistic activities often resulted in large accessions to the churches, and were usually requested by the pastors of the town—the most publicized of such endeavors being Moody's meetings, in which the Y.M.C.A.'s usually shared. The state Y.M.C.A. "canvass," carried on for years in New England, was a major service to the churches. Associations often referred to themselves as important recruiting posts for the ministry.<sup>26</sup> Leaders claimed that the organization of a Y.M.C.A. in a community at once increased the tempo of church work; it was also said that the "Y" acted as a bridge between a young man's boyhood church and his new environment.

In promoting lay missionary work, tract distribution, street preaching, and mission Sunday Schools, the Y.M.C.A.'s felt themselves auxiliaries of the church and better equipped than it to carry out such functions. General Howard described the Associations as skirmish lines: they penetrate into the corners, alleys, and byways, but always in organic connection to the main body, he declared. Some Associations

had church committees whose duty it was to visit their own members and urge regular Sunday attendance. *The Watchman* and the *Era* were full of articles, year in and year out, reporting on and exhorting to church-related activities. Pastors were told that they would obtain the greatest gain from the Association's work if they identified themselves with it and gave it their support. Most Y.M.C.A. conventions were held in church buildings; delegates occupied the pulpits of the community and conducted revivals when the convention extended through Sunday, as it was often planned to do. Secretaries were loyal church members and were expected to teach a Sunday School class or otherwise actively identify themselves with the parish.<sup>27</sup> A German visitor to the United States declared in *The Watchman* of 1889 that in his estimation the Y.M.C.A.'s were the greatest assistant the churches possessed.

As clergymen became convinced of the validity of the claims of the Y.M.C.A. and saw its definite contributions to the work of the church, numbers of them gave it their blessing. The literature of the nineteenth century Movement is replete with their testimonies to this new "arm of the Church," this "John the Baptist . . . going before and preparing the way." The Association, said the New York *Christian Advocate*, official organ of the Methodist Church (North), is the "embodiment of living practical Christianity." A prominent layman told the Minnesota convention of 1885 that the Y.M.C.A. in its own sphere, within its rooms or buildings, was itself the church. A clergyman at Albany, New York, carried this idea further when he said that the Movement represented "the church at work outside purely ecclesiastical traditions and forms." Association spokesmen often used the analogy of the family in stating the relation between the Y.M.C.A. and the church: like parent and child, there were said to be obligations on both sides. The generally accepted attitude on this matter in the 1890's was expressed in the constitution of the Minneapolis Association which described itself as "the Church working, by institutional methods, through its laymen, for its own and non-church-going young men."<sup>28</sup> Distinguished ministers, such as Howard Crosby, Washington Gladden, William M. Taylor, E. R. Hendrix, John A. Broadus, Thomas Bowman, H. C. Potter, W. H. P. Faunce, Theodore L. Cuyler, and a host of lesser pastors, echoed the theme of the Association's being, as Crosby put it, "an enlargement of the Church."

The Movement also obtained the endorsement of the denominations

themselves, their enthusiasm and the nature of their praise depending upon their doctrine of the Church. The more liberally inclined groups were perhaps the most outspoken in their commendation. Denominational periodicals were generous after their initial prejudices had been overcome, and official church bodies occasionally gave their endorsement, these appearing in areas, or at times when Y.M.C.A. work had been difficult among their constituencies, or when a few clergymen had been obtuse. Such resolutions were obtained with some difficulty from Lutheran bodies, but were necessary if the Associations were to interest German youth. Several Presbyterian bodies gave their endorsement, the most enthusiastic of which was that by the General Assembly (U.S.A.) in 1877, meeting in the Chicago Association's Farwell Hall. It recognized the Y.M.C.A. as "the energizing in a new direction of that imperishable and all-conquering Church which our Lord established in this world, and which from age to age, as new exigencies arise, has vitality and flexibility to adapt itself to the situation."<sup>29</sup> In return, Y.M.C.A. conventions sent greetings often in the form of Scriptural quotations to church bodies that were meeting at the same time.<sup>30</sup>

In its interdenominational activities and emphases—in the nineteenth century these were inter-, not non-denominational—the Movement made its largest contribution to the ongoing stream of Christian life. Christian union is the "cornerstone of our fabric," said the Y.M.C.A. *Quarterly* in 1866. Our Association brings us all together as Christians, declared a leader of the Boston Association to a convention at Halifax in 1868. It is a happy thing, he asserted, "to become acquainted with members of other denominations." In McBurney's mind the Association stood before the world "as a recognition of the fact that the Church of Christ is one." The Y.M.C.A. record in the nineteenth century was an eloquent testimony to the practice of unity, of which hundreds of examples might be cited. On one occasion when the International staff gathered in Morse's home for their annual secretarial conference, it was asked how many and what denominations were represented. In response "there were few correct guesses." A more significant testimony was the immeasurable ecumenical service rendered by the student department, particularly in the missionary recruiting activity of the Student Volunteer Movement.

In all of this it must be said that the wish to avoid "denominational sectarianism," as a Wisconsin convention once resolved, expressed the

average man's impatience with church rivalries and theological niceties. In some areas such an interdenominational agency was the only one that could accomplish the work that needed doing, as when H. E. Brown succeeded in crossing sectarian lines in his pioneer work among Negroes in the South.<sup>31</sup> Secretaries early became members of local ministerial unions, and appear to have been instrumental in bringing these into being.<sup>32</sup> All this was expressed in a homely way by Sam Small, a railroad department evangelist, in 1886, when he compared the Y.M.C.A. to a railway. The Y.M.C.A. Line, he averred, had "Congregational Plymouth Rock roadbed, Episcopalian continuous rails, Presbyterian through tickets, Baptist water in the boiler, Methodist fire in the engine, and coaches for Christians of every name, and is a universal favorite. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

The Movement was thus led to a specific concern for Christian unity. Russell Sturgis, a leader in the Boston Y.M.C.A., declared before the International Convention of 1887 that the growing sentiment toward Church union owed more to the Association "than to all other agencies together." The Y.M.C.A. "has done more than almost any other organization to bring together the people of God in the different denominations, and to fulfil our Lord's prayer, 'that they all may be one, . . .'" declared Francis E. Clark, father of Christian Endeavor, before the Jubilee Convention of the Y.M.C.A. in 1901. He also spoke approvingly of the work being done in the name of Christ by Y.M.C.A. men on foreign fields. That was another significant area in which the ecumenical practice of the Associations not only was a large factor in their invitation to enter such places as Madras, but their program met the widespread need for interdenominational activity in those centers.<sup>34</sup> Exchanges of greetings as between partners were always in order when Association conventions met at the same time as did church bodies, Sunday School organizations, and young people's societies, some of the last recognizing in the Y.M.C.A. a source of their own movements. (The Y.M.C.A. would later be stimulated toward coeducational activity by these groups.) The American Movement enjoyed unusually friendly relations with the Evangelical Alliance, the first major interdenominational organization in the United States, and sent fraternal delegates to its meetings. In 1889 William E. Dodge, Sr., president of the Alliance, declared that its then expanding program under a new secretary, Josiah Strong, was "the outgrowth of the Association idea." A Presbyterian minister, who wrote in 1888, well summarized this as-



pect of Association history: "For a whole generation," he declared, "the Young Men's Christian Association has been undermining denominationalism throughout the land."<sup>35</sup>

In its relations to the Roman Catholic church, the Y.M.C.A. in the nineteenth century was more liberal and understanding than the Protestant churches from which it stemmed, due doubtless to the influence of lay leadership. Business men in their daily contacts worked with lay Catholics and were not as aware as were the clergy of "the character of the Roman Catholic Church as a political power, as well as an ecclesiastical body"—as a minister put it at the Convention of 1865. Had the Movement taken cognizance of two suggestions made at that Convention by clergymen, it might have begun its post-War career actively hostile to Catholicism. A standing committee was there proposed whose duty it would be "to observe the proceedings and efforts of this church" and report annually to the Convention. Another proposition was a request for the Y.M.C.A.'s endorsement of an "American Protestant Association" designed to obtain the "official and public recognition of the Protestant Church," to cultivate "fraternal feeling and Christian co-operation throughout all Evangelical denominations," and the extension of Protestant education and religion to the "destitute portions of our land." This ecumenical move, only by implication anti-Catholic, was referred to a special committee, together with the former proposal. They recommended its adoption and the proposal for a committee on the Roman Catholic church was referred to the Executive Committee with discretionary powers. Both proposals were voted by the Convention, but nothing further was ever heard of either. What influence the rise of Roman Catholicism in many cities had upon the enactment and maintenance of the Portland test must be left to conjecture, as there is no record of any sort related to it. The only anti-Catholic materials to appear in the Movement periodical were four mild and somewhat appreciative articles in the *Monthly* in 1871. Local Associations at once began admitting Roman Catholic young men to associate membership. During the question period at the Convention of 1874 this was remarked upon and McBurney was asked his opinion which favored admitting them to associate membership.

There were a few instances of friction when Association open-air meetings were attempted or Y.M.C.A.'s tried to organize in Roman Catholic neighborhoods, but for the most part McBurney's attitude prevailed. That the problem remained a live one was indicated by a

similar response to the same query at the Connecticut state convention of 1885. Roman Catholics joined the railroad Y.M.C.A.'s and later the army and navy Associations in such numbers that in 1899 it was said that they were more numerous in these branches than men from any other church.<sup>36</sup> Occasionally a priest or bishop addressed a Y.M.C.A. meeting on a secular subject. On the whole this may be described as an era of good relations between the Y.M.C.A. and Roman Catholicism.

Nevertheless, it had its dilemmas, one of which was exemplified in the problem raised when Catholic young men applied, in increasing numbers, for admission to Springfield College. Because they were rarely acceptable to Associations as secretaries, and likewise became suspect to Catholic schools, Springfield was forced to limit the number admitted.<sup>37</sup> There is scant record of Association attitudes toward the notorious anti-Catholic movement of the 1890's, known as the "American Protective Association," but such information as exists shows the Y.M.C.A. refusing to participate. Neither Associations themselves nor lay or professional leaders were to any degree involved.<sup>38</sup> Yet the pioneer secretaries who went abroad to found Associations were shocked at customs in Catholic countries and by the tactics employed to obtain Catholic converts in China;<sup>39</sup> such attitudes, however, were rarely, if ever, expressed publicly. The *Boston Pilot*, organ of that Roman Catholic diocese, reflecting upon the Jubilee Convention of the Y.M.C.A. held there in 1901, paid the Movement a compliment when it urged federation of Catholic charitable and benevolent societies in order to be able to prosecute those methods that had effected the "marvellous development" and the hold of the Y.M.C.A. upon its members: "We mean its bureaus of employment, information and introduction, by which the young stranger is at once made to feel that he has come into his own, and that friends, influence and Christian homes are open to him."<sup>40</sup>

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AND THE RELIGIOUS CLIMATE

The Portland test was prime evidence of the theological compatibility of the Y.M.C.A. and the churches. There were, in the last third of the nineteenth century, three broadly distinguishable lines of cleavage among American Protestants. The Y.M.C.A., from the beginning, allied itself with the most conservative of these—the trinitarian group whose inheritance was from the Reformation through the principal American Protestant bodies, all of which were definitely orthodox.

Their theology was supernaturalistic and maintained by a somewhat naïve belief in the Bible as the book of all knowledge—both religious and secular. The rougher edges of Calvinism had, however, been smoothed somewhat by a growing emphasis upon the love of God as preached by the outstanding pulpit orators of the day, such as Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks. The Y.M.C.A. followed this line, so ably proclaimed by Moody, who could almost be said to be its spokesman. As new currents of thought set in motion by the impact of Darwinian evolution, Biblical criticism, and social problems began blowing through American Protestantism, the Movement clung tenaciously to the evangelical position.

By the mid-1880's there had emerged full-blown, slightly to the left of the theological center, a fresh interpretation of the Christian tradition, named by its protagonists the "new theology" or "progressive orthodoxy." This viewpoint, which stemmed from Horace Bushnell, the father of modern religious education in America, was ultimately to appeal greatly to the Association mind when it later developed its own form of "Christian nurture." These religious leaders felt that there was much in the new science, Biblical scholarship, history, and psychology that could enrich the Christian tradition, and they proclaimed themselves to be the true interpreters of the Bible and of Protestant thought. Their empiricism was the precursor of what was known in the first quarter of the twentieth century as "modernism." Almost imperceptibly in the 1890's a few Y.M.C.A. leaders began moving in this direction but it was not until the 1920's or even 1930's that the Movement could be said to have shifted its loyalty to the modernist viewpoint. The Association's own pragmatic methodology inevitably drew its leadership to a rapprochement with the empirical position. In the nineteenth century, however, the Scriptural empiricism of Bushnell or of Moody only gradually became orthodox. As it did so, the earlier creedal position, represented in a sense by the Portland test, (but more specifically by the aggressive orthodoxy of the Kansas Movement, which subsequently became "fundamentalism") became outmoded on the one hand while the increasingly humanistic rationalism of Unitarianism and Universalism seemed on the other hand to be even further removed from the central "orthodox" evangelical position the Movement found congenial.

The American Y.M.C.A.'s were too firmly under the control of evangelicals in the nineteenth century to veer far either to the left or

the right. Although Washington Gladden's booklet, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (1891), became the best selling of his many works, being widely used as a study text in the Movement, the liberal position was not embraced in this period. The Associations refused to follow the liberal trends suggested by the Reverend Graham Taylor, then of Hartford Seminary and later to found one of the nation's best-known social settlements in Chicago, when he told the Connecticut convention of 1890 that the primary aim of the Movement was not evangelistic but "pre-occupying and preventive." The editor of the *Young Men's Era* felt in 1892 that *The Larger Christ*, by the Reverend George D. Herron, who was then coming to represent the liberals, lacked "that kind of simple presentation of Christ which supplies the needs of the soul."

No impression was made upon the Y.M.C.A. by the furthest left of the three currents of theological thought, the Unitarian group, with its increasingly humanistic and naturalistic attitude. When the Open Court Publishing Company offered its magazines, *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, free to Y.M.C.A. libraries, the *Era* advised Associations to bar them for discrediting "faith in the supernatural as taught in the Bible." However, in the late 1890's, the new liberalism in theology, psychology, and sociology were fairly well accepted at Springfield College and to some extent in the student department. Their influence, however, was not felt in the Movement at large until after the turn of the century. The Associations likewise shunned religious expressions of the extreme right or conservative side, as was indicated by the rejection of the enthusiasts of the Kansas Movement.

In the last years of the 1890's the American Y.M.C.A.'s included viewpoints as divergent as those of Protestantism. There was "Jim" Burwick, the railroad evangelist who traveled widely preaching an old-fashioned gospel of repentance and conversion. Dr. C. I. Scofield's fundamentalist Bible lessons were published in *Association Men*. Moody addressed the Convention of 1895 on "The Holy Spirit." Professor H. M. Burr of Springfield proposed a "New Reformation" through service. Delegates to the 1895 Convention heard Luther Gulick challenge the age-old dualism of mind and body. *Association Men* selected John Fiske's *Through Nature to God* as the best book-of-the-month for young men. J. T. Swift in far-off Japan canceled his students' summer conference because the eager youth wanted to discuss German rationalism, science, and moral questions. As late as 1919, Association Press published a book of counsel and sermonettes by



Weidensall, which reflected the simple evangelical outlook of his lifetime—*Man's Needs and Their Supplies*. In all this the Movement was a barometer of the Protestant climate.

Yet through these apparently divergent trends there ran a simple thread of common meaning. In choosing the kind of religion Henry Ward Beecher had defined when he remarked that Christianity is not a system of law but "a state of the heart," the Associations were finding their unique genius. The dedication of Henry E. Brown to Negro work had its counterpart in every student volunteer's resolve and in the life purpose of virtually every secretary. "The best thing for you and me is to engage in earnest Christian work for the bodies and souls of men," wrote McBurney to a friend considering becoming a medical missionary. "It is touching men's hearts and lives for Christ that is our business," he went on, adding that creeds and specific patterns of belief rarely helped.

Nonetheless the fundamental propositions of evangelical Protestantism were the source of much of the drive of Association leadership, as the testimony of leading secretaries indicated. On a steamer trip from Portland to San Francisco in 1892, Weidensall witnessed a storm that would apparently end his career. Several Association friends had accompanied him to his stateroom and there "knelt in prayer for the great work to be done and for each other." As the vessel floundered in the storm there passed through his mind the unfulfilled plans of Association and church work in which he was concerned, his family problems, and the fact that he would be unable to write the early history of his work if he were taken that night. The ship suffered some damage, and the mate later said the storm had been rougher than a typhoon. "Thanks be to God we came through all right. . . . I am persuaded that we were saved by the all powerful hand of God in answer to prayers offered up on and off of that ship," he wrote, having renewed his commitment "to live nearer to Christ, to be more faithful in his service and to be more helpful" to those about him.<sup>41</sup>

Wishard, too, experienced the reality of God in a storm at sea. When crossing from Japan to Ceylon his ship was caught in "a fearful typhoon." "I never knew before what it was to stand face to face with death," he wrote: "That awful night taught me how to pray. . . . When the officers and sailors gave up hope and stood looking helplessly at each other we were kept in *perfect peace*. Jesus had come into the ship. . . ." <sup>42</sup>

The attitude toward the Bible held by religious leaders of the day was exemplified in Wishard's description of his visit to Mt. Sinai later in his world tour. At the end of seven days' travel the party "suddenly looked out upon a majestic mountain whose summit was glowing with sunset light." Wishard's heart was strangely thrilled by the sight of "the place where Jehovah first addressed Israel." The party stayed five days, "climbing the two most famous peaks, where the law was given, where Moses probably had his long conference with Jehovah." They read again and again the Bible narrative, which appealed to them with new vividness and power.<sup>43</sup> Wishard's faith in immortality was equally full. When Wishard sat at McBurney's bedside "a few days before his great spirit departed to be with Christ," he charged "old Mac" with "a special message of love" to the elder Wishard who had died several years before and whom McBurney remembered having once met. "I bade him assure my father," wrote the student secretary, "that I was still following him as he had so faithfully followed Christ."<sup>44</sup> Such were some of the dynamics that built the American Y.M.C.A. in the nineteenth century.

The pragmatic interests of the Movement led it early to reject any and all theological discussion and controversy. When such matters arose in conventions it was customary to engage in prayer or sing a hymn. Over and over it was insisted that "controverted points should be avoided." Instructions to leaders of prayer meetings were specific that the unwritten Association rule should be scrupulously adhered to, this being the only way to avoid doctrinal arguments that would arouse sectarian rivalries. It is not the function of the Y.M.C.A. to become a platform for dispute, editorialized *The Watchman* in 1889 in the course of a discussion of the place of the Bible in the Association, for "controversy is alien to its life and purposes." On the whole the position thus assumed was comparable to that of Moody, who, although criticized for sponsoring Henry Drummond whose "broad" theological viewpoint harrowed the conservatives, found it impossible to remonstrate with the Scottish professor, because Drummond seemed to Moody to be "so much better a Christian than I am."

The growing emphasis upon Bible study found the Y.M.C.A.'s occasionally concerned about becoming involved in the controversy over inspiration that raged in the 1890's. On one occasion the International Committee was forced to deny that it had instructed its secretaries not to teach the verbal inspiration of Scripture, a doctrine then beginning

to be emphasized by those conservatives who were soon to call themselves Fundamentalists, many of whom were intimately associated with the Movement. When in 1897 *Men* inadvertently published an article describing the current theories of inspiration, the outcry of criticism forced it to confess its error and to reemphasize the frequently asserted position that neither personal viewpoints nor controverted doctrines had a place in Y.M.C.A. discussions. We do not want to know any man's theory of inspiration, but rather how God accomplished his purpose, wrote an apologist for the Association viewpoint; to discover that, we should "question the Bible itself."<sup>45</sup> McBurney regarded involvement in such discussions as "a grave mistake." The mission of the Association, he declared, was "to help men in their daily life." The third of his "settled principles" was "that points of doctrine controverted by evangelical Christians are to be avoided, and the simplicity of the gospel adhered to, chief emphasis being laid on well and freshly devised methods of pressing the acceptance of the gospel upon young men."

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AND CHRISTIAN ETHICS

The American Movement shared the accepted Protestant folkways as well as theology. To be religious was also to be moral. Fundamental in the purpose of the Y.M.C.A.'s was the desire to win young men to acceptance of this code of behavior. One city Association constitution of the early 1870's phrased its objectives as the "improvement of the spiritual, *moral*, mental, social and physical condition of young men."<sup>46</sup> The Movement was more concerned with morality than it was with theology, and the purpose of the latter was distinctly oriented toward the accomplishment of ethical ends. McBurney's declaration that the Association goal was to "help men in their daily life" was a concise statement of an attitude that became increasingly characteristic of the American Y.M.C.A.'s as they clarified their purpose. With the widening acceptance of the fourfold idea it was inevitable that ethical aims would loom larger than the traditional religious goals that had been so absorbing. The purpose of conversion was character transformation. The fourfold program was devised to interest young men in religiously motivated ethical aims and to offer Association members opportunity to present these life purposes to those who presumably did not embrace them. Fully convinced of the validity of the accepted pattern of Protestant morality, the Y.M.C.A. set itself to making that way of life



attractive to those who had been repelled by the churches' alleged failure to do so.

The Y.M.C.A. was also a mirror of Protestant folkways. Most of its secretaries came from middle-class, Bible-reading, Sunday-observing homes.<sup>47</sup> The popular amusements of the day were frowned upon. Cardplaying, dancing, and sports were suspect not only because it was feared that they could become habit-forming and lead the unsuspecting into bad company, but because they might distract "the attention of our members from more solid occupations." Debates at numerous conventions also reflected the sectarian rejection of "the world" with its pleasures. At the Albany Convention of 1866 a delegate of the Troy Association, which had taken a somewhat liberal position in the matter, read a paper that "created a storm"; the Convention expressed itself as being "energetically" against "dancing, card playing and billiard playing, as distinctly worldly in their associations, and unspiritual in their influence, as to be utterly inconsistent with our professions as disciples of Christ." Yet "any kind of amusement which may be harmless in itself, and not made injurious by worldly associations" and that would "impart a home atmosphere to our rooms" could be adopted; it must nonetheless be subordinated to "our high spiritual work." Similar discussion and resolutions echoed throughout the state and regional conventions of that winter.

When the matter came to the floor of the Montreal Convention the next year, Washington Gladden, a young minister from North Adams, Massachusetts, expressed the hope that the meeting would refrain from condemning Associations for providing innocent amusements. The suggestion, he wrote afterward, "was blown out of the meeting by a whirlwind of popular wrath" in a rank outbreak of intolerance. Yet, he added, "it was not so many years before the policy so hotly disapproved was universally adopted by the Christian Associations."<sup>48</sup> The Convention's attitudes were not influenced by the fact that the Troy Association had found that backgammon, dominoes, checkers, and chess had stimulated interest among young men and had brought good results. Such amusements, it declared, were "fraught with evil, dangerous to the best interests of Associations, compromising to Christian integrity, and dishonoring to our blessed Master and Teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ."

As Gladden indicated, attitudes soon began to change. By the time of the Convention of 1873, some amusements could be approved with-



out bringing down the wrath of the assembly. The next year an article endorsing game rooms with a Christian atmosphere appeared in the official periodical. In 1875 the Springfield, Massachusetts, Y.M.C.A. held amusements to be essential to an effective program. Approval was first given to chess, checkers, and comparable games. A few disapproved of "ball gaming" in the mid-1880's as unbecoming those engaged in religious work, but the Movement swung rapidly toward commitment to recreational activity in that decade. Although bowling alleys had been widely accepted, billiards was not until after 1900, one exception being the Hartford Association's "Workingmen's Exchange" in the basement of the Y.M.C.A. building, with pool and card tables and smoking allowed as early as 1893.<sup>49</sup> About this time word reached the International office that a railroad Y.M.C.A. in upstate New York had installed a billiard table. It is said that Morse promptly dispatched an undersecretary instructed to remain until the offending game had been removed.<sup>50</sup> By 1895 McBurney had come to the place where he did not think it a sin to dance. Yet the Convention of 1899 felt that competitive games were to be discouraged unless they could be conducted so as to develop Christian character; that same year the summer school at Springfield devoted its entire attention, under Gulick, to the inclusive values of play.

Much of the objection to games was based on fear of gambling. When the Boston Association in 1869 held a great fair, it was expressly forbidden to admit lotteries or raffles. In 1873 the Saratoga Association was instrumental in driving the "cock-fight crowd" from that resort community. As amusements were debated, games associated with gambling were the last to be admitted. During the 1880's several articles appeared in *The Watchman* condemnatory of stock exchanges and boards of trade as gambling dens, and young men were cautioned against taking chances on margins in grains, oil, or stocks, as well as with cards or dice.<sup>51</sup> One Association, sensitive to criticism, changed its plan for rewarding the winners of a membership campaign, from the losing side's treating the winners to dinner, to providing the winners with a good meal and consoling the losers with bread and water.

The Associations echoed Protestant sentiment on Sunday observance. They were somewhat puzzled at first about opening their rooms on Sunday but soon came to feel it an advantage to make them available for religious activities only. No one approved the secular program on Sunday, when the issue was discussed at the Portland Convention. Most

Association expression in this matter was in support of public observance of a day of rest. In 1870 the Newark Y.M.C.A. petitioned the city council against the operation of horsecars on the Sabbath. International Conventions frequently voted resolutions supporting Sunday closing. One Association was able to persuade all the barber shops in its town to close on Sunday. The Cleveland Association at one time claimed that it had been instrumental in getting freight trains stopped on Sunday, and the Buffalo "Y" worked to obtain Sunday off for railroad shopmen.

Temperance and Sabbath concerns were often combined in efforts to close saloons on Sunday, many Y.M.C.A.'s joining in such protests. The Indianapolis Association at one time attempted closing Sunday variety shows by having the performers arrested; *The Watchman* commented that Y.M.C.A.'s would do better to stay out of the courts and preach Christ instead. Gradually Associations opened their libraries on Sunday, at first removing secular literature. Yet one speaker before a state convention in 1885 pointed out the need for Sunday recreation and recuperation by the working classes, and conceded them part of the Sabbath in which to "get a breath of the pure air of heaven."<sup>52</sup> John T. Swift's student Association in Tokyo was able to obtain a ban on Sunday games by college athletic teams. The climax of agitation in the matter was reached in the protracted controversy over closing the World's Fair of 1893 on Sundays; the Y.M.C.A. stood firmly with those who believed in the "Christian Sabbath," and every state convention framed resolutions. The Movement found itself in somewhat of a dilemma when it wished to place an exhibit at the Exposition and the issue had not been settled. When it was believed that the directors had violated the spirit of the law, the International Convention of 1893 memorialized President Cleveland directly.

Y.M.C.A.'s likewise entered the campaigns against vice and obscene literature. Some went as far as to indict specific offenders, but most limited their activity to petitions to city councils and other efforts to obtain specific legislation. McBurney counseled the Convention of 1873 against Y.M.C.A.'s becoming "prosecuting attorneys in connection with this or any other work," at the very moment his own Association was deeply involved in prosecuting violators of the new anti-vice legislation it had been instrumental in writing into the New York statutes; it would be better to undertake it as individuals, he declared.

The most obvious example of Y.M.C.A. concern for the suppression

of obscene literature was the support of Anthony Comstock by the New York Association. Its survey of 1866 had brought the "most extensive" traffic in obscene books and papers openly sold on city streets to the shocked attention of its supporters. Brainerd and another committee member went to Albany to obtain suitable legislation, but their carefully drawn bill mysteriously disappeared on the last day of the session. In 1868 they were successful. Not long afterward McBurney received a letter from a "green country boy," then working as a shipping clerk, who had become incensed over the illicit traffic. Morris K. Jesup, the wealthy president of the New York Association, happened to see the letter on McBurney's desk and sought out young Comstock, giving him \$650 the next day. The Association then appointed a committee, subsequently incorporated as the "New York Society for the Suppression of Vice," made Comstock its agent, and supported his various activities, the chief of which was obtaining from Congress in 1873 a stringent law "covering this entire question."

Between March, 1872, and December 31, 1873, the following were listed in the Association's annual report as part of seizures made and destroyed through the agency of the committee: 13,000 pounds of bound books, 4,000 pounds of books in process of manufacture, 199,500 pictures and photographs, 6,250 microscopic pictures, 14,200 pounds of stereotype plates, 60,000 letters, and a file of 22,000 prospective customers. Enough advertisements to fill an entire daily newspaper had been suppressed throughout the United States, and 106 arrests made. During 1873 the Society had been independently organized.<sup>53</sup> Of the New York Y.M.C.A.'s part in this, Brainerd reminisced at the time of his retirement from the chairmanship of the International Committee that "that work had its origin in, and was organized by, the New-York Association." The statute under which seizures, arrests, and imprisonments were had was proposed and drawn by a committee of the New York Association, he went on, adding that "after a two years' struggle in the legislature, the bill as drawn became law. The first arrests and the first convictions under that law were obtained by members of the Board of Directors of the New-York Association, who performed the parts of detective and prosecutor."<sup>54</sup> In 1873 Lyman Abbott had recognized the effectiveness of this effort and credited the Associations with "almost all that has been done in this line by organized effort," including federal and state laws. He endorsed these methods and sug-

gested to the Convention at Poughkeepsie that every Association "carry out with vigor" a similar work.

Early in 1885 there was organized in the New York Association a corps of the "White Cross Army," which had started in England in 1883, for the promotion of personal purity. Under the leadership of Henry H. Webster and with McBurney's support this venture in sex education soon enlisted more than five hundred members of the Association, who signed the pledge to respect all women, put down "all indecent language and coarse jests," "maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women," and to obey the injunction, "Keep thyself pure."<sup>55</sup> The earliest Y.M.C.A. effort of its kind, this forthright attempt to give sex information to adolescent boys met at first with almost universal rejection, thus bringing McBurney one of the few keen disappointments of his life. The New York Association's program included a series of medical lectures and utilized the pamphlets of the British organization, to which were added its own carefully prepared materials and suggestions as to how to help individuals.

Its opponents, who included Weidensall and several leading city secretaries, declared that the pledge violated Association principle and that the program was "simply a moral reform" and as such had no place in the Association. "No man's heart is pure unless made so by the acceptance of Jesus Christ as a personal Saviour and the work of the Holy Spirit," wrote Weidensall; "No pledges without Christ can do it." *The Watchman* editorialized that what was needed was fewer pledges and more of Christ: the organization should not turn aside from its object of presenting Jesus Christ to young men as their only hope of purity or salvation.<sup>56</sup> But the Army spread, and Webster's committee was kept busy responding to requests for information from all over the United States. The number of signers in New York soon rose to one thousand nine hundred and the committee developed what must be considered the first literature to be produced by the Y.M.C.A. on the subject.

In 1888 the Western Secretarial Institute offered a prize of \$100 for the best essay on sex education and published two pamphlets containing the better ones submitted. In 1890 the Massachusetts-Rhode Island committee released a pamphlet by the liberal Reverend Philip Moxom, which had been an address at their convention of that year. In 1892 the *Era* considered a *Handbook for Young Men*, written by a doctor and published by the White Cross committee of the Twenty-



third Street Branch of New York, to be "highly successful" and "an honest, intelligent and conscientious attempt to meet this great need." By this time some of the White Cross pamphlets were being published by the International Committee. In spite of some objections the 1890's witnessed an increasing concern in a matter that was to become a major program emphasis after 1900.<sup>57</sup>

At the turn of the century the Movement found itself involved both in the new approaches to sex and the older ascetic attitude. Beginning in the latter part of 1897, Gulick published in *Association Outlook*, a Springfield College organ, an extended series of articles discussing the relations between sex and the religious experiences of adolescent boys. The argument ran through the literature of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and medicine, with Gulick concluding that "sex is the root of passion" and that "out of passion true love grows"—the love that ultimately embraces "the whole race, the love of God." Religion is not sexual, "although the capacity for it God has chosen to develop through this nature." Yet when the Jubilee Convention met in Boston in 1901 it was severely criticized by conservatives for holding one of its receptions in a statuary gallery of the Museum of Fine Arts. Newspapers and the London *Punch* poked fun at the Association, two papers cartooning the event as taking place in the presence of the Venus de Milo duly clothed in Victorian garb. Be it said to their credit that the leaders of the organization ignored both criticism and raillery; the reception was held as planned.

The Protestant ethic was again to be seen in Association concern for temperance, a subject that was discussed by almost every convention that met in the post-Civil War era. They extended their "best sympathies to those especially engaged in promoting the cause of total abstinence" but scrupulously avoiding committing themselves to a specific program. The policy enunciated by the Montreal Convention of 1867 was essentially that followed for several decades. It recognized "with affectionate interest the earnest men" engaged in the temperance cause and "gladly and earnestly" recommended it to Association workers. Similar resolutions were adopted by a score of state and provincial conventions in the next few years and their essence reflected in further International Convention discussion and pronouncement.<sup>58</sup>

Many local Associations had their saloon or temperance committees, the duties of which were to arrange weekly temperance meetings, occasionally presenting a nationally known speaker such as John B. Gough

who was extremely popular with Y.M.C.A.'s, or to encourage and co-operate with the W.C.T.U., which often met at the "Y". Perhaps such a committee worked for local option or other prohibition legislation and its enforcement—such as seeing that license laws were carried out or saloons closed on Sundays.<sup>59</sup> It might carry on rescue work among drunkards, advocate public drinking fountains (a popular temperance measure), provide temperance tracts and books for the Association library, and in some Associations obtain signatures to the total abstinence pledge. During the depression of 1873 and after, one Association proposed that saloons be closed for six months as a common-sense measure when unemployment was rife and starvation close to many families. A little later *The Watchman* proposed giving men employment through Association bureaus as a means of providing the satisfaction for which drinking was a compensation.

The Associations of Ohio and Indiana were involved in the spontaneous women's temperance crusades that broke out in those states during the mid-1870's. The corresponding member of the International Committee for Indiana wrote in 1874 that the women's movement had "greatly aided" Y.M.C.A. work; in some places the temperance campaign would have failed "but for the assistance of Y.M.C.A. effort." The Ohio correspondent pointed with joy toward the temperance movement there "as part of the work of the Y.M.C.A."<sup>60</sup> When the Dayton Convention of 1874 discussed how the Y.M.C.A. could best "co-operate in movements for the suppression of intemperance" two women reported, one of them remarking that "there is much for the Y.M.C.A.'s to do" in this field. Another speaker remarked that with 150 saloons to every Y.M.C.A. the sin of intemperance was "the most persistent and dangerous enemy" of the work the Associations were attempting.

About 1880 many Associations became involved in what was called "gospel temperance work"—a form of temperance evangelism. Moody and other revivalists engaged in this activity, which consisted chiefly of special meetings for alcoholics. Caution was exercised to avoid pursuing the temperance issue unduly, it being frequently emphasized that the purpose of the work was the salvation of men's souls, which was the only true cure for drunkards. The Secretaries' Association went on record in 1877 against participating in temperance reform moves unless they were on a "purely gospel basis." Boys who had taken the temperance pledge were organized in "Cold Water Brigades"; some

early boys' branches included the pledge in their requirements for membership.<sup>61</sup>

Railroad Y.M.C.A.'s often claimed to reduce the traffic at local saloons. An Association in a Pennsylvania mining town set up an exchange on pay days to assist miners to cash their checks or divide their funds without going to saloons for that purpose. In the nineteenth century the Y.M.C.A.'s avoided involvement in the prohibition movement, though at least one secretary openly advocated the Prohibition Party platform and was shortly invited by his board president to try his hand at evangelism—for another organization. As the end of the century neared, the Movement reiterated its stand against commitment to specific temperance organizations or programs, the while intensifying its concern with the saloon, which it saw as a corrupt influence and a degrading competitor for the lives of young men. Through this period the positive approach by the Associations to the temperance problem lay in the direction a writer had proposed in 1874 of substituting activities better than drinking. Yet the negative law enforcement approach had great appeal and the Associations were to be found lined up with the advocates of prohibition after the turn of the century, not infrequently working for local option, watching the polls, and securing evidence for prosecutions in court.

They also adopted the characteristic Protestant attitude toward smoking, but as with temperance refused to commit themselves to a specific declaration. The Detroit Convention of 1868, memorialized by several delegates on the injurious effect of tobacco on Christian character, finally resolved to leave the right and wrong of this intricate question to "each individual to decide between himself and his Saviour, after much prayer." The use of tobacco was often linked with that of liquor, and many of the temperance pledges, especially those for boys' groups, included both, some extending to profanity. More than one secretary, including McBurney, enjoyed a good cigar in private, but was sensitive to public opinion and scrupulously avoided giving offense or setting an example. After the first dinner meeting of secretaries and International Committee members in 1882, Brainerd, McBurney, Wishard, Olandt, and others sat before the open fireplace "indulging in a smoke."<sup>62</sup> In the 1880's medical arguments began to be used against the use of nicotine, these being presented to boys' groups by physicians. The Movement's attitude in this matter underwent no serious change until after World War I.



The nineteenth century Y.M.C.A.'s further mirrored Protestant morality in their exaltation of the traditional virtues of thrift, frugality, honesty, and hard work. However, they went further to identify the Movement with the current economic folkways. "The Y.M.C.A. is the business side of religion," editorialized the *Atlanta Constitution* after the Convention of 1885 had met in that city. This work is pursued not by amateurs, not even Christian amateurs, suggested a commentator in 1894, but it is done by "men of business" and it obtains much of its support from "great merchants, bankers and tradesmen" because of this businesslike spirit.<sup>63</sup> The Movement in this country, said an Association leader who was later to chair the International Committee, "is the contribution of the business men towards the solution of the great social and religious problems."

This had its implications for Association management: delegates to the Convention of 1889 agreed that a Y.M.C.A. should be administered like "a large manufacturing interest," while a California convention was told that a community would judge an Association by the way it handled its business affairs. The Y.M.C.A. has prospered, this speaker declared, because the work is of God "and is conducted on sound Christian business principles." Association presidents and board members often had pointed out to them that the presiding officer should "occupy the same relation to the Association that he would to any corporation of which he might be president."<sup>64</sup>

Discussions of the business man's relation to the Y.M.C.A. emphasized the value to the employer of good character and steady habits on the part of his employees—traits fostered by the Associations. Business men who supported the Movement were said to be investing in good citizenship and fulfilling the rightful vocation of the Christian. New buildings were "good investments" by the business men of the communities providing them. Jesus was a very busy man, said one speaker at the Convention of 1891, and "chose for his disciples and followers business men." The Christianity that is real is a religion that must produce tangible and profitable results, declared a distinguished clergyman before the New Hampshire convention of 1890. This line of reasoning was then as appealing as it had been two decades earlier, when the Convention of 1869 had rejoiced in the growing property held by the Associations as evidence of "the favor of God" and John Wanamaker had counseled obtaining "cautious Christian business men to do your Association business." This curious amalgam of piety and



acumen, of salvation and success, which motivated Y.M.C.A. leadership, especially board members, was again a reflection of contemporary culture. As corporation executives these men could hardly be expected to spearhead reforms or take definite positions on matters of controversy, whether or not they were ethical issues, nor could they be sensitive to the preferences of the rank and file of Association membership.

The organization understandably emphasized those qualities in young men that would make them successful business men. At the time the country was shaken by the depression, unemployment, and strikes of 1893-94, the *Young Men's Era* featured pages of advice on "How to Win Success in Life," stressing the commercial values of character. J. V. Farwell advised youth to dwell upon the "three G's—grit, goodness, gumption." The editor quoted with full approval Andrew Carnegie's credo that "business is a school of all the virtues." Even the humble worker is a capitalist, averred a New York magnate in the *Era*, for health, brains, and opportunity are the greatest capital man has and must not be wasted. Cornelius Vanderbilt, John Wanamaker, Elias Howe, Chauncey M. Depew, and Mark Hanna were sketched in laudatory articles showing how their careers had been enhanced by their connection with the Y.M.C.A. As if summarizing all such thoughts, ex-President Benjamin Harrison, in the course of brief remarks at the Convention of 1893, declared that "it is a good thing to make a business of religion. . . ." At that time the annual Day of Prayer had long since become an occasion for collecting funds for the work of the International Committee. The confusion of religious and materialistic ends was seen in its most crass form in the Movement's apologetics for solicitation of funds from railroad companies for that work. Edwin D. Ingersoll in his report for 1883 pointed out that such monies had "raised the standard of the men, thereby giving better service; and better service means, simply, larger dividends to the stockholders."<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, editorialized the *Era*, this is because the inspiration of Jesus Christ is at the heart of all the work.

Railroad companies had reason to regard the Association as a conservative force in time of strike or violence. During the great strike of 1877 a railroad executive confronted an angry mob of his men, ready at any moment to fire the shops and loot the yards, simply with "the gospel of Jesus Christ." The mob spirit disappeared and no violence was committed. The Y.M.C.A., he said later, had prepared their hearts for that word. This incident was frequently quoted throughout the

Movement for a decade, and was incorporated into the apologetic literature for the railroad department. It was usually entitled "Christianity versus Communism."<sup>66</sup> The contrast was several times drawn in these years between the dreaded Socialist Internationale and the World Alliance of the Y.M.C.A.'s, both centered at Geneva. Of the latter, a writer in *Harper's* said in 1882 that here was a "new force which from the simplest beginnings has grown to be most efficacious in promoting good order, good morals, and religion . . . nothing is so effective in conserving social order as the Christian religion."<sup>67</sup>

At the moment it was appealing most strongly to the virtues of honesty and integrity, the *Era* was advertising patent medicines, real estate, and gold mining stock. One two-page spread set forth the miraculous claims of "Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People," which were said to have snatched a well-known resident of Hamilton, Ontario, "from the very jaws of death." The Consolidated Carson River Dredging Company offered stock at \$375 that might bring a return of \$25 to \$100 a month. "Hood's Sarsaparilla" was advertised for catarrh, heart failure, and paralysis of the throat. A permanent rupture cure often appeared. An "electric belt" was pictured as an "invaluable remedy for rheumatism, sciatica, chronic diseases and nervous ailments in either man or woman, where medicines fail." "Freligh's Tonic"—"not a patent medicine" but a "phosphorized cerebro-spinant"—would cure nervous prostration or dyspepsia and mental depression or failure, "when everything else has failed." Real estate schemes in California or the Chicago suburbs, health foods, Arizona gold mining opportunities, "Alkavis" made from "the wonderful kava-kava shrub"—nature's cure for the kidneys and bladder and uric acid or rheumatic conditions—a device to end stammering, "peptonized" ale and beef—all these were dwarfed by an advertisement in *Association Men* for August, 1899, that offered to return \$750 a year on a five-year investment of \$5.00 a month. This was on the next page after a review of the autobiography of a converted gambler who had been saved as he passed a church on the way to commit suicide.

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The American Y.M.C.A.'s were from their beginning deeply concerned with all those social problems that appeared to have a bearing upon the expressed aims of the Movement or touched upon what were

regarded as moral issues.<sup>68</sup> But like the churches from which they sprang, they hardly considered "the world" their province, assuming that its ills were due to the machinations of evil men under the Devil's control and that conversion to the Christian faith offered the only possibility of social reform or genuine improvement. As Cephas Brainerd told the annual meeting of the Pittsburgh Association in 1872, social wrongs rooted in the "selfishness of the human heart" and could not be "reached and remedied by outward application." The more flagrant abuses of morality—alcoholism and the liquor traffic, desecration of the Sabbath, vice, and the purveying of obscene literature—were to be fought by legal means, but beyond such concerns neither the Y.M.C.A.'s nor the churches felt moved to champion either reform or re-examination of the pre-suppositions of American culture in the 1870's.

The alliance of the Association Movement with individuals and social groups that were the chief beneficiaries of the rampant individualism of the "Gilded Age" insulated it from those whom the industrial revolution had treated less kindly and whose needs and wants were, even in the post-Civil War years, leading them to explore the potentialities of labor organization, socialism, and more radical theories of reform. At the end of the 1870's Henry George proposed the first widely influential brand of native American radicalism in the "single tax," and a decade afterward Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* gave Americans their first glamorized glimpse of the welfare state. The Knights of Labor reached its apex as the nation's first major labor organization, about the same time. The era was punctuated with strikes and disorders of such violence as to be almost incomprehensible to most Americans, in comparison to which the labor troubles of the mid-twentieth century were mild.

Most of this passed the Y.M.C.A. with hardly a ripple of recognition. It lagged far behind the churches as they began to discover the social gospel in the 1880's and 1890's. Its leadership was so completely identified with the cult of materialistic success that any suggestion that its goals might be questioned would have been regarded as "communism," then, as later, a "bad word." "The eruption of the social volcano, if it break out at all, will not break out in the basement of the Y.M.C.A. in our town," wrote a prominent clergyman in an International Committee pamphlet published while the memory of the great railroad strike of 1877 was still fresh. The relation of social conservatism to

theological presuppositions has previously been suggested, but it should also be noted that this blindness to the tragic circumstances in which millions of young men in the American working classes were caught was also the result of institutional myopia. The Y.M.C.A. was completely immersed in the task of explicating the fourfold program, which seemed to be the answer to all problems. Its all-round activities were expected to develop good citizenship as well as Christian character: some leaders therefore thought it unnecessary to stress public affairs.

A sharpened social conscience had less opportunity to express itself, indeed less possibility of appearing, in the Associations than it did in the churches because the Y.M.C.A. was governed by the business classes. Its soul was housed in the buildings erected for it largely by those whose dedication was to the accumulation of wealth as well as good works. Furthermore, the Movement's lay leadership, its pride and joy, was relatively unlearned in either Christian theology or Christian ethics. Some clergymen responded to the liberal currents that ultimately reoriented the churches' attitude toward the social order, but the Associations, guided by the laity, were unaware of new ways of thinking until confronted by them in specific forms, and then they resisted stubbornly. Whatever the social liberalism of the secretaryship may have come to be, the social gospel had small effect upon the leadership of the local Y.M.C.A. as exemplified in typical boards of directors. The perpetual tension within the Church between the prophet and the kingly administrator was here resolved in favor of the latter, for the Y.M.C.A. was the lay executive's organization.

There was, however, some responsiveness to certain social issues in the nineteenth century. With each crusade for civic righteousness the Associations declared themselves in favor of political morality and of young men going into politics in order to purify it. The Newark Association's *Young Men's Advocate* drew the distinction between political and moral questions in 1870, and excused itself from declaring on public policy because it was not "a political paper." With the uncovering of municipal graft in the 1890's, Association editors expressed themselves as favoring good government and the necessity of getting out the vote. Misrule must end, declared the editor of the *Era*. The Movement cannot work for any party or candidate, but it can encourage its members to do so and it can throw its weight on the side of pure politics and good government. The *Era* continued: "Practical



interest in public affairs is practical Christianity." The various leagues for good government, and particularly a Christian Endeavor program in this direction, were endorsed but Associations were cautioned to pursue such lines with great circumspection.<sup>69</sup> Civil service reform was supported and during the urban scandals of the 1890's frequent articles appeared in the *Era* on the qualifications for citizenship and related themes.<sup>70</sup>

Although the Associations claimed to be nonpolitical, their sympathies usually ran toward the conservative party. The long struggle between the agrarian interests of the West and the financial and industrial power of "Wall Street" came to a climax in the presidential election of 1896, the most bitterly fought political campaign in American history. The Movement periodical claimed a nonpartisan interest in "getting out the vote" and praised a local Association that planned to hold open house on election night to receive the returns. Yet as early as 1893 it had editorialized on the iniquities of "that 54-cent dollar," an interpretation of the inflationary demands of the western party that had already horrified conservative interests.<sup>71</sup> In its issue of October 31, 1896, a copy that would reach readers on the eve of the election, *Men* published a lengthy and well-disguised advertisement resembling an editorial on "the effect of free silver on the church and charities." Applying the typical misinterpretations of Bryan's platform to its subject, this article alleged that if the Democratic candidate won, "all of our church boards and committees will be crippled in their work and unable to redeem their implied obligations." Where the magazine's sympathies lay became obvious the next week, after McKinley's election: it hoped there would never again be a campaign so based on sectionalism and felt relieved that the conservative and saving forces in the nation's life had come out uppermost. McKinley's inaugural was greeted with deep gratitude "that the administration . . . is in the hands of men who believe in God and who give Him the service of their lives in the high spheres of duty to which they have been called." A few months later the magazine welcomed the Dingley tariff bill—with the highest rates to that time—because business would now "breathe freer" and conditions improve.

The principal stimulus to Association interest in social problems came from these public issues and from the literary and debating clubs, of which there was a fresh development in the last decade of the century, though the beginning of foreign work doubtless stimulated

interest in international affairs. There had been occasional "literary societies" or debating clubs in Y.M.C.A.'s since the first program of the Boston Association in the early 1850's. The first significant one of these to appear in the post-Civil War era was organized in the Chicago Association in 1882, and was called the "Senate." It followed the parliamentary practice of the United States Senate, each member representing a certain state. It is said that William Jennings Bryan was a member of this group while studying law; it discussed bills representative of those then before Congress, but was abolished by the board of managers in 1887 for discussing politics.<sup>72</sup>

Such clubs spread rapidly, the next being in Salem, Massachusetts. They received for the most part the endorsement of their respective Associations, one being commended for familiarizing young men with parliamentary practice and for interesting them in "questions of national importance." Another was praised as "our first attempt to specialize in the line of distinct training for citizenship." The *Era* published lists of suggested topics, which were the first program materials for public affairs discussion among American Y.M.C.A.'s. The "Congress" idea was adopted by various Associations as a house of representatives, city council, or national convention; this program resembled markedly the "Youth and Government" project of a half century later. In the 1890's, upon the rise of civic reform and social gospel interest, numerous city Associations featured lecture courses dealing with current issues, Jacob Riis and Samuel Gompers being among the speakers.<sup>73</sup> Another Y.M.C.A. venture that contributed in a small way to the development of public affairs interest was the inauguration of European vacation tours under the sponsorship of the International Committee in 1897.

Social problems were included in the first serious attempt to provide the Movement with study courses. The educational department of the International Committee included among the courses outlined by George B. Hodge in 1894 one on "Political and Social Science," which comprised units on labor, crime, political parties, and economic institutions. For seven years outlines of this kind were issued regularly, but after 1902 their popularity decreased and with 1905 they were dropped. Not for another twenty years was such material to be sponsored by the national Movement.<sup>74</sup> In 1893-94 both Springfield College and the Chicago Training School had initiated courses in "Christian Sociology" or "Christian Social Economics," following earlier moves in this direc-

tion at Harvard, Andover and Hartford Seminaries, and the University of Chicago, thus being among the pioneer professional training schools to introduce such material into the curriculum.<sup>75</sup> Graham Taylor's study and discussion outlines on social problems, which ran in the *Era* from October, 1894, to September, 1895, were the first of their kind for the Associations.

The American Y.M.C.A. was virtually oblivious to the rise of the labor movement as a social phenomenon and one fraught with tremendous consequences to its own program and future, but it shared the conservative Protestant reaction to strikes and working class unrest.<sup>76</sup> The ethics of success with which we have seen it to be saturated prevented its taking a realistic attitude toward the plight of the young worker. The New York City Y.M.C.A. was severely criticized by an obscure labor paper in 1875 for providing strikebreakers (apparently through its employment bureau) during a longshoremen's strike.<sup>77</sup> With the rise of labor discontent *The Watchman* advised employers to treat their employees equitably, and suggested to workers that the virtues of frugality and perseverance would be duly rewarded. With the coming of depression and unemployment in 1893 and 1894, the *Era* published a considerable amount of advice to young men looking for work. One such article showed how economy and thrift would enable one to save for a rainy day; unemployment in this writer's estimation was the result of the wrong kind of boyhood, wrong ideas, and wrong economy.

In the year of the Pullman strike (1894), the *Era* advised the man out of a job, if a Christian, to "accept the conditions as divinely ordered for his good" and as an incentive to effort. It expressed its pity for those who blindly struck for "wages they do not earn." The strike of the American Railway Union was described as an "industrial insurrection." At the same time the *Era* maintained that the Movement was making its contribution to the solution of the labor problem by providing untrained workers with the opportunity to study and improve themselves, since it chose to adapt itself to the situation rather than to try to reform it.<sup>78</sup> In 1900 the editor of what was then *Association Men* (the *Era* having expired in 1896) complained that Edwin Markham's "Man with the Hoe" was not a true interpretation of the position of the worker in this free land of opportunity.

Yet there was some record of sympathetic interest in labor problems by local Y.M.C.A.'s. During the mid-1880's the New York Association supported agitation for a Saturday half-holiday for working men. The



Rochester "Y" attempted to meet the unemployment situation of 1894 by petitioning the city government to appropriate funds for the construction of park buildings in order to make work. As a result, one labor leader was quoted as saying that Jesus Christ, whom he thought long dead, "must be coming to life again." During the Indiana coal strikes of 1897—when workers were receiving some thirty-six cents a day—the Movement periodical heartily supported their claims. At the same time it had the most scorching comments concerning "madmen" like Eugene Debs, who would turn social "evolution into revolution." The labor problem, wrote Frank Crane, whose signature was featured in the magazine for many years beginning in the late 1890's, "is but another name for the problem of Christianity. The condition of the masses is the measure of the church's success."

It was thought by an increasing though small number of Association men to be a measure of the effectiveness of the Movement as well. By the mid-1880's some middle-of-the-road and liberal Protestants had become sufficiently aware of the maladjustments the industrial revolution was causing in American life that they began seriously to re-evaluate their understanding of Christian ethics, in an effort to find a solution of the multitude of problems that arose on every hand. This movement, which became one of the significant facts of modern Christianity, gradually broadened from the utterances of a few clergymen to include not only denominational social action commissions, but shortly after the turn of the century provided the principal motivation for the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.<sup>79</sup> While a few Association leaders were identified with this, the "social gospel" movement, the Y.M.C.A. as a whole followed afar off, if at all, in the nineteenth century, for reasons that have been inferred above.

Although the Y.M.C.A.'s early identified themselves with types of religious and welfare work, such as rescue missions, they did not develop a social philosophy. In 1869 the Cleveland Association realized that "it is hard for people to be Christians" amid the surroundings of degraded areas, and suggested that "some of the gravest problems of modern philanthropy" were to be confronted at that point.<sup>80</sup> But concern with temperance, gambling, the tobacco habit, and the repression of vice satisfied such reforming tendencies as appeared. Occasionally a social gospel leader addressed a convention, but the socio-ethical note was distinctly lacking at most Y.M.C.A. gatherings. Laurence L. Doggett and a few other leaders discovered Christian social ethics while



in college through such books as Richard T. Ely's *Social Aspects of Christianity* (1889), but the influence of that generation was not felt in the Movement at large until well after 1900.

The lectures, debating clubs, and study courses maintained by Associations in the 1890's aroused some interest in social issues, but had little effect in allying the Movement with reform or progressivism. An occasional editorial in the *Era* endorsed social idealism, but the tremendous effort made by Professor Graham Taylor to enlist the Associations in the cause of social betterment virtually came to naught. Taylor, one of the creative leaders of the social gospel movement, had pioneered in social ethics at Hartford Theological Seminary in 1888, and in 1892 moved to Chicago, where he occupied a new chair of "Christian Sociology" at the Chicago Theological Seminary and at the same time founded and lived in what became one of the nation's most notable and successful social settlements—Chicago Commons. An ardent Y.M.C.A. supporter, Taylor early began to present the social gospel to state conventions and through articles in the *Era*, where he wrote on such topics as "What Must Society Do to be Saved?" and "Sociological Aspects of the Work."<sup>81</sup> He wrote a series of studies, beginning in the fall of 1894, that were widely utilized by local Associations.

Taylor's first appearance before a continent-wide Y.M.C.A. audience was at the International Convention at Springfield in 1895, where he presented an epochal address on "The Relations of the Y.M.C.A.'s to the Social-Economic Questions of the Day"—which was later published in pamphlet form by the International Committee. In it he credited the Y.M.C.A. with fathering the "institutional" churches and paid it high tribute for its ecumenical activity ("you are the only recognized undenominational organization of Christians on the common field") and for the effectiveness of its railroad work. But he saw at hand the supreme crisis of the Movement: its buildings were beginning to rank with community agencies such as schools and churches, but membership was not being held. Then he pointed to slum conditions, the causes of crime, the work of his own settlement, as areas into which Y.M.C.A.'s ought to expand. The questions that followed revealed the Association mind: is there any direct religious work carried on at Chicago Commons? Is Christ preached to the people there? Taylor's peroration may well echo down the half-century of Y.M.C.A. history since that historic occasion:

For such a time as this, the Y.M.C.A. has "come to its kingdom" to do all it has been so grandly doing, and these things besides: to make of ourselves and our buildings centers for the social unification of the mixed and disunited hosts of young men, especially in the downtown wards of our cities; to make of some of our meetings and educational classes schools in which the young men of the nation may study and learn their social and civic rights and duties as a part of their citizenship and religion; to raise up an intelligent body of young men who will know too much to take partisan sides and who will be too loyal to the commonwealth both of our country and of the Kingdom of God to engage in the fratricidal strife of class warfare; to push the Association Movement into the lodging houses and labor unions, and street life and recreative rendezvous of young men.

Brainerd followed with "a short address on the same subject," which revealed in its first sentence that his mind had not changed since his speech at Pittsburgh in 1872: "There does not seem to be anything in the present conditions to justify the Associations in going beyond the limits of the well defined work in which they are now engaged." He recognized that the issues of which Taylor had spoken were "serious questions" that required study and thought and could not be lightly dismissed. Some Associations that had experimented with the discussion of social issues had done so successfully, others had not: "You do not want to land your Associations in a debate as to the propriety or impropriety of the single tax. I do not think that would carry the Associations into the slums of New York." Calling attention to the radical nature of some of the questions the American Federation of Labor had proposed for public discussion the previous year, he felt it "hardly wise" for the Movement to launch upon an educational venture when it was almost impossible to obtain teachers capable of "taking the broadest Christian view of the subjects involved." After drawing this red herring across the argument, Brainerd cautioned his hearers not to be in a hurry: "You have a lot of work in the field confessedly yours. Take on more work when you can do it well and do not turn your back on any work within the range of your scheme of service."<sup>82</sup> This viewpoint was similar to the basic assumptions he had expressed two years before at a dinner marking his retirement from the chairmanship of the International Committee. At that time he had reiterated his belief in the Movement because "wrapped up in the one radical and complete reform which it aims to accomplish are all the other reforms for which good citizens . . . are, or ought to be, praying and working today." This was identical with the attitude of the W.C.T.U. toward temperance at that time.

Taylor again appeared the next week at the Secretaries' Conference at Hartford, where he made an eloquent statement of the philosophy of the social gospel, holding that the Associations were under serious obligation to use their corporate influence to further social regeneration. McBurney, in the discussion, harked back to the duty of the organization to young men only; Secretary Budge of Montreal said that "if a man's heart is changed he will change his own conditions."<sup>83</sup> L. Wilbur Messer, general secretary of the Chicago Association, supported Taylor's position, appearing to some as a "radical" while McBurney seemed conservative; another liberal who identified himself with Taylor's position was Glen K. Shurtleff of Cleveland. I. E. Brown, state secretary for Illinois, spoke on the problem of adequate Association work for the industrial classes, and A. H. Whitford of Rochester described the program of his Association, which had for its object "the application of Christian principles and Christian practice to those phases of modern society which have hitherto been the least influenced by them."<sup>84</sup>

As a result of these papers many secretaries found themselves in "an emotional complex" over the function of the Movement as it faced the intensified social problems of the day. Yet no attempt was made to interpret Taylor's challenge in terms of either purpose or program. The decision in the debate and in action fell by default to the status quo. With no determined leadership to pursue the matter the Associations lagged far behind the churches, which soon began to move toward official social action commissions, of which no counterpart developed in the Y.M.C.A. Taylor became editor of the "Social and Civic Department" of the *Young Men's Era*; he spoke frequently before local Associations during the next winter and continued his teaching at the Chicago Y.M.C.A. School until 1899. Upon the reorganization of the periodical the next spring his name disappeared from it, and from then on was noted only occasionally at Association affairs.

With the lessening of public interest in social problems after the election of 1896 the Associations' concern also diminished. Many years would pass before it identified itself with the social gospel; even in the second decade of the twentieth century, a published statement claiming to be *The Code of Ethics of the Y.M.C.A.* was made up of nothing other than the Paris Basis and the Portland Test. In the last years of the nineteenth century the official periodical occasionally editorialized on the iniquities of such transactions as the sale of the Union

Pacific Railroad for a trifle or of bank failures being due more to dishonesty than hard times. For the majority of Association men, "Social Forces in Action" were the building-centered activities of Y.M.C.A.'s, such as Messer reviewed in a paper of that title in 1899.<sup>85</sup>

In the process of agitating the social question the Movement invoked its traditional policy with regard to controversial issues. The memory of stormy debates and several Associations shattered by the abolition issue was still fresh after the Civil War. The constitution of a typical city Y.M.C.A. declared in 1866 that "no controverted subject of a sectarian or political character shall ever be introduced into the discussions of the members at any of their meetings." The Washington Convention of 1871, bombarded with debatable propositions, stated Movement policy on a host of issues when it resolved that as such, the Associations "have no politics, and know no distinctions among men . . . and it does not fall within the sphere of their duties to take part in any controversy, or to make official deliverance upon any topic . . . which does not relate directly to the work of evangelization among young men. . . ." The next year when the Rome, New York, Association inaugurated a periodical, its editor reminded his readers that the paper was being published under the direction of a group of individuals of different denominational affiliations and political viewpoints, so that "party politics and sectarianism will not be discussed."

This policy characterized the period under discussion, persisting even in the face of strong pressures to endorse temperance reforms. The only area in which the Associations appear to have broken with it was in vice legislation. It was sometimes a handicap to youth interested in serious discussion of real problems, demonstrated when forty members of the Brooklyn Literary Society left the Y.M.C.A. to found an independent organization. The Secretaries' Conference of 1886, after lengthy debate, found itself "still of the opinion that it is unadvisable for the Association to engage in any organized effort for moral reform."

At the height of the presidential campaign of 1896, the new chairman of the International Committee warned the Associations against handicapping their future by "unnecessary political action" that might alienate a portion of the community. This central position was what Taylor had proposed at the Springfield Convention. His suggestion that the Y.M.C.A.'s act as "middlemen" bore at least academic resemblance to the "zone of agreement" policy to be advanced in the next



generation. But the resemblance was only academic, for Taylor envisioned an active leadership in the conflicts of "caste and class and partisanship." With a few exceptions the Associations continued to hold themselves aloof from those groups for which Taylor was concerned, especially the labor unions. Brainerd's viewpoint continued to represent organizational policy; individual Christian virtues were still emphasized, but social injustice went unchallenged.

Nonetheless the religious and ethical concerns of the Associations were in transition and conflict as the century drew near its end. The simple dualism of soul and body, together with the revivalistic and ascetic outlook, were beginning to break down. Gulick's "Christian athlete" was taking the place of Comstock's spy. Specifically religious activities were becoming increasingly difficult to describe in annual statistics. The supreme court of Illinois had granted an Association the right to accept 160 acres of land, although the law of that state allowed but ten acres to "corporations organized for purposes of religious worship." Association buildings were becoming community centers and were no longer referred to as a new expression of church architecture. The inadequacies of the evangelical test were becoming apparent. The end of the nineteenth century, which brought the completion of the first half-century of Y.M.C.A. history, found the Movement on the threshold of religious and organizational struggles that were to occupy much of its time and energy through most of the next three decades.

*Part III: 1895-1940*

THE NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS IN THE  
TWENTIETH CENTURY



## Introduction:

### The Background

WHEN THE Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States and Canada gathered at Boston in 1901 to celebrate their golden jubilee, the mood was one of confident optimism. During the next two decades the Movement continued not only to reflect but to express the dominant trends of the times. For the business classes, from which Association support was largely obtained, this was an era of unprecedented prosperity. As the ownership of business and industry rapidly shifted from the actual producer to the financier and absentee stockholder, the few into whose hands its control was manipulated became a class more powerful than the whole people and their government. The wealth of the nation was estimated at one hundred eighty-seven billions by 1912, but two years later competent investigators declared that the real wages of labor had declined slightly but unmistakably since 1900. Labor unrest through these years was but one manifestation of social maladjustment that rose to plague the popular conscience, with the result that the era was known for its concern with reform, and "progressivism" became a political catch-word. The Spanish-American War provided the country with a brief emotional release from the increasingly serious problems of labor, populism, and municipal corruption, only to add to them the new burden of imperialism.

Between the battle of Manila Bay and the second battle of the Marne the pattern of American life shifted rapidly toward an urban focus. The rapid exhaustion of the supply of productive free land was paralleled by the steady increase in the city population. The great centers to which gravitated most of the million immigrants that annually



poured across the Atlantic, now from central and southern Europe rather than northern and western Europe, grew to gargantuan size. The population as a whole became the most mobile it had ever been, though the largest movement continued to be from east to west. The shift of Negroes to northern cities began, for at the turn of the century race relations in the southern states were at their worst since 1865. The automobile made its appearance bringing the era of modern roads. Countless other inventions lightened the work load of the average man or woman, making life easier and more pleasant, although increasingly complex. Chief among the transforming agencies of modern technology was the development and wide-spread application of electric power.

The traditional American faith in democracy and education was strengthened by the fresh insights of the new science of psychology. The rise of sociology gave promise of aid in solving the myriad problems of which reformers were making Americans aware. High schools multiplied across the land and social settlements, boy and girl scouts, Americanization programs, religious education, and the Y.M.C.A.'s, all supported by a lavish expenditure of wealth, were borne upon a sometimes naïve belief in the universal efficacy of education. Philanthropy bestowed such largess as had never before been dreamed.

After 1920 the presuppositions and methods of the Y.M.C.A. began to yield slowly in response to the profound impact of liberal theology, new theories of learning and of religious education in particular, the new insights into human behavior derived from modern psychology, and new insights into community life derived from modern sociology. The pervasive optimism of the 1920's and the inherent climate of Association opinion resisted these changes, but they were accelerated greatly by the shattering effects of the great depression beginning in the early 1930's. As a result chiefly of the depression the Associations were finally brought to the first serious re-evaluation with which they had allowed themselves to be confronted, but it should not be forgotten that the basic criteria for this re-evaluation originated years earlier.

It would be presumptuous to assume that the full background for the unprecedented development of the American Y.M.C.A.'s in the first forty years of the twentieth century could be sketched here. The context in which major Association events transpired will be supplied in the chapters following. However, throughout Part III, the treatment of events, persons, ideas, and movements within the Movement is

of necessity on a broader scale than in the previous narrative. This is in part due to the fact that the perspective of the historian is shortened, and that the Movement ramified to proportions well-nigh impossible to comprehend within a single volume. In Parts I and II the genesis not only of the American Associations and their state and International organizations, but also of each principal constituency and program feature was examined carefully. This procedure was especially exemplified in the account, presented in Chapter 8, of the establishing of the foreign work or World Service. Similarly detailed treatment can not and need not be continued, not merely because of the mass of detail that would result, but also on account of the obvious fact that much of the productivity of the twentieth century Y.M.C.A. Movement was the continued fruitage of the earlier planting. The tree need not be described afresh upon the ripening of each new crop, nor can the fruit in turn be analyzed with every harvest—if the History is to be readable or meaningful. Hence the reader may expect to find the names of relatively fewer individuals in Part III than previously, for only pioneers, leaders of the first generation, or national figures are introduced. Likewise, developments within constituencies, program details, or extreme specializations may seem to suffer neglect or omission. Here again the reader is reminded that he is pursuing a historical survey rather than an encyclopedia.

Within these modifications of method the major achievements of the American Y.M.C.A.'s up to 1940 are treated in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 10 provides the framework of organizational structure from the mid-1890's through the full articulation of the National Council to 1940. Chapter 11 describes the varied panorama of program activities in the first two decades of the new century, including the much discussed criticism of Association war work. In Chapter 12 the theological and ethical aspects of the Movement in the twentieth century are treated, and in Chapter 13 the implications for and effects upon program of these and of the brisk winds of progressive educational philosophy are analyzed. There follow in Chapters 14 and 15 brief essays on the financial and personnel resources of the American Y.M.C.A.'s. The student work from about 1895 to 1940 is the subject of Chapter 16. Part III will be appropriately concluded with a survey of the world outreach and ecumenical involvements of the American Associations during that same span of years—perhaps the most momentous in modern history.

## Chapter 10 From International Committee to National Council

Could one have foreseen the future and declared in 1854 that the Young Men's Christian Association would, in 1923, establish a national organization upon a constitutional basis, it seems safe to say that the federation of 1854 would never have been achieved. The Movement has completely changed front and has disavowed the philosophy of the founders of the Federation. Such a change of policy can be accounted for only by changing conditions. The Association Movement is a reflection of the times. The philosophy with which it started is completely out of step with the current philosophy in 1926. The Associations are now operating nationally, upon a basis which is timely and up-to-date.

—J. QUINCY AMES, 1926<sup>1</sup>

THE LAST DECADE of the nineteenth century was a time of epochal change and development for the American Y.M.C.A. With the retirement of Cephas Brainerd from the chairmanship of the International Committee and the appointment of new and youthful leaders in the places of other older men, the central agency widened its horizon, expanded its services to the Movement, and began to exert an accelerated impulse toward greater and greater expansion. New departments were added in rapid succession, and under the aggressive promotion of vigorous executives these almost became movements in themselves. Such expansion was the natural expectation of a Movement that was feeling its enhanced position in a thousand American communities, when it was suddenly catapulted into national prominence and responsibility by the Spanish-American War. After the inflated program evoked by military need, neither budget nor services of the International Committee ever again shrank to their previous size. Having learned that virtually unlimited funds were obtainable, the Associations set their goals far ahead of any objectives that had previously been dreamed of—and in the new century attained them.

In 1895 there were 1448 Y.M.C.A.'s in North America, with 263,000 members. They owned seventeen million dollars worth of property, chiefly invested in 315 buildings. There were 1,311 secretaries, including 220 physical directors. Boys' work was reported by 328 Associations, physical work by 559. At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War there were thirteen secretaries in five foreign countries.<sup>2</sup> When the Movement celebrated its Jubilee in 1901 there were few critical notes to mar the forecasts of almost unlimited Association expansion. John R. Mott envisioned for the Convention the far greater opportunities in world evangelization that beckoned "beyond the seas," in which the Y.M.C.A.'s could realize their greater significance. Secretary Walter Douglass of Philadelphia saw in the half century behind the Associations, and especially in their recent War service, that God was "organizing, disciplining," and building them up. Linked as they were "to every great interest of society, and at last to the government itself," he had some great part for them, continued Douglass, "in the history and work of this twentieth century, greater perhaps than we had dared to dream of. . . ." On this ebullient tide tremendous expansion took place. By 1915 there were 2,111 Associations with 720,468 members. Their property was valued at almost ninety million dollars. Current expenses were just under thirteen millions, and there were 4,077 employed officers, 175 of whom were abroad.<sup>3</sup> In practically every aspect this was the period of the greatest relative growth of the American Associations.

#### THE CENTRAL AGENCIES OF THE MOVEMENT, 1892-1915

The year of Brainerd's retirement from the chairmanship of the International Committee was further marked by withdrawal of three more of the most active members of long standing. A new chairman was found, after considerable delay, in the person of Elbert B. Monroe (1837-1894),<sup>4</sup> a New York banker and administrator of the Frederick Marquand estate. He had been president of the New York City Association when it was reorganized on the metropolitan basis. Being currently active in the New York State Association and having recently toured foreign mission fields, he was well informed on all phases of Y.M.C.A. work. He inaugurated a "business man's administration" by giving approval to policy changes that had been under agitation for several years. Brainerd, who held that "the work is one," had consistently refused to allow International secretaries to specialize. During



the last ten years of his office he had eliminated as elementary a distribution of labor allowing Weidensall to be called "Western secretary"; all members of the staff were denominated by the single title of secretary, even though a departmental name could have been used. More than one employee had been restive under this arrangement, for it was an era of increased specialization. Brainerd had also resisted the trend toward subcommittees, preferring to detail special interests to members of the Committee whose concerns attracted their loyalty. Thus, for example, the railroad staff was personally related to Cornelius Vanderbilt—a system that had its advantages but proved individually burdensome and a distinct handicap to expansion, especially in view of the relatively small size of the quorum resident in New York—sixteen Committee members, and ten trustees.<sup>5</sup>

Monroe introduced subcommittees to which the secretaries were responsible. In addition to the student and foreign work committees, which had been imperative earlier, there were new committees on physical, educational, and general field supervisory activities.

Monroe died suddenly in the spring of 1894 of a heart attack, his vigorous administration of the International Committee having already "outlined a definite and wise policy." Frederick B. Pratt, head of the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, became temporary chairman, but not until late in 1895 was the selection of Dr. Lucien C. Warner (1841-1925) as permanent chairman made from among the senior members. An experienced New York business man, philanthropist, and denominational leader, Warner had been identified with the Associations since 1866. He had been chairman of the New York State Committee, chairman of the Harlem Association, and had attended the World's Conference of 1888.<sup>6</sup> His fifteen years' administration of the International Committee was to be marked by a proliferation of often competing departments, bureaus, and councils, each supported by a subcommittee and headed by a strong executive. Thus, as Morse wrote in 1917, "to each department and its chief Secretary an opportunity was opened to make progress on the same lines of self-support and enlargement on which in Brainerd's administration the whole work of the Committee and of its General Secretary had been steadily enlarged."<sup>7</sup> No secretary or department minimized that opportunity: neither chairman nor general secretary was able to integrate the results.

The Springfield Convention of 1895 was almost the last one to see and hear leaders of the first generation of Y.M.C.A. work. It heard the

ecumenical greeting of the aging William Chauncy Langdon and arose for a 6:00 A.M. "consecration service" led by Dwight L. Moody. Weidensall had resigned two years before after twenty-five years in the secretaryship, but he continued active as a "volunteer secretary" for another score of years or more. Henry Edwards Brown had resigned in 1893 and Monroe had died in 1894. About that time McBurney withdrew from the Committee due to failing health. He attended his last Convention at Mobile in 1897 and died in December, 1898. At the Mobile Convention the death of H. Thane Miller and several other pioneers was noted.

During the last five years of the nineteenth century important developments included the occupation of as yet unentered western fields, the adding of an International secretary for Bible study and religious work, the rapid expansion of educational work, the acceptance by the International Committee of "The Bowne Historical Library" from its originator and collector, Jacob T. Bowne, and the strengthening of the International Committee by the addition of a number of very able younger men. John R. Mott who had organized the World's Student Christian Federation in 1895 came into increasing prominence as leader of the student and foreign work. There was rapid growth among the great metropolitan Associations and L. Wilbur Messer of Chicago succeeded McBurney in the role of leading metropolitan secretary.

The Spanish-American War "brought to the Y.M.C.A. an unprecedented opportunity for a mighty service to those young men who upheld the nation's honor on land and sea." Three days after the declaration of war an "Army and Navy Christian Commission of the International Committee" was set up (April 25, 1898). It pursued an aggressive program and the army and navy department followed in September. When the next Convention met at Grand Rapids in 1899, it learned that the authorized expenditure of \$80,000 provided by the Mobile Convention had been exceeded by \$84,000, due to the war effort. The International secretariat had been increased from twenty-seven to thirty-seven on the home field, and from nine to twelve abroad. The International budget never returned to its modest prewar figures: in 1900 it was \$176,000; for 1915 it was just under \$800,000—\$466,000 of which was for the foreign work.<sup>8</sup> Such of the detail of this development as can be included in this History will be mentioned in context.

The largest Convention to date, the Grand Rapids gathering was

impressed by the Movement's military record. The supervision of the newly formed army and navy Associations brought to the floor the smoldering disagreements within the organization as to how these and the railroad and student work were to be overseen. The rapid growth of great metropolitan Associations paralleled by decline in the state committees was changing the balance of power between these entities and the rapidly accumulating International departments. Each of these was becoming a power center in itself, especially the foreign work supported by Mott's increasingly widening clientele. Morse's diplomatic hand was no longer able to reconcile these competing units, each of which was free to pursue its own aims and budgets, often from the same contributors. Conventions, too, grew larger and more enthusiastic, and led one critic to declare that "Association policy is so unsettled that men are distraught with the conflict of opinion and statement. The program committees of the International Conventions," he continued, "have either suppressed or side-tracked the discussion of perplexing questions until uncertainty and distrust occupy the place of concord and co-operation." Smoothly worded resolutions "capable of different interpretations" had made confusion worse confounded, or gentlemen's agreements reached in midnight conferences had been made only to be disregarded. As the Jubilee Convention approached it was feared that the issue might mar the harmony and monopolize the large publicity that had been arranged for the semicentennial. By common consent the issues were tabled until after the Boston celebration (1901), which was an occasion of some stocktaking and of unbounded optimism. It was proposed that the fiftieth anniversary Convention in 1904 "clear the decks for a general settlement of policies." With all "educative papers and inspirational addresses eliminated" some things might be settled.<sup>9</sup> The Buffalo Convention of 1904 did settle the "supervision" issue for a time, but internecine competition was too strenuous for Convention compromises to harness.

No one realized that what was needed was a complete reorganization of the agencies of supervision and a redefinition of the relationships between all Association units. Especially outgrown was the concept of the autonomy of the local Y.M.C.A., now grown to gargantuan proportions in a dozen metropolitan Associations. The International Committee's growing family of student, railroad, and army-navy departments exhibited little internal democracy and continued to dominate

the Conventions, which rolled up large majorities in the Committee's favor whenever an issue arose. Not until 1912 when a special commission was appointed were the "Perils and Weaknesses" of the Committee's position given serious attention.

The Convention of 1907, with 1,468 delegates, met in the national capital, was received by President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House, and distinguished itself for the first major debate over changing the evangelical test. The next year the International Committee occupied the first quarters it had owned, a new seven-story building that had cost \$500,000, at 124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York, the gift of Mrs. Russell Sage; the site was the gift of Mrs. William E. Dodge. A bust of George Williams—executed by George Frampton, R. A., resting on a pedestal of wood taken from the supporting beam of Exeter Hall, the London Association's first building, was a gift at that time from Williams' sons.<sup>10</sup>

The Historical Library was brought to the new fireproof headquarters, its founder having assembled a duplicate collection for Springfield College. Absolutely unrivaled as a treasure house of Association history—without which it would have been quite impossible to write this History—it was catalogued by Bowne and Melvil Dewey, inventor of the Dewey system of library classification.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately this move marked the beginning of relative decline for the collection: not again did it enjoy either the rate or quality of accessions or cataloguing bestowed on it by its founder, who had consistently refused to call it by the name with which it was christened by the Convention of 1897, "The Bowne Historical Library."<sup>12</sup>

During the First World War it was without a librarian and at several intervals suffered neglect and loss in storage and moving. Chronically understaffed and inadequately supported financially, this priceless asset reminded its custodian in 1919 of "a large quantity of precious metals, recognized but untouched in the mine." After asking for a trained librarian and two assistants, three thousand square feet of floor space and much more after 1925, together with a sufficient budget, he showed how it could become "one of the best-paying dividends to each department of Association activity"—an "opportunity for investment of time and money that exceeds all other investments in the Association Movement." This minimal request was not fulfilled and the depression saw further retrenchment. In 1938 the library was stuffed into four hundred square feet. No policy was developed for the accession of his-



torically valuable materials from retired files of the active work, so that basic archives from such offices as that of the general secretary were irretrievably lost; nor was the librarian given professional status in the organization—a necessity if the library were to fulfil its function.

Most of the trends of the period prior to the First World War were reflected in the Convention of 1910, which met in Canada for the last time, at Toronto. It was told of the “unexampled progress” of the Movement since 1907. Discussion of the evangelical test continued, with another commission appointed; in view of its chairman’s theological conservatism it was hoped this would not become “simply a theological probe” of the Association schools. A proposal to substitute the theological basis of the Federal Council of Churches for the Portland test was defeated. “Negro” rather than “colored” work was described. The supervision issue took the form of the adoption of an initiative and referendum measure that reflected the progressive political sentiment of the times. Proposed by Secretaries Harry W. Stone of Portland, Oregon, and Arn Allen of Seattle, this legislation expressed western discontent over the relationships of the period. It had been published in *Association Men* in advance of the Convention and was sufficiently well discussed and modified that Morse seconded its adoption and the Convention voted unanimously in its favor.<sup>13</sup> This was a tacit recognition of the fact that the great unwieldy Conventions were no longer deliberative bodies capable of democratic action.

The Convention of 1910 also gave metropolitan boards of directors direct representation in future Conventions. Secretary Robert E. Lewis of Cleveland commented after it that the gathering had been a legislative failure and wondered why the one great deliberate body of the Movement should be “sentimental, inspirational, hit-or-miss,” and devote but two of its twelve sessions to policy-making; compared to denominational conventions it seemed to him “like boys’ play.”<sup>14</sup> The editor of the *Association Seminar* said it would be known as “the convention by caucus” that was dominated by local secretaries rather than laymen; he complained that its important reports had been sprung upon the Convention without the least advance suggestion of their content—which had invited “impromptu and hasty action.”<sup>15</sup> Of the more serious implications of such tactics, a critic of the International Committee later wrote that the delegates “knew little about the recommendations until they were presented for approval.” The meetings were large and there was little opportunity for debate. The acceptance

of a proposal by the Convention depended very much upon those who sponsored it. "By these methods the Committee had secured what power it possessed, and might secure almost any action it desired."<sup>16</sup>

#### THE INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE, 1892-1915

We return now to examine the internal development of the International Committee's staff and methods of supervision. From the beginning Morse and Brainerd had worked intimately together and virtually constituted the effective force of the Committee. "All letters of any importance are read carefully by both of us no matter to whom addressed," wrote Brainerd to Henry E. Brown in 1880. Not long after that Edwin D. Ingersoll, International railroad secretary, suggested a dinner meeting in New York at which staff and Committee members might get acquainted:

My inside thought [he reminisced to Morse in 1906] was to try to discover whether or not there was any committee, except on paper, besides the chairman, McBurney, Mr. Wetmore and you. I got all the bossing I thought I needed from the chairman. . . .<sup>17</sup>

From this small beginning, when the first dinners were held in McBurney's tower room, the event became an annual one at which it was customary to review the entire activity of the Committee. At the gathering in 1893 Morse reviewed the "gradual enlargement of the work" as it had been entrusted to the Committee, in forty-one steps, thirty-one phases of which remained "as permanent functions or activities embodied in the present work." These he felt had been so wisely guided "under divine direction" that they were "apparently necessary and permanent elements."

The general effects of Brainerd's retirement in 1892 have been mentioned previously. The influence of the Committee greatly increased as a result of emergency services rendered chiefly by its field staff during the depression that began in 1893, when numerous Y.M.C.A.'s were saved from bankruptcy or the loss of their property. The field staff, of which Weidensall had been the pioneer and Ober was at that time chief, was the first promotional agency. Almost all International secretaries worked at whatever needed doing as long as Brainerd insisted that every man should be a jack-of-all-trades. Upon his retirement, however, specialization was recognized by the appointment of sub-committees having oversight of staff members. At the same time, the

field staff or general home work department was recognized as a separate entity and increasingly took responsibility for work with state and city Associations. Its "roving commission" was "to do whatever needed to be done." To facilitate this, in the 1890's the first regional assignments of International field staff were made to the South, the East, the Northwest, and the Southwest. Out of this beginning the Area Councils and staffs would ultimately develop. Thus C. K. Ober might write in 1897 that there were under the Committee "ten distinct yet unified enterprises," requiring forty secretaries. Shortly after this even another, the Women's Auxiliary of the International Committee, was organized, and in 1899 centralization was further evidenced when *Men* became the official organ of the Committee.<sup>18</sup>

In 1900 Morse asked Mott and Hicks to withdraw from their special responsibilities to the student and railroad administrations in order to become associate general secretaries, Mott to take charge of the foreign and Hicks the home division. It was agreed between the three, wrote Morse, that they "were to depend wholly upon one another to keep the peace." Otherwise it did not seem to him to be "worthwhile to undertake the fellowship and its responsibilities." In a sense this ended Morse's general secretaryship; after two years' experimentation the plan was formally ratified by Committee and Convention:

This secretarial partnership continued in force for nearly eleven years in unbroken brotherly harmony. Enough concert of action was secured to keep together all parts and departments of the Committee's administration and the fellow workers identified with each.

During this time every departmental secretary bemoaned his inability to cover his field and hoped for an associate or two. In the place of two departments that were dropped—the German work and that for commercial travelers—others grew: army and navy, boys' work, physical, religious, county, industrial, and secretarial. "Strong personalities came with these," wrote Morse, ". . . but this was not in line with what continued to be the preference of the Committee" for equally strong field work personnel and support. Nevertheless, the "strong, dominating personalities" swayed the Movement in the direction of departments or branches.

Others less politic than Morse spoke of this as the era of "benevolent pirates," the foreign work staff particularly regarding themselves, it was said, as "God-ordained pirates for the capture of men or money or anything else for the foreign field from any department in sight."

By 1904 there were sixteen subcommittees, each with its staff. Every one of these was "assuming an increasing responsibility for both expense and administration," for the International Committee had ruled that no secretary could be added until salary and expenses had been provided by the subcommittee, which meant by the executive.<sup>19</sup> Departmentalism was rife; esprit de corps was not strengthened when the Committee realized, about 1900, that its departments were obtaining more funds for their specialties than it was for general supervision. Nor was morale greatly boosted when in 1913 the financial support of the foreign work, with its staff of 169, exceeded the entire home work budget, as it was to continue to do through to the middle of the twentieth century. These internal factors helped to account for the "complex and emotionally conditioned" supervisory problems of the time.

By 1908 the internal relationships of the Committee were a matter of growing concern, especially to C. K. Ober, then senior secretary of the field department. He had discovered in Denver an enthusiastic lay leader, Bruno Hobbs, whom he induced to leave a law career to take over the field work. Hobbs brought to the Movement remarkable administrative and organizational talents which bade fair to overcome many of the perplexing problems faced by the field department, to which fell much of the responsibility of working with the somewhat disaffected state committees during this period. But with Hobbs' tragic death by drowning in 1909, this promise received a serious setback from which the field staff did not recover for some four years, during which the supervisory and internal relationships again became pressing issues.<sup>20</sup>

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE AND LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

The growth of state Y.M.C.A.'s, which was described in Chapter 3, reached its maximum in the early 1890's. Decline was not obvious by the turn of the century, but attendance at state conventions fell off appreciably in the second half of the 1890's,<sup>21</sup> prompting President Doggett of Springfield College to remark in *Association Seminar* that "state work has either declined or remained stationary." State budgets were virtually static between 1891 and 1900,<sup>22</sup> but city Associations and International agencies had greatly expanded. Movement statistics for 1902 revealed that the cost of the International Committee's regular peacetime services exceeded those of all the states. With sixty-six secre-



taries at work that year the International agency expended \$156,827 upon its home work; the states spent \$152,109.

The next decade saw considerable variation in state work. Some committees lost ground while others gained; the stimulus to Association expansion given by the Spanish War extended to the state organizations, many of which introduced new features. Specialization, some expansion, and what came to be called "close" supervision characterized the years from 1900 to the outbreak of the First World War. The stronger state Associations—Illinois, Massachusetts—Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Ontario—Quebec, Ohio, New Jersey—developed intensive supervisory relationships to boys' work, camping, education, student, and county programs. State personnel underwent the resultant change from the previous "all around" field worker to specialist.<sup>23</sup> State conventions steadily lost effectiveness during these years, for with the increase of specialization and professionalization it became more and more difficult to maintain them at the old-time levels of inspiration. Boys' work, railroad, or student conferences were taking their place.<sup>24</sup> In 1914 *Association Men* declared that state conventions had reached an all-time low in Association affairs. With the increasing obliteration of state boundaries as American life became nationalized, the appeal of the state as a unit of fellowship or of loyalty weakened, and its logic as an administrative entity became more difficult to rationalize. For a combination of reasons Morse could state confidentially in 1912 that "state work has not yet commanded as strong a group of strong leaders as [has] the work in the large cities and the work of the International Committee."<sup>25</sup> Yet through this period International Committee reports were careful to praise the "fine supervision and efficient work" of state committees and to cultivate the best relations with them. As in the early days, the International Committee pioneered Association organization in new territory, sending in a traveling man until the state—such as Montana in 1913—could obtain its own secretary.<sup>26</sup>

The twenty-five years following 1890 saw the stabilization of the city Y.M.C.A.—the Association in the community of four thousand or larger population. In 1890 there had been 815 of these; by 1905 this number was reduced to 577 in spite of gallant lifesaving efforts by the International field staff during the depression years. Through the next decade the number very gradually increased until there were 693 in 1916. These organizations then represented two-thirds of the member-

ship, four-fifths of the property, eleven of thirteen million dollars current expense, and three-fourths of the secretaries.

Within the framework of the city Associations the most significant development of the last years of the nineteenth century was the appearance of the "metropolitan" organization. This consolidation was, naturally enough, first consummated in New York in 1887, when six branches had grown up in addition to the original building. Although each branch had its committee of managers, the board of directors, together with McBurney, were responsible for all seven units, but "as yet half of the area of the city was unprovided for." It was feared that further branch organization might result in independent Associations within the city, so in order "to avoid such an undesirable method of extension and to maintain the unity of the work under one management" the constitution was completely revised under the leadership of Elbert B. Monroe. The board was relieved of the direct care of the central building, which was reduced to the status of a co-ordinate branch, and was "placed in equal and similar relation of control and oversight to every branch and building."<sup>27</sup>

The Associations of Philadelphia, Brooklyn, St. Louis, and Chicago soon followed suit, each varying the plan somewhat but all of them "centralizing control and supervision in a metropolitan board for the whole city." The Boston Association, which by 1902 had fourteen branches, resisted the trend toward centralization, yet had one of the highest ratios of membership to population. At Chicago, L. Wilbur Messer (1856-1923) entered upon the general secretaryship at the time the metropolitan plan was first being considered. Trained at Newburgh in J. T. Bowne's pioneer school, Messer had served his apprenticeship at Peoria and at Cambridge, where he had come into intimate contact with C. K. Ober, discoverer of secretaries. For thirty-five years, as Ober wrote afterward, Messer fostered in Chicago "the same kind of work that McBurney built in New York, and became McBurney's successor as the dean, or recognized leader, of the city Association secretaries of North America."<sup>28</sup>

The New York scheme seemed to Messer too loose: "experts in organization were called into consultation" and a metropolitan setup put into operation in 1888.<sup>29</sup> The Convention of 1891 furthered these trends toward centralization with a ruling that except for student or colored Associations, only one Y.M.C.A. was to be recognized in a city "where such Associations already exist."

By 1901 there were ten metropolitan Y.M.C.A.'s. They carried on one-seventh of the work of the Movement and owned one-third of its property; they employed more than two hundred professional workers, and their executives were "among the most influential men in the secretaryship." In financial resources, numbers of secretaries, and salary scales some of these super-Y.M.C.A.'s soon surpassed the International agencies. The Convention of 1910 granted metropolitan boards of directors Convention representation of two delegates each. The next year the metropolitan general secretaries organized their own professional society.<sup>30</sup> That year Messer summarized for the *Seminar* the advantages of the metropolitan plan:

1. A sense of solidarity and unity in the whole Association.
2. Concentration by the department or branch on the conduct of Association activities.
3. Economy in business administration.
4. Accuracy in statistical reports, financial statements and in auditing all transactions.
5. Intelligent supervision based upon uniformity in methods, which enables the officers to make fair comparisons between one department and another.
6. Prevention of financial waste by the development of sound business management.
7. Unifying of numerous interests which gives the weakest part the support of the strongest, and develops a perspective of the whole field that is essential to effective extension.
8. The enlistment of public interest and confidence which is impossible in a city with numerous separate and small organizations.<sup>31</sup>

In these moves the large city Associations reflected the current trends in American business life toward centralization and consolidation. That the board members who authorized these steps represented the various denominations, including those with congregational-type organization, but deliberately chose a unified methodology is primary evidence that their actions were dictated less by their ecclesiastical connections than by their business experience. Yet in their attitudes toward the increasing interrelations of the Associations they insisted upon the prerogatives of individual independence, as though they were the simple local units of an earlier period. Their philosophy remained that of Protestant independency, but their policies and actions partook of the contemporary world of big business, of which this was the golden age of centralization. The directors of Y.M.C.A.'s were also directors of the corporations that the public was just beginning to hear about as "trusts," monopolies, and combines. The biographer of the great

Chicago secretary wrote concerning the development of the metropolitan plan in that city that from the beginning the most dominant volunteer leaders of the local Associations were successful business men "who were accustomed to a highly centralized form of commercial organization" which they reproduced in the Y.M.C.A.'s they sponsored.<sup>32</sup>

The report of the metropolitan secretaries' conference of 1911 quoted approvingly from F. W. Taussig's recent *Principles of Economics* certain "advantages of large-scale production":

... the best technical skill, the best trained engineers and chemists are more easily and more economically employed by the great establishment, as with expensive but efficient machinery their use is advantageous only for a very large output, and is most economical for the largest output.

At the conference an experienced secretary pointed out that in the great cities the Association had developed "more upon the models of a great business institution than upon that of an evangelical church or denomination."

To understand the following discussion of the supervisory conflicts of this period it is necessary to keep in mind that, like their alter egos in the business world, *these giant Associations continued to claim the individual autonomy and freedom of action which had been the assumed right of every local Y.M.C.A. from the beginning of the Movement.*

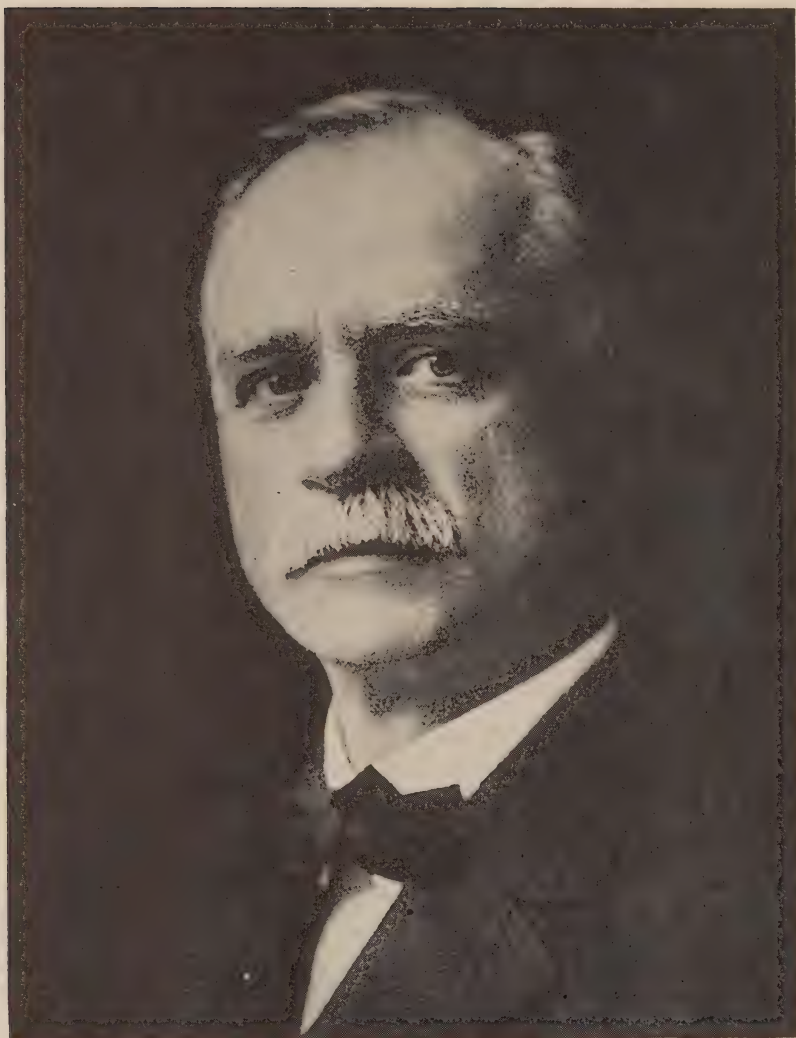
#### RELATIONSHIPS, 1890-1916

The situation that gave rise to the relationships controversies at the turn of the century was admirably sketched by Messer's biographer, C. S. Bishop, himself a metropolitan secretary, as he further analyzed the problem confronted by Messer. These difficulties, he wrote, were in part

... inherent in the paradoxical schemes of organization in American institutional life; in the two "antipodal philosophies from which sprang the first two political parties"; in the anomaly of a highly centralized, autocratic industrial-commercial structure side by side with democratic governmental processes and freedom of religious thought and action. The Associations were trying to build a democratic national body out of highly centralized independent units. In opposition were two central ideas: One, of a federation of Associations sufficient for such affiliated service as the local Associations acting separately could not render; the other, of a strong national organization acting directly upon the local units.

What McBurney had called secretarialism further complicated matters.





L. WILBUR MESSER

In 1883 the International Committee had hoped that the time would never arrive when "the secretaries are to become a class to which is to be committed the management of Association affairs." Yet in the Kansas Movement and several other less notable incidents where state or local organizations had been led astray by aggressive secretaries, it had been necessary for the Committee to take a firm stand for accepted Association principles. Some sectional rivalry and theological differences between the more conservative Midwest and the East were also to be noted in the 1890's. The action of the Convention of 1891, in restricting the city Association field to branches of one organization, had been initiated by Messer with the intention of limiting the activities of the International staff within what was coming to be regarded as local territory, but that proviso had not operated as effectively as anticipated.

These and other minor problems might have been adjusted, but in the late 1890's agents of the International Committee insisted upon supervising railroad Associations that were branches of the Chicago Y.M.C.A., which refused to recognize that railroad companies preferred system-wide administration, and that they had chosen to deal with one agency—the International Committee. Messer felt that if the Committee could enter the city of Chicago to supervise railroad and student work, there would be no limits to what seemed to him encroachments upon local autonomy.

He therefore called a conference of metropolitan, International, and state secretaries, who spent two days going over the points of friction, and then agreed upon a conciliatory resolution. Messer outlined the "increasing tendencies" toward "the centralization of power" which he thought were leading to "the exercise of mandatory authority by the International Committee." He expressed apprehension over some of the activities of the Athletic League and the educational program; the Committee's policy of obtaining long leases on railroad Y.M.C.A. facilities seemed to him to give it "arbitrary power in the control of property and the administering of Association work," and the extension of this plan could only mean that state and local organizations ultimately "would have practically no standing or influence with railroad corporations." He feared that possible "abnormal development of foreign work" might overburden local Associations and that those unable to meet their quotas would fall into disfavor. The insistence of the International student department upon arranging the programs

for its conferences at Lake Geneva, and its determination to publish its own periodical separate from the Movement organ seemed "dictatorial." Messer challenged the Committee's "changed policy" of giving priority to its own secretaries' activities in specific fields rather than directing them to work through state committees.<sup>33</sup>

Discussion, conference, and correspondence followed. At the Grand Rapids Convention of 1899, Messer, together with Morse and others, prepared four resolutions that seemed to cover the points at issue. These were unanimously adopted. They reaffirmed the existence of state and International committees "as independent supervisory agencies" directly related to the local Association which was said to be the "original and independent unit." The International Committee was to exercise "general" and the states "close" supervision; International agencies promised to work "in conference" with state and provincial Associations and to co-operate carefully with them.<sup>34</sup> Within a few months it became clear that these statements were receiving widely different interpretations. Conference followed conference, the most effectual of these being an adjourned meeting of the Association of General Secretaries that met in October, 1900, at Philadelphia for a special discussion of the problem. Extremely frank, this brought further resolutions; agreement was achieved on such a level of fraternity that all the papers presented were ordered destroyed, only Mott's inspirational address being transcribed. Less than a month later the issues broke out again.

With the approach of the Jubilee Convention, the situation became increasingly critical. A gentlemen's agreement assumed that no discussion beyond affirmation of the Grand Rapids resolutions would be brought to the floor. This was adhered to, but a committee of twenty-one was appointed to review the entire problem for the next Convention, which would meet in 1904. Hearings were held at which local and state representatives presented their views.<sup>35</sup> Messer introduced into this particular argument several articles by Association leaders, some of which have been noted herein, that indicated a widespread criticism of the International agencies. He claimed that the Committee had not desired "a careful and adequate definition of policy" and that it was after all "purely an advisory body."

In the course of this argument it became clear that the state committees were not the prime movers in the criticism of the policies and activities of the International agencies. Messer had taken the initiative

in the entire matter and bore the brunt of the battle, although he was strongly supported by Illinois state leaders and some others. Before the committee of twenty-one he declared that no single Association was able to protest the assumed prior right of the International Committee "to control the railroad work, student work, and other departments." The only hope of the local Associations' maintaining their independence, he declared, "is to come together in the state organization and together resist it"; hence the state organization had been "drawn into this."<sup>36</sup> Later in the discussions it was pointed out that the local Associations were "the real parties in interest," although Messer was not supported by all metropolitan Associations—in fact by very few. G. K. Shurtleff wrote in his *Cleveland's Young Men* that Messer's "attempted radical changes in policy" robbed the International agencies of their "heretofore direct relation to the college, railroad, army and navy, and local Associations, even when such relation may be highly preferable." D. A. Sinclair of Dayton, George T. Coxhead of St. Louis, and Walter C. Douglass of Philadelphia accused Messer of threatening to break the comity of the Movement and of seeking "to overthrow our long-established system." Not a few city secretaries feared that Messer's plan would deprive them of what they considered a right quite as fundamental as those for which he contended—"of unrestricted access to both advisory agencies, and of independent choice as to which of the advisory bodies they will elect to invoke."<sup>37</sup> At no time did the discussion deteriorate to a personal exchange; observers noted that it was continuously maintained upon a high level and that men who differed remained personal friends.

The committee of twenty-one filed majority and minority reports and the debate spilled over on the floor of the Buffalo Convention, where the Associations had come en masse to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of their first International gathering. Under the leadership of Edwin F. See, metropolitan secretary of the Brooklyn Association, conciliatory resolutions that nonetheless favored the International Committee were passed by a substantial majority. It was said that there were large delegations from student, colored, army and navy, and railroad Associations (many of the latter traveling on passes)—those supervised by the International agencies.<sup>38</sup> The International Committee was given priority in initiating negotiations with railroad corporations and in establishing new Associations on interstate roads, but it was charged to co-operate with state agencies. One observer felt that the



verdict was for co-operation rather than for centralization, which was suggested by the spontaneous outburst of fellowship and good feeling that followed the vote.<sup>39</sup> But A. G. Knebel, then an International railroad secretary, wrote three decades later that

. . . bitterness and much misunderstanding lingered, breaking out periodically into battles which should not have been allowed to foment within a Christian organization. The International Committee had erred by not taking the local Associations fully into its confidence. The local unit felt little or no responsibility for the national work, allowing New York to finance it and project its programs. The day of reckoning was rapidly approaching.<sup>40</sup>

If Knebel meant by a day of reckoning a basic reorganization to render the International structure democratically responsive, that would not come until 1923. Messer was said to have declared that he could have carried the Jubilee Convention of 1901, five to one.<sup>41</sup> That Convention had been the Movement's first genuinely representative body, its delegates having been seated in strict accordance with a plan for continent-wide representation. Not in Messer's lifetime would such a meeting occur again, but the Buffalo Convention made it plain that sooner or later the International Convention procedure and structure must be overhauled.

#### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CANADA

At the same time there developed a major separation from the International Conventions and Committee that must have given some pause to the victors of 1904: culminating in 1912, the Canadian Associations moved to form their own National Council.<sup>42</sup> Over the years the Movement had been one throughout the two countries. Yet there were unmistakable evidences that the tensions described in this chapter were partly responsible for the schism, as were certain nationalistic urges, and some specific complaints. In 1877 and 1882 there had been dominion-wide conferences and a short-lived attempt to supervise the Canadian work somewhat independently of the International Committee.<sup>43</sup> When the Convention of 1899 considered the location of the Jubilee Convention to commemorate the first half-century of the American Movement, it first voted to hold the meeting in Montreal and then for reasons that were never clearly explained changed its mind and fixed the 1901 celebration in Boston. A gradual cooling of the loyalty of the Canadian Associations was perceptible from that time on.

At the Convention of 1904 a provisional dominion committee was formed by Canadian delegates primarily to focus upon the newly opened Canadian Northwest. At that Convention representatives of the Y.W.C.A. had been "vigilant observers," and their subsequent organization of a unified national agency was watched with interest by the Canadians.<sup>44</sup> In 1905 the Dominion committee sponsored a Canada-wide conference in Montreal, which was addressed by Mott and Brockman.<sup>45</sup> One result of this was an addition to the number of Dominion members of the International Committee, raising it to nine, who were to act as a "Canadian Section" with a working quorum at Montreal. The staff was increased and the next half-dozen years showed steady expansion together with growing autonomy, the funds for several new secretaries being raised in Canada. Special attention was given to the establishment of Associations in the prairie provinces.

By 1911 Canadians had come to believe that they could manage their Association affairs themselves. Not only was there a continuation of nationalistic sentiment but considerable resentment of the frequent campaigns for funds by the multitude of International departments.<sup>46</sup> C. W. Bishop, first general secretary of the Canadian National Council, declared at the International Convention of 1913 that the purpose in forming his organization had been the unification of the supervisory agencies.<sup>47</sup> Mott had presided over an important meeting in 1911 at which it was decided to call a constitutional convention in Winnipeg in 1912. Morse viewed this move with some misgiving but Mott recognized that Canada had been submerged in the home work and that support of the foreign work would be thus virtually guaranteed.<sup>48</sup> The National Council of Canada, as set up in 1912, was a unified organization into which provincial committees and conventions were merged. It was approved by the Convention of 1913 which ratified an "Agreement of Relationships."<sup>49</sup> Although it was then loudly proclaimed that the American and Canadian Movements remained one—and to prove it Bishop was titled associate general secretary of the International Committee—the logic of events made for separation, except for continued joint participation in professional societies, statistical and yearbook records, support of foreign work, and considerable exchange of personnel.<sup>50</sup> It was another decade before the example of the new Council and that of the American Y.W.C.A. would have their effect in producing a unified national organization for the American Y.M.C.A.'s.

## FIVE EVENTFUL YEARS, 1911-1916

Upon Warner's retirement from the chairmanship of the International Committee in 1910, the office was accepted by Alfred E. Marling (1858-1935), New York business man and philanthropist. A son of one of the founders of the Montreal Association, Marling had been for fifteen years vice-chairman of the Committee, and so came to its head with "more experience and wider touch with the whole work than his predecessors—also with a broader and more stimulating outlook," as Morse wrote in his family league letter in December, 1910. The marked progress of these years was largely due to Marling's "vigilance and wisdom," Morse wrote afterward.

With the new administration there came "some important adjustments."<sup>51</sup> Marling raised the time-honored staff meetings of the senior secretaries to what amounted to cabinet status, convening them regularly two days before the monthly meetings of the Committee; he also kept regular office hours at headquarters and at times relieved Morse of some of the more important correspondence, reminding Morse of Brainerd's virile letter-writing. Another change was a reorganization of the internal working arrangements of the International Committee office, much administrative responsibility being carried by Fred B. Shipp. Hicks had resigned and Mott continued as associate general secretary for the foreign division. Morse asked Mott to consider the general secretaryship, but this was not then possible for Mott due to his commitment to the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference which had met at Edinburgh the year before; Morse stayed on until 1915. This interim was a period of marked progress in every aspect of the organization's widespread promotion, yet there was some danger of its becoming stalled on "dead center."

Because of the continued growth of departments and accelerated competition among their executives, and because earlier Conventions had not addressed themselves to the root causes of friction, the old controversies arose again—the natural product of expansion. Marling placed a greater emphasis than had his predecessor upon the annual fall orientation conferences of Committee and secretaries. For the Atlantic City meeting of 1912 the timely subject, "Perils and Weaknesses in the Work of the International Committee," was assigned to Henry B. F. Macfarland, former president of the Board of Commissioners of Washington, D. C., who had chaired the Convention of 1904

with consummate skill and tact.<sup>52</sup> Macfarland obtained his data by asking lay and secretarial leaders of all branches of the Movement for their frank statements, which were assembled without signatures. The findings were an astonishing critique of the Committee by its own members and those who knew it best. For the first time, it had a self-invited mirror placed before itself. The reflection was neither clear nor happy.

Morse's contribution, one of two signed letters utilized in the full and frank discussions of the conference, pointed to two failures that he confessed betrayed weaknesses in his own administration: the virtual domination of the Committee's program by departments whose executives were more powerful personalities than were the field staff. Thus the work had been deflected from what Morse called its "trunk line." His second weakness grew out of the first: money now flowed into departments more readily than it did into the general work.<sup>53</sup> Other critics expressed the belief that the Committee was "a local body with headquarters in New York," an "unknown and remote thing" in much of the country, its regional members "more nominal than actual"; another pointed out that members who lived at a distance from New York attended irregularly, which seemed to result in neglect of the West. Another spoke of the "undemocratic form of organization" of the Committee. One felt that its members were not too closely in touch with local Associations and that its procedures were often cut and dried.

Criticism of the Committee was perhaps strongest from state executives. One feared the "very dominant force" of "a hundred traveling secretaries"; he charged that since *Association Men* had become the Committee organ it was "only a newspaper without a policy and with very few ideas." He called the Committee a political machine only to "a very slight degree responsible to the Association Movement"; it raised its money independently, discussed its work behind closed doors, and was beyond the control of the Conventions whose ill-chosen delegates were poorly qualified to pass on Association affairs. A city secretary objected to the Committee's "secretive policy" in initiating great movements on its own, and then expecting hearty endorsement and support of them; he also spoke of dissatisfaction with the method of selecting and accrediting Convention delegates. International secretaries, said another, "increasingly take to themselves the function of directing the course of the movement."



Many regretted the overgrown departmentalism; the opportunism of the Committee was frequently mentioned. The home work was said to be "an aggregation of friendly enterprises, rather than one great movement" as was the foreign division. International secretaries lacked team spirit, their "guerilla" methods being directed toward their own departments; the field staff did not co-operate sufficiently with the state men, and some agreed with Morse that the field staff was weak. Several believed the poor relation to state work to be the only conspicuous failure of the Committee. City Association secretaries felt its weakness was greatest where it touched them—or failed to do so—and expressed the hope that the next general secretary would be chosen from their ranks.

Lack of unity in financial solicitation was often mentioned; one International Committeeman had been approached almost simultaneously in behalf of eleven Association projects. Several members of the Committee as well as secretaries were critical of religious laxity. Use of the *Year Book* "to make a case for the Committee," domination of the Silver Bay summer sessions, and an "attitude of overlordship" by certain secretaries rounded out a fifty-page critique. The material did not contain constructive suggestions, as Macfarland's questionnaire had not asked for them. The conclusion of the report was a letter from Mott, who saw the perils to the Committee in its very success, in secretarialization, lack of unity both within the International agencies and between them and the other units, its staff working "without a reserve fund" of Christian character and personal Christian experience, and "an alarming lack of the super-human in our lives and in our work."

These discussions led to the appointment of the "Macfarland Commission" which sought further light in a conference with state committee leaders at Chicago and then embodied its findings in sixteen recommendations that were presented to the Convention of 1913 as an integral part of the International Committee's report. These, said Morse, represented a larger number of proposals and were "more radical in character than had ever been submitted by the Committee to any Convention." Five other commissions brought fifty-seven more recommendations to Cincinnati, with the result that there was perhaps a greater volume of discussion and action there than at any previous International gathering. The Committee's report had been sent to all Associations thirty days before the meeting, which was one of the commission's recommendations. Several changes were made in Conven-

tion procedure; the Committee was increased from seventy to one hundred members; district executives to aid state work were to replace the field staff; a building bureau was established; a commission was appointed on student work; and an important report on "community" work without building or rooms moved the Convention to authorize the Committee to promote this kind of activity in places where it might be feasible.

Further, the Convention forbade the Committee to enter permanently upon policies "affecting the Associations generally," without its approval. Legislation dealing with relations to state committees and to local Associations required the Committee to expand its own area staff or open branch offices only after consultation and agreement with state and local Association leaders concerned. A similar policy was enunciated with regard to its general promotion, which was to be "in consultation and accord with the existing Association" in any community. Departments were forbidden to approach the same donors without clearing with the treasurer's office, and specific instructions of the same nature were laid down for the guidance of International agencies in approaching "the subscribing constituency" of local Associations; in return the latter were recommended to assume "a proportionate share of the financial responsibilities of the International Committee."<sup>54</sup>

Although these measures appeared to have patched up the more obvious weaknesses, they were but superficial remedies. In June, 1914, President Doggett surveyed the Movement to find that a substantial number of leading secretaries believed that the problems of departmental integration and unification were still very real, and remarked that the Committee was "at present more successful in star playing than in team work."<sup>55</sup> The next February the International executives who were attempting to carry out the mandate to co-operate closely with the states raised the question of realignment of the departments. A new commission was appointed, with instructions to carry on a study comparable to that of the Macfarland Commission. Headed by Wilfred W. Fry, a former secretary at Trenton and at Pittsburgh, serious discussions were carried forward that spring.

The commission heard from laymen and secretaries alike, but among the more important contributors to its findings was Mott, who had been unable to attend the hearings of the Macfarland commission.<sup>56</sup> Here, according to Morse, through the testimony of the senior secre-

taries, Mott "gained a more intimate grasp of the home work situation"—for him "an enlightenment not before experienced in such detail." While the findings of the committee were being clarified and organized, both Morse and Fry became convinced that the recommendations should be carried out under the administration of the strongest man on the Committee's staff. They therefore renewed their endeavors to convince Mott that he should accept the general secretaryship. With the rapid changes forced by the outbreak of war in Europe upon the various world endeavors with which Mott was connected, it was hoped that the time was ripe for this action toward which Morse had first moved twenty years before.<sup>57</sup> While the report was being written Mott met with the Employed Officers' Conference, where strong pressures were put upon him, and came to a conditional assent.

The Fry commission laid primary emphasis upon "the securing of a General Secretary who should administer the readjustment and enlargement of the work." In a quietly dramatic moment that revealed his own character and attitudes as well as the hope of the commission, Morse, at a meeting in June, 1915, asked if they "had in mind a man for the office." "Yes," was the reply, and Mott, who was present, was named. At the next meeting of the International Committee Mott made a statement "of a conditional acceptance of the office which was offered him, and to which he was giving prayerful consideration, in consultation with the friends associated with him in other responsibilities which he must continue to carry." After every member had expressed himself in favor of the call, the position was offered him "by a hearty unanimous vote."<sup>58</sup>

Delaying full acceptance until he could confer further with colleagues in the various church and missionary projects in which he was involved, Mott made as a condition of his acceptance the calling of Fletcher S. Brockman (1867-1944), national general secretary of the Committee for China, as his associate for both home and foreign divisions.<sup>59</sup> This was a brilliant choice that revealed Mott's policy of guiding and motivating the organization through challenge to advance chiefly in the foreign field. Although Brockman had come up through the student department, and like Mott himself knew little of city Association work in America, he was, said Sherwood Eddy, probably more greatly beloved than any other man in the whole Association world brotherhood. Furthermore, he had no commitments or hostages to any of the power groups of the American Movement. In August,



Morse, after forty-seven years, relinquished the general secretaryship to Mott, who entered at once upon its duties. Morse became "consulting general secretary for life"—another decade, during which he wrote *My Life with Young Men*, the fullest account of its history yet given the American Movement. In addition Mott asked for the appointment of three associate general secretaries for the home division and the organization with "a leader of successful experience" of a city Association department.<sup>60</sup>

John Raleigh Mott, whose career has already touched these pages many times, was born in New York state in 1865 and grew up in a small town in Iowa.<sup>61</sup> The reader of this volume is familiar with his entrance into Association work upon his graduation from Cornell in 1888. He had risen almost at once to major leadership in the student movement, and upon Moody's death became the outstanding Y.M.C.A. evangelist. As chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement from its inception, his world tours in behalf of missions and the expansion of the student fellowship made his name a Movement-wide synonym for those enterprises. He was the key figure in the organization of the World's Student Christian Federation in 1895. His ecumenical interests led him in all countries he visited to make the widest contacts with ecclesiastical figures, so that it was no surprise that he was asked to chair the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910. When he became general secretary of the International Committee in 1915, Mott, in addition to these offices, was on the executive committee of the World's Committee of Y.M.C.A.'s as well as a member of six other major interchurch and missionary boards. He was, as Morse wrote to his family, "the pre-eminent leader of our world brotherhood in this century."

It was "an epoch-making event" when this world figure, deeply immersed in missionary and ecclesiastical affairs, consented to add the American Y.M.C.A. to "the other world movements with which he [was] connected." Mott would thus, as Marling wrote to the Movement, "be able to render increasing service to the Church, and thereby to the Kingdom of our Lord." It was primarily as an organizer and promoter that Mott had attained the confidence of men of wealth who supported his numerous projects with almost unlimited funds. It was to him in these capacities that the distraught International Committee, acutely conscious of its "perils and weaknesses," turned in what those most intimately acquainted with it termed "the present crisis." The



statesman, wrote Sherwood Eddy in describing Mott's career, "must hold things and men together. He reconciles the conflicting elements in each succeeding situation to conserve the institution or organization by compromise."<sup>62</sup> This was the essence of the problem to which the Fry commission had addressed itself.

In accepting the secretaryship, Mott wrote in an open letter to Marling that his guiding principle would be "to discover how the Association may render throughout the world the maximum service to the Kingdom of God, especially as expressed in the Christian Church." Chief and constant emphasis must be placed on the spiritual, he continued, so that our principal concern "should be to bring into the lives of men the vitalizing and transforming power of the Living Christ." To C. K. Ober, who had "discovered" Mott at Cornell in 1886, he was the man of the hour and his acceptance of the general secretaryship would "mark a new era in the life and work of the whole Association movement," giving the "great spiritual leadership" needed.<sup>63</sup> Such considerations as Ober mentioned may have been Mott's reasons for calling Brockman, who enjoyed the universal respect and confidence of American leaders as well as those of the Orient; he "stood out in a class by himself," wrote a contemporary who characterized Mott and Brockman as "men of unlimited spiritual horizons," unsurpassed in "vision, daring, and the ability to think in world terms."<sup>64</sup> Within a few months their attention began to be drawn to the needs of young men involved in the first global war.

The International Committee meeting at which Mott was appointed general secretary heard the report of the Fry commission and adopted most of its recommendations. Noting an improvement in relationships between the Committee and the state organizations, it pointed to a further "need and opportunity for more complete co-operation between these two agencies"; progress had also been made in unifying the departments, but "still better co-ordinating" was possible. Specialization in railroad, army and navy, and student work had drawn off attention from what was "in many respects the most important group—the City Associations." The time had fully arrived for a readjustment of departmental organization, especially with regard to the agencies "related to the promotion of Association activities." Staff changes, more state committee men on the International Committee, the formation of a secretarial cabinet to meet monthly, a city Association department, a considerable reorganization of the subcommittees, consolidation of

regional departmental offices, and an enlarged executive committee were voted.<sup>65</sup>

The new administration introduced further use of the staff gatherings known as cabinet meetings, which had been "a feature of Chairman Marling's administration from the beginning"; these were "strongly developed" by Mott, who prepared for them with great care.<sup>66</sup> As the budget for 1916 was set up most departments obtained increases ranging up to 90 per cent and the new city Association work was planned; general field work, the neglect of which had concerned both the Macfarland and Fry commissions, received an increase of about five hundred dollars. The next spring a private conference of city secretaries was held at Garden City for the purpose of exploring thoroughly the problems involved in establishing the newly authorized city Association department. Here it became clear that Mott had stepped into responsibility for an organization whose program, ideology, and general effectiveness as well as structural framework were being seriously questioned. F. W. Ober, editor of *Association Men*, pointed out to the conference that other organizations were taking over many of the activities the Associations had pioneered or developed and that unless the Movement occupied its field to the full it would be forced to "give a quit-claim to it to other, and hitherto less qualified, societies." Messer felt that Mott's administrative setup was inadequate and that there should be an additional associate general secretary as executive head of the home work, it seeming to him impracticable for Mott and Brockman "with their world relations and divided responsibilities, their connection with the foreign work of the Associations and their relations to other organizations" to give it adequate attention.<sup>67</sup>

The heart of the problem of relations between the International administration and the city Associations was stated by Secretary C. K. Calhoun of Montreal, who expressed the hope that Mott and Brockman would spend several days in each of fifteen leading city Y.M.C.A.'s rather than to attempt to select one executive as traveling secretary for this specialty: "The head men," he pointed out, "need to know as administrators." Calhoun was later to head the city department. Others re-enforced the contention of Secretary J. W. Cook of Brooklyn that the plan for a city Association expert was not really what they wanted; business manager W. J. Parker of Chicago showed the group that what was needed was rather what later came to be called "program services." In a sense Mott's remark that "we must redefine

our relationships" characterized the discussions that ranged widely and touched upon most issues of the time. On the whole the conference was impressed by Parker's statement that the Movement was "a bit staggered and embarrassed by the burden of new problems" presented by the great new business enterprise that had resulted from the tremendous wave of building in the preceding decade.

The Convention of that summer (1916), the second largest one on record, aware of the gradual approach of war, was said by Marling to be Mott's "inaugural without a ceremony." A telegram of greeting was received from President Wilson. The recommendations of the Fry commission were included among three dozen proposals laid before the Convention as Mott's charter for action. These touched upon every aspect of program and organization. An attempt was made to enunciate principles as guides to the perplexing departmental relationships issues.<sup>68</sup> Fresh expansion for the work with Army and Navy, high school boys, employed boys, boys who could not be reached through building facilities, seventeen to twenty-one year olds, in industrial communities, and European war work were authorized. The home work budget was increased to \$425,000. A city Association "counseling commission" was decided upon in addition to a secretary for that department and increases in the staff of almost every other department were voted. Reports of the functioning of the district executive secretaries indicated an improvement in relations with state committees since the system had been instituted by the Convention of 1913. Greetings were sent to James Stokes, who had been a member of the International Committee all the fifty years since appointed at Albany in 1866; John Wanamaker and Elihu Root who had gone there as delegates were also remembered. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and W. S. Stone, chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, made speeches and "to the joy and surprise of everyone" agreed. Secretary E. C. Carter of India, now organizing war work in Europe, spoke vividly of "The New World in India" but was openly critical of the conservatism of the International Committee in reducing expenses rather than supporting the needed expansion when Indian troops were accompanied to Europe by Association secretaries. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke briefly on the value of Association work in the Navy, referring to the Convention as a "magnificent meeting on preparedness." His chief, Woodrow Wilson, was running for the presidency again that summer, on the slogan "He kept us out of war." Other

speakers covered the Association world, but it remained for Secretary G. A. Warburton of Toronto inadvertently to reflect the uncertainties and yearnings of a Movement confronted by the world missionary vision but compromised by a world half at war and the other half trying to remain neutral. Said Warburton in presenting part of the report of the committee on the International Committee's report: ". . . We wish to be cautious, and at the same time we wish to act as men of vision."

#### POSTPONING THE SOLUTION

Upon America's entrance into the War, the Y.M.C.A. was at once drawn into an expansion of program so far beyond the most extravagant imaginings of any of its leaders that discussion of organizational problems was shelved for a two-year interim during which they were intensified by forces beyond immediate control. The neatly patterned findings and recommendations for the guidance of eight commissions as worked out by the joint secretarial and International Committee conference of September, 1916, were forgotten in the colossal job of administering 90 per cent of the welfare work directed toward the armed forces, which effort will be described in the next chapter. The expansion of national staff entailed moving to larger quarters. Early in 1918 offices were taken at 347 Madison Avenue, New York, where for the next thirty years the Movement's nucleus functioned at the very crossroads of the western world, making that world-famous address in the heart of mid-town Manhattan a symbol of Association identification with the larger currents of American and world life focused there.

Although the War opened for the American Movement "a new peace field stretching from Vladivostok to London and Brest and from Archangel to Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem and Bagdad," as Morse wrote to a friend in 1919, that was a year of "most difficult transition financially, economically, departmentally, secretari ally." The War effort had forced some unity upon the organization, but it had also intensified those authoritarian trends to which there had been strenuous objection. Critics again made themselves heard. "It would have been surprising if the end of the war and return of peace had not precipitated something of a crisis in a movement like that of the Y.M.C.A.," wrote a careful observer. The War had also accelerated a chain reaction that by the mid-1920's would bring into question "all



of the cherished modes of behavior of the past," both personal and organizational.<sup>69</sup>

The Convention of 1919, meeting at Detroit with 3,136 delegates, provided a forum for the airing of accumulated dissatisfactions as well as for self-congratulation upon the War effort. Its 700-page *Proceedings* betray at many points an increasing sensitiveness on the part of the International Committee and administration to the demand for more democracy within the Movement—America having just won a war to make the world safe for that idea.<sup>70</sup> In the face of the growing isolationism that was to paralyze the nation's better intentions through the next two decades, the Convention received messages of good will from around the globe, the chairman citing these as evidence of the Movement's internationalism. Not only did the Convention hear of tremendous progress in the foreign work but membership and home support had increased markedly since 1916. To aid in occupying the home field, regional committees were to be set up, comprised of state and International Committee members. A bureau of surveys was established, and the Federal Council's social creed endorsed. Morse introduced the aging Weidensall and reminded the delegates that "Uncle Robert" had first been employed by action of another Convention that had met at Detroit fifty-one years before. Some changes were made in the initiative and referendum procedures. An elaborate report on all program and supervisory matters was presented by a committee on the occupation of the field, and the Convention voted to authorize the International Committee to have a new study made of its internal organization "in order more perfectly to adapt it to present requirements and ensure unity, balance, simplicity and economy in its operation."

The first move toward reorganization was to carry further the secretarial rearrangement Mott had specified in 1915. The commission thus appointed made recommendations from time to time, increasingly sensing the necessity of a basic reorganization; there was also an audible crescendo of objection to a "dictatorial attitude" on the part of the International staff. In this atmosphere the City General Secretaries' Association was formed in February, 1920. Smarting under what they regarded as neglect by the International regional executives, they felt "compelled to band together for the protection of their interests."<sup>71</sup> Business manager W. J. Parker of Chicago wrote to H. P. Lansdale of Rochester, secretary of the new group, "our local Associations are the

big enterprise in our movement." By 1923 74 per cent of the total membership was in city Y.M.C.A.'s.

The interim until the Convention of 1922 was filled with further re-examinations of "conditions and tendencies." The mandates of the Detroit Convention were put into effect, yet Mott admitted to the Employed Officers' Conference of 1921 that the Movement was not impressing itself upon the character and action of its members "to any such extent as is desirable and as might reasonably be expected." Workers were dominated "too much by the material, financial, and institutional aspects of our work." Business efficiency needed to be scaled upward and the lack of democracy was "one of the most disappointing aspects of its present-day life." The Movement was weak "in corporate action on a national scale," being divided in its loyalties.

In this address Mott insisted that ways be worked out for developing closer relations between competing interests: "in so far as the lack of close and triumphant unity is due to faulty organization or procedure, it calls for courageous, wise overhauling of machinery, and revision of our practice." He admitted that the Movement was "not organized for the most helpful expression of opposition" and that there was no adequate provision for bringing the will of the majority of the local Associations to bear on state and International Committees. "I want," he declared, "to see the New York headquarters . . . fully and promptly responsive to the best sentiment of the brotherhood." He also noted the "clamant need of more first-rate men in the secretaryship" and advocated increasingly effective personnel procedures and strong backing of the training agencies. He saw "the prophetic and heroic notes" too largely missing among Association leaders, and a ground for alarm in "the mental stagnation and spiritual starvation" of many. About this time John E. Manley, associate general secretary for foreign work, wrote to Mott of his concern over "the disjointed organization of our Movement":

The historic separation of the three main groups has bred ignorance, suspicion, friction and policies and programs which duplicate each other and are inharmonious.

Manley further pointed his chief's attention to "local autonomy gone to seed":

What was one day a helpful emphasis resulting in a greater sense of local responsibility has now become a doctrine pursued for its own sake.<sup>72</sup>

As the Convention of 1922 approached, elaborate changes in procedure were proposed. The Missouri state convention of 1921 tried a plan to make such bodies "more representative of actual working forces of the Associations" and suggested that it be applied to the International body. The periodicals featured articles reforming the Conventions, asking for more democracy in the Movement, and reviewing the grounds of tension between the several units. The City Secretaries continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the International staff, being frankly critical of International budgets: "they wrongly state the number of Secretaries employed in the Home Work; they do not disclose all the enterprises which they conduct; they do not exhibit pay rolls or other satisfactory schedules."<sup>73</sup>

The committee authorized by the Detroit Convention to study the Convention and the work of the International Committee convened a group, at Niagara Falls in July, 1922, that was representative of local Associations, state and International Committees—both laymen and secretaries. As a result of this conference Mott called a meeting of all senior state secretaries and all senior secretaries of the International Committee, with two metropolitan general secretaries as observers, at Lake Mohonk, New York in October, 1922. Both these conferences made it increasingly clear that the organizational structure of the Movement, rather than the conflict of personalities, was primarily responsible for the continuing tension and friction. No less than thirteen plans for reorganization or documents for study were proposed during this time.

When the Convention met, the International Committee in its report averred that the Movement was "living in no fool's paradise": The Associations did not "count themselves as having attained. They know and are keenly conscious of their limitations, weaknesses, and shortcomings." A budget reviewing committee was appointed. Mott restated fifteen "guiding principles" that he had enunciated at the Niagara Falls conference, which he felt should be kept in view in any plan of reorganization, beginning with "the independence and autonomy" of local Associations. Thorough discussions had prepared the Association mind for the recommendation of the committee on representation and rules that there be a Constitutional Convention, and the meeting was set for October, 1923. A Committee of Thirty-three was appointed to make all general arrangements. Judge Adrian Lyon, of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, was named chairman. This committee

appointed several "fact-finding committees" to gather pertinent data. The Committee of Thirty-three provided a plan for the election of members to the Constitutional Convention by state conventions in proportion to the active membership of the local Associations and so assured their co-operation and a representative body. Meanwhile James M. Speers succeeded Marling as chairman of the International Committee.

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The International Committee's report to the Convention of 1922 had said that Rockefeller interests were financing the preparation of "an entirely outside, detached, impartial survey" of the organization. This document, which came to be known by its chief author's name as the "Mark Jones Report," summarized its findings as follows:

Because the work of the International Committee has reached such proportions in recent years, the present administrative methods are unequal to the task of keeping the organization under control. . . . Long handicapped by a complex and illogical relationship to its constituency, the Committee is now facing acute internal problems of its own.<sup>74</sup>

Five issues were outstanding: (1) the balance of control and responsibility between laymen and employed personnel had been "completely upset"; (2) the prominent position of the secretarial staff had not aided in bringing the organization under control although it was responsible for financing the home work; (3) the cost of securing contributions to the home division had risen to at least eighteen cents out of each contributed dollar; (4) the business operations of the Committee, especially Association Press and *Association Men*, were running increasingly large annual cash deficits. Behind such problems lay (5) the organization of the Committee: should its present setup, "largely an unorganized aggregation," give way to "a carefully planned, centrally controlled, and scientifically co-ordinated organization"?—a question that aroused serious opposition to his plan when Jones asked it before the Convention. The movement for efficiency that had spread from business to social and religious groups could not be ignored, he continued. Lastly, the Committee was powerless to solve its illogical relationship to other Y.M.C.A. groups: "Including the State Committees, it is fair to say that the International Committee is competing for support with fifty-five other Y.M.C.A. agencies"; until order could be brought out of this chaos there would be little hope for relief from some of the most pressing problems.



The report suggested that the Constitutional Convention might clear the way for the first steps along a path that would of necessity involve much further effort if unity and efficiency were to be achieved. It did not overlook the "creditable showing" that had been made by the Committee and its "well trained and competent secretariat through the years." Yet the work of organized groups as large as the Committee could not be "conducted indefinitely under one static plan of organization." For that reason it was hoped that the Committee would not accept its reorganization proposals as a final solution of the problem. It must expect to face the necessity of periodic overhauling. Flexibility would also be necessary. The survey saw the Committee as "mainly an aggregation of individualists," whereas it ought to be a team in which each division, department, and individual should know its or his position and "play the game in relation to other members of the team as a part of the whole." Change must be expected to occur regularly: "at all costs initiative and vision must be protected," for without them vitality "will be lost and a static condition will become a reality." The Movement was then challenged to fresh pioneering on the great issues confronting social agencies. How it would respond to them would determine "to a large extent the future usefulness of a great nation-wide organization. . . ."

Several plans of reorganization were proposed by individuals and groups and were given movement-wide publicity before the Convention, which met in Cleveland October 17 to 23, 1923. The issues had been widely and thoroughly discussed throughout the Movement and the usual pressure groups had rented hotel rooms large enough to hold meetings.<sup>75</sup> The Mark Jones Report was a 360-page document that included two specific blueprints for reorganization. Jones presented one of them after nine other plans had been laid before the Convention. Approach to the organizational problem was at first complicated by a determined attempt to revise the evangelical basis of membership, but after this discussion had consumed six full sessions the Convention realized that it could not resolve that issue and turned its full attention to the agency matter.

The basic question was whether the two parallel organizations—state and International Committees—should continue to operate side by side or whether they ought to be joined either in one agency or with carefully delineated working relationships. Were state committees agents of the national Movement or independent entities? Mott re-

garded the one agency plan as an academic idea: both types were necessary, yet he inclined toward a centralized organization. The problem resolved itself into how the two might be related. Was it possible to preserve the almost fanatical loyalty the Movement professed to the concept of local autonomy, and at the same time agree upon a method whereby the individual Association might be heard nationally? As a leading secretary saw it:

The extreme right apparently contended for absolute local and state autonomy with the national agency practically reduced to a few self-supporting Bureaus. The extreme left contended for a dominant, highly centralized leadership. The convention, proved its wisdom by accepting neither view, and developing a view of its own.<sup>76</sup>

Upon the recommendation of the Committee of Thirty-three, a representative nominating committee had named five drafting committees: one on the National Legislative Body, one on General Agencies, one on Financing the General Agencies, one on a Judiciary, and one on the Membership Basis. There was also a Committee of Sixty to receive the reports of these several committees and to co-ordinate them into a consistent whole to be presented to the Convention.

After four days' work, agreement had been reached in the Committee of Sixty on the reports of all the drafting committees except that on General Agencies. That drafting committee was divided almost evenly between two major proposals. The Committee of Sixty found itself almost equally divided upon these proposals and finally decided to have them both presented to the whole Convention and to ask the Convention, in committee of the whole, to make the decision.

The intensity of the discussions reached its climax on the fifth day of the Convention when in the morning session a plan was presented by J. G. Rosebush of Wisconsin for a two-agency setup. This was the matured statement of the local autonomy viewpoint, and was discussed at length and with some warmth. Its supporters were in the main the state secretaries and committeemen who had become convinced of the "states' rights" argument. That afternoon Fred W. Ramsey of Cleveland, secretary F. B. Shipp of Pittsburgh, and President Willis D. Weatherford of the Southern Y.M.C.A. College presented a plan for integrated organization. Weatherford's activity behind the scenes had been a strategic factor in obtaining the floor for the unified plan, although he had come to the Convention as an alternate.

In place of two completely opposed schemes there were now two

plans that had significant elements in common. Convinced that it must be "in substantial accord upon its own work" if it hoped to win the approval of the country, the Convention recommitted these to their authors for compromise or to report their differences. There followed another sleepless night for the advocates of compromise and unification. Ramsey and Rosebush, with the aid of Weatherford and others, reached an agreement "sometime about midnight" and next morning reported real concessions that both sides believed had produced "a stronger framework upon which to build our agency scheme."<sup>77</sup>

Those who had fought through to the compromise marched to the platform amid great excitement, and the Convention greeted their document with heartfelt applause. Mott lifted the occasion to a high spiritual plane by proposing the Preamble, which he had written in the early hours of the morning and that dedicated the movement afresh to its "great mission" of bringing under the sway of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ "the young manhood and boyhood of North America and of the other lands served by our Associations." After a unanimously favorable vote had been taken the Convention spontaneously broke into the Doxology. Submitted to the Movement, 1,024 Associations ratified the new Constitution; only fourteen refused to do so. A digest of the provisions of the new document will be found under Footnote 78 of this chapter.<sup>78</sup>

### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

More than one delegate felt that the Constitutional Convention had been one of the greatest gatherings since the first meeting in 1854. As an astute observer interpreted it, the organization now ceased "being a crowd" and became a unified Movement, with control definitely in the hands of local Associations "in convention assembled." The International Committee would give way to a General Board as the ad interim body of a National Council of some four hundred delegated members, of whom two-thirds would be laymen. National services would be "decentralized and co-ordinated," with headquarters supervision of the special groups such as railroad, student, army and navy, or colored. State staffs were to be integrated into the national secretariat, the senior state secretary being an agent of the National Council. Both national and state budgets were to be subject to National Council review. International Conventions would be held every three years and would center their attention on inspiration and education,

the Council having taken over organizational and program responsibility. Thus was planned a federal system. Mott saw it as "tantamount to one agency."<sup>79</sup> City Associations were pleased that they had apparently regained control of the national body. Considerable reorganization went on at headquarters, but the next *Year Book* remarked laconically that although it was reporting a year of transition "the conduct of the work in the local field [had] been practically the same as before."<sup>80</sup>

When the first Council met at Buffalo in 1924, *Association Men* remarked that the Movement had adopted "the form, furniture and formulas of democracy." Mott was elected general secretary and the constitution further implemented by setting up staff and office arrangements. The new body faced its first test when delegates found themselves unauthorized to pledge support of the National program as the Council voted it on an apportionment basis. This was indicative of problems that arose; year after year there was a sharp division in the Council over the home work budget. Not a few Associations came to believe that they had little more control over agency policies and budgets than under the International Committee, so curtailed their financial support accordingly. Annual Council meetings now substituted for Conventions, though the latter were still held at infrequent intervals. Primarily business sessions, Councils lacked the emotional drives that had often infused the International Conventions with the crusading spirit that had powered most of the great advances of the Movement. In actuality, few of the high hopes of 1923 were realized in the next decade other than the integration of the National program departments into a general program, research, and survey section, and a change from promotional to educational methods of serving the Movement. Compromise had robbed unification of sufficiently strong ties; some of those who administered the new instrument only half believed in it; and localism was too strong to submit during the 1920's.

State organizations tended to shrink in the new arrangement and some experimented with regional unions; the federal pattern came under some criticism, and the attempt of the home division to enforce the constitution, as the division construed it, in relation to the student and transportation departments precipitated major crises. They were resolved only by arrangements that assured to those departments practical control over agency service to their related Associations, control over their staffs, over their budgets and their financing—provided they



could raise the necessary money—subject only to the approval of the General Board and the National Council as to their general policies and their personnel. Amendments to the Constitution were presented at the Buffalo Council meeting and almost every one after it, but it is beyond the scope of this History to pursue such changes further than the important unification of agency services and practices adopted in 1933 as the result of a survey by Cecil Gamble. This laid the bases for the area organization, and because of its co-operative emphases obtained wide approval, even in most of the states where the spirit of independence was still strong.

### ORGANIZING THE AREAS

The articulation of area organizations in the 1930's was the most realistic handling of the vexed problem of relationships produced in the entire history of American Y.M.C.A. supervisory agencies. As early as 1879 Robert Weidensall had proposed a regional division of the field and in 1887 expanded his idea into a carefully worked out scheme whereby district International secretaries, under local committees, would cover five-state regions.<sup>81</sup> Brainerd would hear none of it, and three years later vetoed a comparable proposal by Secretary Walter C. Douglass of Boston, who suggested a New England regional federation. Brainerd believed that his secretaries should be rotated geographically as well as departmentally, and that the state Associations were better suited to carry on "close" supervision. By the time of his retirement the Committee's general field work was being thought of in terms of the principal regions of the country, but these were merely geographical designations and had no significance for specifically regional promotion. The continued travel of the rapidly expanding International departmental and field staffs did much to spread and strengthen the Movement, especially on the Pacific Coast and in the South in the 1890's.

The *Year Book* of 1896 announced that the International Committee had divided the continent into several sections and had stationed an executive in as many of these as its resources permitted. This was the beginning of an acceptance of regional organization. Following the Spanish-American War the Conventions resolved that these "districts" should be given "special and vigilant attention," but they did not enlarge the staff appreciably or allot adequate funds to do so. In 1902 C. K. Ober was in charge of the whole field, with offices at Chicago;

C. C. Michener worked out from New York, C. L. Gates from Atlanta, and C. S. Ward was also at Chicago. These men spent a large share of their time assisting with local building campaigns. The subsequent appointment of C. K. Calhoun for the Canadian field has previously been mentioned; it was the first example of regional autonomy.

The Convention of 1913 approved a plan for resident regional executives in five districts—Eastern, Southern, Central, Western, Pacific Coast.<sup>82</sup> These secretaries were commissioned to work intimately with the state committees—a device intended to lessen the tensions between those units, but which was hardly effective enough to outweigh the much larger volume of promotional activity and financial solicitation of the International departments whose staff invaded any likely territory virtually as they chose. The Convention of 1919 was favorably impressed by six years' operation of the plan and changed its name from "district" to "regional." The device obtained increasing prestige under the National Council, but serious difficulty was encountered when the regions attempted to accept responsibility for the Council budget.<sup>83</sup>

Under the supervision of National Council Associate General Secretary S. Wirt Wiley, during the second half of the 1920's, the regional executives became almost as important resources to the state committees as they were to the National offices. A. G. Knebel in the central region, B. G. Alexander in the West, and R. H. King in the Southern regions were notably effective, as was Fred Hanson on the Pacific Coast. In the Eastern region A. G. Bookwalter and John W. Cook had harder going; this was usually the result in any section when state secretaries were not co-operative. However, the depression brought a change in atmosphere in which it was possible to consider further modification of the system, which was still essentially a dual structure subject to the tensions of forty years, and was, as Wiley had concluded in 1929, "unworkable."

The creative idea that released the tensions and established the first positive unity between state committees and the National agency was provided by Earl W. Brandenburg, executive of the Central region from 1927 to 1936. As Brandenburg interpreted his office, the regional executive was the field representative of the general secretary and was directly responsible to the General Board of the National Council through the general secretary. He was thus a relatively free agent to apply co-operative schemes wherever they could be assimilated.<sup>84</sup> The

ground had been skillfully prepared by A. G. Knebel in the Central region, where Brandenburg followed him as regional executive in 1927.

The idea with which Brandenburg opened the way to state-National unity was an application of the time-honored Association presupposition of the freedom of choice by local units, here applied to methods of supervision. When the state secretaryship of the Minnesota group became vacant in the early 1930's, the committee asked Brandenburg to serve also in that capacity. A comparable situation arose in Wisconsin where the state executive became a member of the National staff. On the ground that such a device, while unusual, was not illegal, the experiment was tried, the National regional executive serving in a sense as co-ordinator of state and regional staffs. An attempt on the part of an Illinois group to capture the scheme for a semiautonomous organization failed, while the plan continued to commend itself to state committees feeling the depression.

The Council meeting of 1930 had approved a commission to study the general agencies to discover whether "economies or greater efficiency" could be effected. Cecil Gamble of Cincinnati was appointed chairman of this commission and soon became interested in the experiment being carried on in the Central region. As this progressed, Gamble became convinced of its validity, and when his report was made to the Council of 1933, its proposal for the gradual, permissive integration of agency services was a recommendation that the experiment be legalized. The new "areas" were to have committees functioning in both field and national relationships; their executives would be national staff members, closely co-ordinated to provide diversified services. Other state committees were invited to take an intermediate "affiliated" relationship through joint financing if they chose; Wisconsin and Ohio pioneered in percentage financing. As John E. Manley, National Council general secretary, viewed it at the time, most agencies were inclined "to ask the simple question as to how we can get a better job done among young men and boys through the Y.M.C.A."; evolutionary rather than revolutionary methods would, in the long run, "prove best for the remaking of a social and religious organization such as ours."

States' rights opposition was strong and fairly vocal but the plan commended itself and on June 4, 1935, the North Central Area Council was organized, comprising the state Associations of Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Iowa.<sup>85</sup> Ohio followed, then the West Central,

Southwest, Pacific Northwest, and Pacific Southwest Areas were added. Brandenburg, as associate general secretary of the National Council, gave major attention to the development of these organizations. A special contribution by Gamble covered the cost of needed meetings and conferences to facilitate plans. By 1936 there were also nine affiliated states. The end of 1940 saw the organization of the Central Atlantic Area. Eight state committees, most of them in the regions known for their individualism or states' rights attitudes, remained independent. "The task of national Movement integration is not complete," wrote the editor of the 1940 *Year Book*, for unity of purpose and action is something deeper than structure, more compelling than a finely articulated plan. "Such a plan may facilitate united achievement; but it can not guarantee it." Such dissent concerning co-operation as might remain, he continued, might well be applied to the major challenges facing the organization:

... As a predominantly city Movement, the Association has scarcely touched the rural field as yet; as a "middle-class" Movement, it has in only a limited way touched many of the less privileged classes. When, now, Association members, committee and board members, and staffs take the measure of the Association's capacity to make united impact upon the problems before it, they will be fortunate indeed if they have the gift of perspective and the grace of unity.<sup>86</sup>

#### THE GENERAL SECRETARYSHIP, 1928-1940

Mott had resigned as general secretary in 1928. He was succeeded by Fred W. Ramsey, a Cleveland business man who had been a popular president of the National Council. He held office through the early years of the depression, until February, 1932. The following January, John E. Manley became general secretary, serving until the end of 1940. The International Committee unexpectedly survived the reorganization of 1924, because of its legal status. In 1931 responsibility for the foreign work was returned to it, largely because of the financial stringency, but in part due to "some desire of individuals to return to the type of organizational control existing prior to the National Council";<sup>87</sup> this tended to weaken the National Council. From 1931 to 1936 Francis Harmon, as general secretary of the International Committee, performed a remarkable feat of retrenchment, as will be indicated in Chapter 17.

Manley directed his administration toward the creation of an era of goodwill by the consistent use of a democratic methodology and was



concerned to activate the unrealized potentialities of the National Council constitution that would operate toward this end. Notable achievements in Movement unity resulted, particularly in the articulation of the areas. By 1933 the depression had made major inroads upon almost every aspect of Association activity and organization, "maturing a state of readiness in which growing discontent and a vision of what might be" were able to play important parts in strengthening a National organization seriously impaired by the financial straits in which the country was caught. By drastic salary cuts and staff reductions, Manley's administration brought Council expenditures within its income, an untried policy but an absolute necessity in the estimation of those who were strongly supporting Manley's effort to salvage the Council.

The complicated top organization of the Movement was simplified in 1936 by the integration of the International Committee into the National Council. By mutual agreement this was accomplished by merging the General Board into the International Committee and then adopting the Committee as the ad interim body of the National Council to be elected by the Council.

This action brought the property and funds held by the International Committee, and its obligations, under the control of the Council as was originally intended by the Constitutional Convention of 1923. It also brought the foreign work back into the Council. A National Board was created to administer the home work of the National Council and an International Board to administer the foreign work. Problems inherited from almost fifteen years of precarious financing were met in part by balancing the budget; the bases of percentage financing were worked out.

Well before this, under the guidance of Jay A. Urice the Council had made available to the Associations a "program service" of resources as a gradual transformation of the older program departments which were now liquidated in a deliberate move toward simplification. The personnel division became "personnel services." The several functions that had previously been carried on by the bureau of records and various other bureaus were incorporated into the Bureau of Records, Studies and Trends under the chairmanship of Arthur L. Swift and the direction of Owen E. Pence. By 1932 what was once known as "supervision" was being defined by national executives as "co-operative action" at the focal points of between-Association fel-

lowship and work.<sup>88</sup> The numerous ways in which the central agencies influenced the Movement will be touched upon in succeeding chapters.

This necessarily brief sketch of the development of the National Council may be concluded with General Secretary Manley's words to the Council of 1940; they clearly reflected the philosophy of those who had by then placed the organization upon a firm footing:

The central ideas of the new set-up, in contrast with the old, are a legislative body, small enough to do better thinking and planning, a rotating membership insuring continuity of experience and a form of selection of members designed to make them more directly and responsibly representatives of the local associations.

Thus the American Movement had swung the full circle from the independency of local units in two nations at first leagued in a loose Confederation, to nationally integrated organizations reflecting the folkways of mid-twentieth century business or government, rather than the separatist ideals of the Protestant sects. Yet in the autonomy claimed and practiced by metropolitan Associations and isolationist state committees the old ideas lingered on.

Such was the evolving organization that fostered the prodigious development of the American Y.M.C.A.'s during their period of greatest growth, their largest single operation in the First World War, and their most serious retrenchment and self-evaluation in the 1930's.

## Chapter 11 The Proliferation of Program, 1895-1917

In the years immediately following 1900, the word was "Forward." The extending commitments of a policy of expansion were courageously assumed. . . . To the Association leaders of these years, such increases represented impressive evidence of wide popular favor in American life [and] seemed to indicate a certain destiny. Multifarious services to varied classes of young men were continued and extended. The now well-established departments, both those relating to varied constituencies and to the fourfold program emphases, flourished. . . . They enlarged their staffs. They increased their contacts. Each strongly pressed its claims for further expansion. . . .

—OWEN E. PENCE, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, 1939<sup>1</sup>

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR precipitated the Associations into new programs and expanded previous activities to such an extent that the relative growth on a variety of fronts during the next twenty years was the greatest of any comparable period in Y.M.C.A. history. As was suggested in Chapter 10, a fundamental reason for this was that the War revealed public confidence and hitherto unsuspected generosity that were quickly taken advantage of. Not only did International Committee departments flourish, but local Associations raised unheard-of sums to construct great buildings. Their activities also proliferated—into boys' departments that almost obliterated the young men for whom the Y.M.C.A. had once been intended; camping and educational ventures that grew by leaps and bounds; and rural and industrial experiments that proved successful enough to warrant serious support. A few efforts were made to work among boys and young men in parts of the cities where standard equipment was not available, but for the most part Association programs of the years between the Spanish-American War and the First World War were building-centered, and represented but the further development of ideas and techniques explored before the turn of the century. The emphases of the period were characteristic of America in those years—a practical

materialism concentered in buildings, the growth of larger and larger financial operations, continuous pressures toward increased membership, and an immense relative expansion of physical work as well as properties.

#### WORK FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY

By 1898, the American Movement had achieved "an elaborate structure, which, although dual in nature and inadequately integrated, was capable on occasion of acting with impressive unity."<sup>2</sup> The brief war with Spain between April and December, 1898, was an epochal opportunity for the display of that unity. Some 250,000 men were under arms, and the occupation of Cuba and the Philippines extended beyond 1898. The event marked the embarkation of the American people upon a permanent course of world-commitment. The Y.M.C.A. had extended its interest abroad a decade earlier; from this time forward its expansion would continue apace. The foundation for Association work in the Army and Navy had been laid by the Convention of 1895, although little had been done to implement that legislation. The experience of many state committees' summer encampment programs set a precedent that was readily followed, as the War was fought during the summer and in warm regions. With the Civil War pattern in mind, the International Committee appointed a twenty-three man "Army and Navy Christian Commission" on the day war was declared.<sup>3</sup> Colonel John J. McCook was made chairman and Moody was placed in charge of the evangelistic program. Field secretary W. B. Millar was named to administer the Committee's activity. Within a week clearances were obtained from the Army and in June comparable permission was obtained from the Navy.<sup>4</sup>

The Commission moved at once to enlist the support of local and state Associations, some of which had taken steps toward meeting the new needs. Funds were raised through various devices, including a "Patriotic Sunday" when churches, Sunday Schools, young people's societies, and Y.M.C.A.'s themselves were solicited. The official periodical, *Men*, kept the brotherhood informed and money and secretaries poured in. State committees, because of their success with summer militia work, followed their own troops to the field, twenty-eight of them working at forty camps at which seventy-four large tents were utilized by seventy-six secretaries. At twenty-four national camps one hundred and thirty-three tents were operated by two hundred and



twenty-three secretaries. One estimate placed the daily attendance at 50 per cent of the men in camp.

The facilities provided were an extension of the regular summer features: free correspondence materials, ice water to discourage beer drinking at the army canteen, newspapers and magazines, a pamphlet of *Medical Rules for Camp Life*, indoor and outdoor games. The religious program featured evangelism not only under Moody, but also under a new and dynamic lay revivalist, Fred B. Smith.<sup>5</sup> Song books were prepared, sixty thousand Bibles and testaments were distributed, and it was estimated that eight thousand men were converted. Secretaries visited in hospitals and sailed on naval vessels and transports, the first of them embarking from San Francisco in June, 1898, supported by the state Association of California.<sup>6</sup> Local Y.M.C.A.'s appointed army committees, quite as they had in the Civil War, and set up programs at nearby camps, forts, or naval bases; some of these eventuated into permanent army or navy Associations.<sup>7</sup> The Cleveland Association recruited two companies which served with the Fifth Regiment of the Ohio National Guard.<sup>8</sup> Associations sprang up naturally within regiments as they had in the Civil War and led to permanent Associations in some instances. William A. Hunton, International secretary for colored work, was detailed to special duty among Negro troops, tents and the usual facilities being provided at three southern centers.<sup>9</sup>

At the close of the operation the International Committee had spent over \$80,000 and twenty-eight state committees \$54,000—figures that permanently boosted the budgets of all. With the end of the War it was realized that this "unprecedented opportunity for a mighty service" was a continuing one: there was more need for the Associations during the idleness of demobilization than when men were fully occupied. An almost unanimous chorus arose for Y.M.C.A. work to continue, particularly at large centers such as the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Sensing this potentiality, the International Committee organized an army and navy department in September, 1898, as a recognition of the continuing claims of the service man upon the resources and experience of the Movement. Work was now fostered in the Navy, a secretary shipping with each Philippine transport. In 1900 there was a program at sixteen points in the United States, sixteen in Cuba, ten in Puerto Rico, fifty in the Philippines, fourteen in China, three in Alaska, and one in Hawaii. Branches appeared at the Brooklyn Navy Yard (March

1, 1899), then at Norfolk, Newport, Vallejo; later at Philadelphia, Boston, and other points. Army Associations included the pioneer organization that had been formed at Fort Monroe, Virginia, in 1889, and at Fort Jay, Fort Slocum, and the Presidio of San Francisco.

"Distinctive buildings of the Association type" were soon considered necessary, and in 1902 Congress passed legislation authorizing the International Committee to erect them on Government property. The first of these, which had brought about the legislation, was a gift by William E. Dodge to the Association of Fort Jay, New York; it was dedicated in October, 1900, and led to a wave of benefactions that housed the army-navy branches in the largest and most modern buildings. The first of these, dedicated in May, 1902, was the \$500,000 structure provided for the Brooklyn Navy Yard Branch by Miss Helen Miller Gould, which replaced rented quarters that had been opened in March, 1899. A nine-story building, it was furnished by the Women's Auxiliary of the International Committee but was immediately overcrowded, as many as 1,500 men being turned away in a single night. Mrs. Russell Sage gave a \$350,000 addition that doubled the capacity of the building and contained many features not in the original. In 1909 a comparable structure was donated by John D. Rockefeller to the Norfolk Branch. A brochure published by the International Committee in 1909 showed lesser facilities performing significant services at Fort Leavenworth, at remote points in the Philippines, at Sandy Hook, at Vallejo—where the ground had been purchased by a naval officer with the prize money he had received for services during the Spanish War—Newport, Manila, Pensacola, San Francisco, Fort Monroe, and numerous foreign cities.<sup>10</sup>

The army and navy Associations attempted to provide a home away from home for the soldier or sailor. All the building-centered facilities with which the reader of Chapter 5 is familiar were made available. In addition there were more social affairs, especially entertainments, church parties, lectures, stereoptican talks, and the like than the average city Association's program featured. Religious work was strongly emphasized.

By 1914 there were twenty-two army and nine navy Y.M.C.A.'s; 4,236 men visited the facilities daily, and there were 180 traveling libraries; 237,973 annual dormitory registrations were counted; \$900,000 had been deposited for safekeeping in one year; 2,772 sick visits were made. Professional consciousness had expressed itself as early

as 1903 when the first effort was made in the direction of a training institute for army-navy secretaries; the first summer school for that purpose met at Silver Bay in 1906. In 1912 the army-navy section of the Association of Employed Officers was organized. In 1914 there were sixty-three army-navy secretaries, including associates and specialists for religious work, finance, and physical work; the International Committee's own budget that year was just over \$25,000.

#### THE BUILDING MOVEMENT, 1900-1920

The greatest building movement in American Association history was the most obvious feature of these two decades.<sup>11</sup> Between 1900 and 1916, 290 buildings were constructed at an annual aggregate cost that twice exceeded seven million dollars. Even more than in the past an Association was identified with its building: in one of the strongest states no city Y.M.C.A. was organized without a building of its own.<sup>12</sup> From the immense city structures, costing millions, to the plain log meeting rooms built by Dakota Indians with their own hands, facilities reflected the programs carried on by their owners and in turn shaped those activities. Program was thus increasingly institutionalized, as city after city campaigned for large funds for building purposes.

The completion of the new Chicago skyscraper at 19 South LaSalle Street and the abandoning of "Old Twenty-third Street" by the New York Association not only symbolized a challenge to the leadership of New York but forecast the coming of the great building catering to thousands of members and scaled to mass program production. There was virtually no limit upon Messer's horizon, and by 1908 the Chicago Association—then foremost in the world "in the total valuation of property and in its outreach to the community"—was contemplating the construction of sixteen "standard" buildings at various points in the city in addition to twelve specialized structures and summer camp equipment, and an increase of the endowment fund.<sup>13</sup> Almost every city Association secretary had similar, if less grandiose, dreams.

General architects guided by local Association officers planned these buildings, with diverse and sometimes irrelevant results. Stately entrances, marble staircases, and lobbies rivaling public buildings were calculated to class the new Association facilities with the communities' major downtown headquarters of business or government. The notion of renting ground-floor space disappeared and in its place stories of dormitories rose into the sky—homes away from home and income-

production endowment. Gymnasiums tended to take the place of the large auditoriums of the previous era and, except for dormitories, were given the largest space. Swimming pools were now universal equipment, as were abundant class and club rooms. Boys' work facilities took over increasing space, resulting in that "impressive architectural change" which reflected "the coordinate claims of boy-life" in special entrance and equipment.<sup>14</sup> Libraries and lounges retreated before the expanding activism of the physical program and the invasion of the facilities by younger and younger members. Inevitably the building-centered city Association influenced all other types of Y.M.C.A.'s—college and "county" work being partial exceptions. Some nonequipment work for boys was begun in this era but its relative weakness served "only to accentuate the strength and permanence" of the Association's commitment to the building as the most fit instrumentality for achieving its chosen purposes.<sup>15</sup> Needless to say, the building concept followed the American Association idea to foreign countries, where "standard" buildings symbolized the standardized program.<sup>16</sup> Clearly reflecting the dominant fourfold idea, most of the buildings of this era were amplifications of the purpose and plan that McBurney had embodied in the prophetic New York structure of 1869, though modifications were being tried here and there.

The Convention of 1913 established a Building Bureau, but its attention was entirely devoted to fund-raising until 1915, when architectural resources were added. Its plans were "very much appreciated" and quite widely utilized, but the building boom slackened so soon after this that the Bureau had little effect upon actual construction until after the First World War. The new program emphases of the pre-War period necessitated the remodeling of many conventional buildings to meet the new demands of boys' work and expanded physical programs. Unused auditoriums were not infrequently made into gymnasiums; added lockers, swimming pools, and other obvious facilities were provided for the boys. The chief structural change that reflected program was, as has been noted, the dormitory. By 1910, 281 Associations reported almost 9,000 beds; ten years later there were five and one-half times that number.<sup>17</sup> The climax of the development of the dormitory was the opening on June 1, 1916, of the \$1,300,000, eighteen-story Chicago Y.M.C.A. Hotel, with 1,821 rooms rented at thirty to fifty cents a night. Dormitories and restaurants were new departures also for railroad Y.M.C.A.'s during these years.



One of the most signal developments of this era was the benefaction by Julius Rosenwald of Chicago of funds for buildings for Negro Associations.<sup>18</sup> The first significant move of this kind was the gift in 1907, by George Foster Peabody, of a building for colored men and boys in Columbus, Georgia; it was followed by a contribution from John D. Rockefeller toward such a building in Washington, D. C. In 1910, there were nineteen buildings owned by Negro Y.M.C.A.'s, valued at \$2,000 to \$32,000 each. Rosenwald, Chicago mail order magnate, first announced in 1910 a contingent offer of \$25,000 toward the construction of a branch building for colored men in Chicago or any city that would match his gift with \$75,000, over a five-year period. "It has seemed to me that both in the interest of the colored race and in the interest of the country," he wrote in expressing to Messer a real conviction, "it is essential that there should be in every community in which there are large numbers of colored people a building primarily for men and boys, devoted to such purposes for their use." He felt it the duty of "the white people of this country, irrespective of their religious beliefs," to meet this need of their neighbors. The project, he believed, ought to be administered by an experienced agency: there was "no organization better suited for this work than the Y.M.C.A."

When the offer was announced at a meeting during the campaign for the Wabash Avenue branch in Chicago, Cyrus McCormick gave an additional \$25,000; the gathering was electrified when an elderly Negro went to the platform and quietly announced that he had been saving his money for years for such a purpose—and gave \$1,000. This gift by J. H. Tilghman, a janitor, was the first substantial gift toward a Y.M.C.A. building by a Negro.<sup>19</sup> Rosenwald's offer helped to complete the Washington facilities by 1912. Indianapolis was next; by 1920 there were "Rosenwald buildings" in Atlanta, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Columbus, Kansas City, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis.<sup>20</sup> Needless to say, these were standard city Association buildings that compared well with the branch facilities of white Y.M.C.A.'s. Through Messer's good offices Rosenwald met Booker T. Washington, became a trustee of Tuskegee Institute, and commenced his immense benefactions for Negro education.<sup>21</sup>

#### PHYSICAL WORK: ORGANIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION

Luther Gulick's leadership, described in Chapter 6, ostensibly terminated in 1903 when he was succeeded as International secretary by the

"intense, serious-minded" George J. Fisher, M.D.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless it continued to be widely fruitful in the next decade, during which the expanding physical program was largely contained in the ever increasing gymnasiums, swimming tanks, and other equipment provided in the new buildings. The most obvious aspect of this development was the tremendous increase in the number of men taking advantage of added physical facilities. In 1900, 466 Associations considered physical work a major program emphasis: 273 physical secretaries directed the work through 444 gymnasiums to 72,443 men. By 1916, 911 Associations were reporting physical work; there were then 735 gymnasiums and 250,000 different persons enrolled in classes. Some 700 men were giving full time to the physical secretaryship, as directors or assistants in city Associations, through boys' work, or in railroad Associations.

Throughout most of the period the emphases were essentially those that have been outlined in Chapter 6. Basketball moved on in its total conquest of the country. Body-building exercises of the Roberts type grew in popularity and found their greatest expression in physical training for the American armies of World War I. Manuals of "graded calisthenics" were developed and widely used. The pentathlon continued to have a wide vogue, while almost every other form of competitive game or gymnastic device for skill or health building was somewhere utilized—from fencing to Swedish gymnastics.<sup>23</sup> Spaulding published Y.M.C.A. handbooks, and unusual features were introduced when the New York City Association received a yacht and maintained a boathouse for some time, while the Montreal Association boasted a snowshoe club. Association games were held at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, and American Y.M.C.A.'s were among the winners at the 1912 Olympic games at Stockholm.<sup>24</sup> Military-type drills were used in many gymnasiums, while argument continued over billiards. Gulick's *Manual of Physical Measurements*, his *Anthropometric Chart*, and Roberts' *Home Dumb-Bell Drill* were long among the International Committee's best-selling pamphlets.

The trend toward standardization was evident as early as 1908, when the *Year Book* indicated that Fisher had promoted the physical work by "defining and standardizing it, co-ordinating it with other departments of the work and by bringing it to a higher grade of efficiency." In 1914 a physical directors' conference for "the adoption and standardization of principles and methods of administration" was held, at

which not only basic principles but specific program aids and principles were analyzed. The year before, there had been published a two-hundred-page manual written by a committee of six under the editing of Fisher and Martin I. Foss. In 1939 Foss reflected that the period with which this chapter deals was "the machine age in the Y.M.C.A. physical program when the physical director sat in his swivel chair and devised a program calculated to do to every boy and man in the Y.M.C.A. membership and in churches and in industries, whatever needed to be done to each, and then to devise the machine that would accomplish it":

A physical department committee, a physical department council, a series of leaders' clubs for every permanently organized group, committees for each existing class and for each class that might be brought into being.

Standardization was further indicated in the several publications of the physical department or the secretaries' organization. In 1901 Gulick had launched *Physical Training*, which lapsed upon his retirement. In 1905 the magazine was revived and published by the Physical Director's Society until 1927, when it became the *Journal of Physical Education*. Dedicated to "practical physical training methods as well as scientific discussions," the periodical hoped to "unify the methods and elevate the standards of association physical work." This was, in fact, equally the purpose of the sponsoring Society, which was organized in June, 1903, at the regular conference of physical directors.

The Society became a potent force in the processes that have been described as formative in these years, not the least of which was the improvement of its own personnel. The greatest service rendered in the training of physical directors and the raising of standards for this professional group was by Springfield College under the direction of James H. McCurdy, the history of which is a volume in itself. Alert to new developments in psychology and the theory of education, the college performed a pioneering service not only to the Associations but to the recreation movement of the nation, through the training of playground leaders and public school instructors.<sup>25</sup>

In a lengthy review of the profession before the Physical Directors' Society in 1908, Fisher pointed to the current "sociologic" concern for every boy and every young man in North America who had a physical need. The Associations should assume responsibility for this stupendous undertaking, though they might not expect to perform

the entire task themselves. It was not merely a matter of physical exercise, but should be addressed to

... the alteration of physical habits in reference to sleep, bathing, diet, with changing of the physical environment with reference to housing, ventilation and sanitation, the providing of recreation thru playgrounds and recreation centers, education with reference to disease, the making of sentiment for scientific public sanitation, the feeding of the undernourished and even an educational and legislative effort against quackery and charlatanism.

In short, physical work meant physical welfare. The new physical director, Fisher continued, should be trained with this broad program of public health concern uppermost.

Tests of function would replace muscle mensuration and there should be increased emphasis on play, "the most interesting and valuable form of physical training"—especially gymnastic dancing. In athletics, Fisher went on, the trend is toward greater participation by more and more men, and the Associations' goal should be "a place for every one in North America to play and everyone a player"—preferably outdoors. Fisher believed that the most significant trend of the day was the playground movement, which included entire communities and which a score of Associations were promoting. Extension to industrial and rural groups was to Fisher's mind evidence of "pioneer and original" contributions by the Associations, as was similar extension to foreign lands.

In these years of Fisher's leadership Gulick's emphasis upon clean sport continued, the Associations taking an unfriendly attitude toward professionalism.<sup>26</sup> Through the Athletic League high standards were emphasized, leading to a split from the Amateur Athletic Union in 1911 due to the latter's insistence upon "individualistic" types of sports, specialization, and administrative methods of which Y.M.C.A. leaders did not approve. The Athletic League was itself reorganized, with membership by Associations and no individual registration of athletes.<sup>27</sup> Beginning about 1905 Sunday School athletic leagues were sponsored and became nation-wide. Emphasis began to be placed on swimming and lifesaving; by 1909 the Association could speak of "teaching America to swim."<sup>28</sup> George Corsan and his son developed an effective method of group instruction in swimming and in 1911, 30,000 boys and men came under it; what was thus begun soon became an accepted feature of Association programs.<sup>29</sup> The significance of physical



work in the total religious purpose of the Movement was a matter of concern, and studies such as those of Gulick's were pursued by George W. Ehler of the Chicago Association and by several members of the Springfield College faculty. Physical work leaders often wrote for *Association Men* on health topics, such as "Fletcherism," tuberculosis, "nerves," or tobacco, but the most significant program in this area was the "International Association Health League" promoted by Fisher's department, which provided materials on subjects ranging from alcohol to venereal diseases, in the form of pamphlets, books, motion picture films, and lantern-slide lectures.<sup>30</sup>

As the nation neared World War I, Y.M.C.A. physical work leaders were insisting that physical drill should be for military preparedness rather than military drills for physical fitness.<sup>31</sup>

### THE RISE OF BOYS' WORK

The Y.M.C.A. ought to take up boys' work "on a large scale," wrote Luther Gulick in 1900, because the same organization that starts such programs ought to carry them on: "The young man and the boy in his teens need the same kinds of things." The American Movement more than took this suggestion to heart.

In 1901 the Jubilee Convention echoed Gulick's plea with the declaration that "there is no more important work before the Associations," and approved the appointment of an International secretary—Edgar M. Robinson (1867-1951), to whose energetic promotion much of the remarkable development of the next twenty years was due. At first a lay worker with boys in his native New Brunswick, Robinson came to the International post with two years of part-time experience as boys' work secretary for Massachusetts-Rhode Island, which he had carried while attending Springfield College.<sup>32</sup> At the beginning of Robinson's International Committee service there were 401 Associations reporting boys' work; they had 30,000 members, some 22,000 of whom used the physical equipment; 444 committees enlisted about 2,300 boys; Bible, training classes, and religious meetings loomed largest in program statistics.<sup>33</sup> So rapid was the rise in boy membership that by 1913 there was a complaint that the organization had become a men's Christian Association with a boys' department, to the neglect of the seventeen to twenty-one year group. The next year there were 131,000 boy members.

Robinson began the International Committee secretaryship with a

tour of his continent-wide field. He found great interest among state and local Associations in building plans, an increasing number of boys' work secretaries,<sup>34</sup> and a rising concern for employed boys.<sup>35</sup> In 1902 he reported

... the first separate boys' building, the first \$25,000 gift for employed boys' work, the first \$1,000 given towards the endowment of a boys' department, the first special course for boys' secretaries offered at the training schools, the first boys' work secretary sought for the foreign field, the first state secretary for boys' work, the first boys' camps in three states. Thirty-one Associations employed their first boys' work secretary.

At the same time, age groupings of boys and their complete separation from the men's program were being advocated. In February, 1902, Robinson inaugurated *Association Boys*, which became a clearing house of information and a vehicle for the progressive ideas of boys' workers, who soon asserted Movement leadership in interpreting advanced thought in educational psychology. By 1906 the International Committee was lamenting that its one secretary could hardly provide adequate supervision of five hundred boys' departments and three hundred camps. From that time on his brother secretaries formed the habit "of expecting Edgar Robinson to come forward at each annual conference with a stirring, convincing appeal for another secretary": by 1913 he had five associates, and there were almost four hundred boys' workers.

This numerical increase was matched by significant studies and interpretations of boy life, especially of adolescence, many workers being profoundly influenced by G. Stanley Hall's epochal work on that subject and the flood of books following the same approach. Gulick's research on the religion of boys was built upon by other members of the Springfield faculty and by students who were planning on boys' work careers, in their graduation theses.<sup>36</sup> Robinson often interpreted such studies for the Movement at large.<sup>37</sup> The program of the period was based upon the "recapitulation" theory of growth as stated by Hall (which had influenced Gulick); although Hall himself later moved to other interpretations, this foundational idea provided Y.M.C.A. workers with the logical background for their regimented program and was held virtually unchallenged until the First World War. To the psychological study of youth there were added sociological investigations of "street boys," newsboys, and delinquents;<sup>38</sup> a little later interest was expressed in boys working in coal mines and in

southern mill towns.<sup>39</sup> Beginning in 1909 an experiment in boys' work without either building or rooms was tried in Tulsa—the forerunner of “non-equipment” programs. It was also successful under Frank Ritchie in Kansas City. The Convention of 1913 recommended its extension; the *Year Book* of 1914-15 listed twenty-two such centers.<sup>40</sup> A few hobby clubs were reported in this period and older boys' conferences reached a peak attendance of 3,000 when the New York state group met at Rochester in December, 1915. Eighteen such conferences were held that winter, attended by 40,000 boys. An apparently successful experiment in Canada with a standardized boys' work program, together with the rapid rise of the Scout movement—to which attention will be given shortly—stimulated Y.M.C.A. boys' work leaders to several years of persistent effort to develop a “fool-proof” program easily promoted across the country. Yet the very process of study that produced this schematization introduced factors that were soon to render it obsolete. The technique of discussion leadership, introduced by Harrison S. Elliott in this period, would have a profound effect in the 1920's. Boys' Bible study, with special courses and standard examinations, brought keen competition among Associations. There were some local Y.M.C.A.'s that detailed special physical work secretaries to their boys' departments.

Five hundred of those attending the New York meeting in 1915 were wage-earning boys, for whom a standardized program had now been provided largely through the instrumentality of C. C. Robinson of the International staff, whose influence extended well beyond the Y.M.C.A.<sup>41</sup> His “Find Yourself” program was an early example of modern vocational guidance. Another significant emphasis that later became nation-wide was the “Father-and-son” movement that originated in the Providence Y.M.C.A. in 1910. Subsequently promoted by boys' work secretaries, this idea became a nation-wide event when Secretary Robert E. Lewis of Cleveland proposed in 1913 that the governors of the states issue proclamations to fathers and sons to become closer companions.<sup>42</sup>

The spontaneous appearance of Association clubs among high school boys in the nineteenth century has been noted in Chapter 5. It is not possible to assert which of those early groups was the “first.” There is convincing evidence, however, that the Association formed in 1890 by boys and faculty in the Dickinson County High School in Kansas, together with town young men at Chapman where the school was



EDGAR M. ROBINSON



situated—at the time of the “Kansas Movement” described in Chapter 8 and when county work was being extensively organized in Kansas—had the longest continuous life of all such known groups,<sup>43</sup> still being active at the time of writing this History. Numerous efforts were made in the next fifteen years by city Associations and more notably by college students and secretaries to extend Y.M.C.A. work to independent preparatory schools and the rapidly increasing high schools. It was undecided whether this work could best be fostered by boys’ workers or student secretaries. In 1898, George Gleason was employed by the student department of the International Committee to work among the preparatory schools; he did some promotion in high schools as well, organizing clubs on the student model of purposeful membership rather than the city Association pattern of privilege-purchase, and formulating a simple statement of purpose:

The object of this Association shall be to deepen the spiritual life of its members and promote Christian fellowship among them, and to lead students to devote their lives to Jesus Christ.<sup>44</sup>

Gleason, who moved shortly to foreign service in Japan, was followed in the school work by Charles W. Gilkey and Boyd Edwards.

Widespread interest and concern brought accumulated pressure on the International Committee, which resulted in the joint appointment in 1907 by the student and boys’ work departments of David R. Porter, a Rhodes scholar and recent Oxford graduate, to “project into the high and preparatory schools a movement similar to the College Associations.”<sup>45</sup> This unique project (Porter’s time was not rigidly divided) illustrated the shared concern of two departments to extend the Association’s ministry among the increasing thousands of school boys and was welcomed and heartily supported by city Associations.<sup>46</sup> Porter continued in this relationship until 1915, during which time the work expanded so that Arthur N. Cotton was added to the staff for the boys’ work department and Francis P. Miller and Hugh A. Moran for the student department. By then it was clear that for administrative purposes the program in independent preparatory schools was best fostered by the student department and in tax-supported high schools by boys’ workers.

During this eight-year period of study and experimentation the strategic issue of relationships with public school officials was met chiefly by forming voluntary clubs of interested boys and teachers who met outside school property and hours; the Christian purpose was

maintained but no one was excluded; and "clean speech, clean athletics, clean living, and service to the community" were stressed. Until well after 1910 these groups were called High School Clubs, the term "Hi-Y"—which was slow to be accepted—being first used by a Pittsfield, Massachusetts, club in 1911.<sup>47</sup> Porter fostered in each club an "inner circle" that quietly met to explore seriously what was meant by "understanding the Christian faith and living the Christian life." A simple formulation of aims was worked out, a further revision of Gleason's earlier one: "The purpose of this organization is to create, maintain, and extend throughout the school and community high standards of Christian character." Although some clubs added a definite Christian commitment, this statement spread across the world and provided significant evidence of the religious influence of the student Associations.

In 1910 Porter devoted himself to perfecting plans and procedures in selected cities—Detroit, Kansas City, Washington, and New York, West Side. A full-time high school secretary was obtained by each of these city Associations and special rooms set aside; in Detroit Porter lived across the street from a large high school and obtained unusually successful results from the close relationship thus established. During the latter part of his joint secretaryship—the "unity" period—he edited a monthly bulletin called *Agenda* ("Things to be done") for leaders of the preparatory and high school clubs, in addition to editing *American Youth*, a revision of *American Boys*, that specialized on the problems of youth "just between boyhood and manhood."<sup>48</sup>

The professional organization of the boys' work secretaries was formed in 1906, when there were just over one hundred men at work in the field. They were at once an effectual force in the life of the Movement, but the first significant general gathering to have wide influence was at Troy in 1912 when the high school expansion was fully accepted and the "inner circle," or small-group emphasis, agreed upon. The first of many epochal assemblies of boys' workers met the next year when 250 workers from twenty-one countries gathered with the North American Association of Boys' Work Secretaries at Culver Academy, Indiana, for a two-week session. The conference directed its attention to "the nature of the boy." The Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick was introduced to the Y.M.C.A. Another religious leader told the group that boys are by nature bad while still another assumed that humanity is inherently good. The Assembly was challenged by Pro-

fessor George Albert Coe, who was then a leader in the field of religious education. Elaborately prepared for by five commissions, the Culver Assembly reports were widely influential until the next assembly in 1920. Indicative of the raising of professional standards occasioned by this gathering was the projection of the "Hour Glass Club" with the purpose, "study to grow." Courses of reading, suggestions on how to study, and useful periodicals and books were made available to a professional group that was shocked at the high turnover among its members. Program was standardized and the first loose-leaf manuals were written at this time; they were prophetic of the advanced leadership to be given the entire American Y.M.C.A. by the boys' workers in the next decade.<sup>49</sup>

Robinson and other International secretaries were sympathetic to certain other youth movements and gave them their approval and support. This was particularly true of the Boy Scouts, to which Robinson gave "all possible co-operation" and to whose staff George J. Fisher moved in 1919. Scouting, the origin of which at the hands of Ernest Thompson Seton, General Baden-Powell, and Dan Beard, is a familiar story, had been utilized by the British Associations since its inception, making it "an integral part of their boys' work." They deprecated "any tendency to make it military," feeling that it had been launched "as a peace movement."<sup>50</sup> Scout troops had sprung up at various places in the United States, including a number of Y.M.C.A.'s, and in the summer of 1910 there was on foot a faltering endeavor to organize a national movement, incorporation for which had been obtained in February of that year.

At this time Robinson and Doggett invited Seton to put on a two weeks' demonstration of scouting at Silver Bay. Beard was a visitor, Robinson assisted Seton, and the camp was administered by William D. Murray, who, after long Association service, was to write an official history of the Scout movement many years later. At the same time, with the full consent and financial support of its original promoter, William D. Boyce, a Chicago newspaper man, Robinson practically took over the projected national establishment and for some months he was its executive secretary, and the office of the national Scout organization was the boys' work department of the International Committee in New York. In some six months the Boy Scouts of America was organized and set on its feet; Robinson believed it should be independent and as soon as it was self-supporting he withdrew.<sup>51</sup> Many

early Scout executives were former Association boys' workers and Scout headquarters were frequently in the Y.M.C.A. The few Association scout troops soon disappeared, however; by 1919 there were 460,000 Scouts as compared with 200,000 Y.M.C.A. boy members in the country. The growth of the Scout movement not only challenged Association boys' workers to intensified effort but influenced their philosophy in the direction of a standardized program.

Robinson, who was himself a pioneer camp director, fostered the development of the summer camp as the most opportune means whereby boy might be "led out into a noble Christian life." During this period the Y.M.C.A. camp spread across the movement. Although in this time of extensive growth the Associations were mainly concerned with acquiring suitable sites and improvements, the beginnings of a philosophy of camping were made. In keeping with the spirit of the times and of other aspects of the Association, the emphasis was strongly upon standardization of equipment, program, and other phases of camp life. Association boys' work leaders took an active part in the organization of the American Camping Association, its first two presidents being Henry W. Gibson, state boys' work secretary of Massachusetts, and Charles R. Scott, state boys' work secretary of New Jersey. Gibson's book, *Camping for Boys* (1911), was one of the first definitive treatments of camping from a professional standpoint.<sup>52</sup>

The objects of Y.M.C.A. camps at the turn of the century were "healthful recreation without temptation," the gratification of "the natural desire for a free and easy life out of doors," together with the cultivation of "a manly Christian character." Or a camp might provide boys with "four weeks of outdoor life full to the brim with fun, sport and benefit to health, under the leadership of a corps of earnest, Christian men."<sup>53</sup> The major aim of a boys' camp, wrote a leader in *Association Men* in 1905, should be to lead boys to Jesus Christ; grace at meals, Bible classes, tent prayers, and a carefully worked-out Sunday morning service were formal expressions of this desire. It was accomplished in practical terms through qualified leadership and occasional evangelistic appeals. In 1901 Robinson estimated that there were 5,000 boys "under canvas." By 1916, 356 Associations reported 23,300 campers. Unfortunately, at the time of the preparation of this History, little exploratory work, the results of which were available, had been done on the development of Association camping, so that the matter could only be sketched. It is an important field for further research.



With the tremendous increase in the year-round and camping programs for boys in this period, a few leaders began to express concern for the neglected age group between eighteen and twenty-one years. Is the Y.M.C.A. a *young men's* organization or is it a men's Christian institute?, inquired *Association Men* in 1916; once the chief adult membership had been under twenty-five, but a recent study had shown only 14 per cent of the senior membership to be that young.

#### EDUCATIONAL FEATURES

With the rise of the public library, the Association library, previously an indispensable program feature, shrank to a small proportion of its former importance. *Association Men* not infrequently printed sound advice on the cultivation of good reading habits and railroad branches emphasized the library more than did any other department of the work. Yet in 1921, only about one-fourth of the Associations of the United States and Canada were listed as maintaining this feature.

The sizable development of overt Y.M.C.A. educational work in this period (the inclusion of educational effort within the fourfold concept may here be assumed) was largely an extension of the beginnings by International Secretary George B. Hodge, E. L. Shuey, Frederic B. Pratt, and others in the 1890's. Trade schools, evening classes, manual training, correspondence courses, vocational guidance—practical services rendered to young men who wished to improve themselves in communities where there were no such facilities—characterized Association educational activity. It was chiefly due to Hodge that this large program materialized, being interwoven, as A. G. Knebel wrote, "with a period of development and expansion within the Y.M.C.A. unsurpassed by any similar epoch in the history of the organization":

. . . by singleness of purpose, dogged persistence, hard work, devoted, unselfish labors by day and by night, intense earnestness and complete absorption in his engrossing task, he accomplished almost single-handed a task for which the average executive would have required a sizeable staff of experts. He succeeded in arousing the whole Y.M.C.A. Movement to a realization of a wide-open opportunity which he and many others felt should not be overlooked.<sup>54</sup>

In educationally backward areas (and for a certain class of youths that included much of the country) these programs supplied a need that public education had not as yet noticed.

Although there was at first some resistance to calling Y.M.C.A. schools "colleges," this aspect of program was perhaps the first to be thoroughly standardized by the International staff. Before the turn of the century there was available a wide range of courses of study, complete with examinations of which local Associations might avail themselves.<sup>55</sup> An exhibit was carried about by Hodge and helped crystallize the growing interest in the work. Gradually academic recognition was obtained for certain types of courses, and the larger local Associations and some state organizations added educational secretaries to their staffs of specialists—in keeping with the departmental trends of the time. The educational interest spread to foreign Associations, where it became a large part of the total program.

In 1912 Hodge published a 250-page manual on *Association Educational Work for Men and Boys*, representing "twenty growing years of Association experience" and designed to help "any secretary in any small Association" to profitably organize his program. Among the many items covered—by charts, graphs, and illustrations which Hodge pioneered in Association literature—was the educational secretaryship. From one such specialist, who received a salary of \$400 in 1893, the men in this field had increased until in 1911 there were sixty-nine Associations employing 120 educational secretaries and teachers with an average salary of \$1,547; that year the Associations had spent \$773,000 on their educational work and \$528,000 had been paid in as tuition. From 12,000 students in 1893 total national enrollment had risen by 1911 to 61,850.

The Educational Secretaries Association had been organized in 1895; although attendance at its annual conferences was small, according to Hodge, this body had shown a large "variety of interests [and] complex relationships with which to deal, and the steadily growing respect and support of the public." From 1908 commissions were at work on special problems; at this time the training of educational secretaries was being given careful attention at both Springfield and the Chicago training school, and a three-year summer school course was offered at Silver Bay. In 1914 it was said that educational work had increased between 50 and 70 per cent in the previous six years, but by this time the annual reports of the International department were monotonously similar.<sup>56</sup> With the reorganization of the International offices in 1916, following Mott's acceptance of the general secretaryship, Hodge resigned to head the newly formed Bureau of Records.

A significant trend was foreshadowed when the Boston Association's school became "Northeastern College" in 1916, although there had been some degree-granting institutions almost twenty years earlier. Raising these schools to collegiate rank would be a phenomenon of the 1920's. Yet in 1916 there were some 83,000 students in more than 200 Y.M.C.A. courses taught by 2,500 teachers supervised by 212 special secretaries. As Morse had seen all this in 1912, it represented a specialized Y.M.C.A. service to the army of men and boys who had not been able to take full advantage of the "great wealth of public school facilities."

#### WORK AMONG NEGROES AND INDIANS

Hunton's time was so completely absorbed by the special demands of the Spanish-American War that an associate was found in J. E. Moorland who commenced in 1898, taking primary responsibility for city work. After the War Hunton could return to student supervision; in 1899 he reported that growth was "necessarily slow" but real and encouraging. The next great stimulus was the offer of buildings by Julius Rosenwald, which struck Hunton and Moorland "like a volcano." As Pence suggests in *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, this constituted a notable recognition of the problems of the colored race and demonstrated a heartening example of interracial and interreligious co-operation;<sup>57</sup> it was also a further institutionalization of the Y.M.C.A. idea in the typical city Association building, and it perpetuated the practice of segregation. The Rosenwald movement was clear indication that the increase in staff represented by the addition of Moorland had been justified. He, in fact, was largely instrumental in obtaining Rosenwald's interest.<sup>58</sup> So rapidly did the student work respond to Hunton's intensive cultivation that a third staff member was obtained in 1905, George E. Haynes—to be followed by John B. Watson—as student secretary, supported largely by the Detroit Association.<sup>59</sup> Student work among Negroes is described in Chapter 16.

The early years of the twentieth century saw the beginnings of Negro branches by several of the larger northern city Associations, notably New York and Brooklyn, but a more significant development for the work as a whole was the first conference for Negro secretaries in 1900.<sup>60</sup> Held irregularly and at various places until organized as the Chesapeake Summer School in 1907, these gatherings were of primary importance; some further description of them is given in Chapter 15.





THE "ROSENWALD" BUILDING, ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
Erected in 1920



The substantial growth of Association work for Negroes was obviously related to the impact of the Rosenwald offer upon the Movement at large, but it was particularly stimulating to the Negroes themselves. In Atlanta they raised most of the contingent funds, which led the *Constitution* to comment that the most significant aspect of the campaign was the light thrown upon the Negro's capacity to respond to influences that assumed his good citizenship. In the estimation of the editor, the details of the campaign were "nothing short of marvelous": 5,500 Negroes had contributed, at a ratio of three to one over the white population, their solicitors sticking to the task "with the persistence of beagle hounds."<sup>61</sup> This characterized subsequent campaigns in southern cities to a greater extent than in the North. Each of these projects was also a significant interracial venture. In every case great numbers of Negroes became interested in the programs that centered in the new buildings, which were overcrowded as soon as they were completed. The colored secretaryship was almost created by this development, which likewise "gave the Negro of moderate income the first opportunity to enjoy and improve himself in an environment wholesome and invigorating."<sup>62</sup>

When the Negro work was deprived of Hunton's leadership by his death in 1916,<sup>63</sup> it was on the threshold of marked expansion. By that time there were not only forty-six Associations with over ten thousand members and fifty-five secretaries, but significant gains had been made in co-operative ventures between the department and other divisions of the work. As early as 1903, a colored miners' Association was organized by Hunton and C. C. Michener, secretary of the industrial department.<sup>64</sup> County or rural Associations among Negroes were first reported in 1912,<sup>65</sup> and the next year a distinguished Negro spoke to the Convention on the wide range of Association colored work. The Negro secretaries' meetings continued to grow "in number and qualification," those attending in 1915 being all college graduates, as Morse wrote his Family League from the conference. By 1916 there was a colored secretary on the Virginia state staff charged with county work and promotion of Associations among Negroes in industrial communities.

The first Negro boys' work secretary was appointed to the International staff that year.<sup>66</sup> Also in 1916 the educational department reported a 24 per cent increase in the use of its courses by Negro Associations. The Convention of 1916 was told that the International

organization had been busy in the field of race relations through publications and by co-operating in the Southern Sociological Congress. However, it must be said that the Movement extended itself less in behalf of its Negro constituency than it did in behalf of most departmental expansions. The general pattern of segregation showed little change from the earlier period, the new Rosenwald buildings being for the most part held by white city boards, though administered by colored staff and committees.

Y.M.C.A. work among American Indians, chiefly in the Dakotas, claimed 1,800 members in fifty Associations in 1901. Forty-four of these with 1,300 members and eighty-eight Bible classes, were among the Sioux. Ten frame or log buildings were erected that year by the men themselves, at a cost of \$25 each, and eighty-eight young Indian men became Christians.<sup>67</sup> Arthur Tibbetts continued as secretary until 1907 when he was succeeded by Stephen Jones, another Sioux and, like Tibbetts, a graduate of Springfield.<sup>68</sup> In 1911, when there were sixty-six Sioux Associations, the International Committee added Robert D. Hall to its student staff to work "in the Indian schools and beyond the Dakotas"; that year *Association Men* devoted an entire issue to the appeal for \$3,000 needed for the work, which, in Hall's words, aimed to make the Indian a "citizen of a cosmopolitan republic."<sup>69</sup> In 1915 expansion to the Crow and Cheyenne reservations was begun. This home missionary effort, which continued much as it had been carried on from the start, was interrupted by the World War, which enlisted 75 per cent of the Indian Association members.

#### INDUSTRIAL WORK

The most successful endeavor to expand to industrial groups in this period was, as in the previous era, the Y.M.C.A.'s effort in behalf of skilled railroad workers. Changes in program were chiefly quantitative, there being few advances made upon the foundations laid prior to 1900. Hicks, wrote Morse, had come to the International secretaryship "at a time of opportunity for unexampled progress, and he proved fully equal to this opportunity." Beginning with one man on part time, he had nine associates at the time of retirement in 1911, when he was succeeded by John F. Moore. Local secretaries by that time numbered 518; they served 230 railroad Associations whose combined annual budgets passed \$1,000,000; by this time the companies were providing about 40 per cent of this and the membership 60 per cent,

a reversal of the ratio of 1890. During this time the system method of organization and supervision reached its full development, and was exemplified in the New York Central Federation of more than forty branches on that road which extended through eight states and provinces. The effects of system supervision upon the interrelationships of the Movement have been reviewed in Chapter 10. Like the other departments, the railroad work was standardized. In 1916 these Associations increased their membership by one-third in a ten-day campaign. Moore traveled abroad as had his predecessor, especially in the Orient, in the interest of spreading the Movement.

A 200-page manual prepared by the International staff in 1915 was a comprehensive summary of the standard program of that time. It outlined the forms of organization with which the reader of this book is now familiar and devoted thirty pages to the secretaryship, discussing the personal and social relations of the worker. Business administration assumed a new significance; chapters were devoted to the various aspects of program—religious, social, educational, physical, boys', and special groups such as foreign-language men, Negroes, and streetcar operators. The best of relations with the railroad companies continued to be "essential." It was fondly hoped that "the days of the railroad strike are over," but if such should come the railroad secretary must "immediately see the proper operating official of the railroad company, and endeavor to secure . . . hearty approval to the strictest neutrality on the part of the Association." As in the years before 1900, labor was not mentioned in this handbook or apparently considered a major factor, though one exceptional secretary was successful in getting workers and operators together to compromise a strike.<sup>70</sup> Evangelism continued to receive large emphasis in the railroad work of the pre-World War I era.<sup>71</sup>

The "unchanged" but "most prosperous" department received national publicity in 1903 when President Theodore Roosevelt laid the cornerstone of a new railroad Association building at Topeka and addressed the 1,400 delegates of the brotherhood conference, subsequently shaking hands with each. The next year, Miss Helen Miller Gould made a 7,000-mile tour of the Gould lines in the Southwest, on which, in memory of her father who had made a colossal fortune out of them, she had given a number of Association buildings. At junction points the companies continued to provide minimum equipment, such as abandoned coaches near the tracks at Pitcairn, Pennsylvania. In

1911 the most palatial rooms, which Morse estimated might have been rented for \$50,000, were provided in the Pennsylvania Station in New York. After 1905, when the movement realized that it had no branches west of Pocatello, Idaho, a vigorous attempt was made to expand on those lines, but as late as 1930 there was only one railroad Y.M.C.A. on the Pacific Coast. Traveling secretaries attempted what Weidensall had begun in a ministry to construction gangs on the new roads, and small buildings appeared in such strategic locations as Helper, Utah. On the eve of the War the office secretary, C. C. Shedd, resigned to become national railroad secretary for China. With the mobilization of 1917, railroad secretaries accompanied men en route to their cantonments.

It was often said in this era that the railroad work had set the pace for Movement approach to other industrial groups. In 1903 an International industrial department was established with C. C. Michener from the field staff as secretary. Like all other beginning departmental executives, he "first made a study" of industrial welfare programs; this was "very suggestive of things to be done and not to be done by Associations." Michener's secretaryship of three years was devoted chiefly to study and extension along lines previously laid down—evangelism, work among miners and other groups of lumbermen similar to that in the north woods in the 1890's. The influx of young men into southern mill towns was noted and some beginnings made there.<sup>72</sup> In 1907 Michener was succeeded by C. R. Towson (1863-1949), whose experience as secretary of the Pennsylvania Railroad Association in Philadelphia uniquely qualified him for the post. The idea of industrial expansion had during this time exerted an especially strong appeal to Marcellus Hartley Dodge, chairman of the International industrial subcommittee. Dodge and Towson formed a strong team that soon enlarged the scope of this department, which Morse called an outgrowth of the railroad work.

Towson turned his primary attention to the promotion of industrial work by city Associations, which soon brought a 100 per cent rise in their industrial membership and a marked increase in their activity outside of buildings.<sup>73</sup> By 1908 Towson had a staff of thirteen, who were active in the Pacific Northwest, Colorado, Arizona, North Carolina, and at various ports of entry for immigrants.<sup>74</sup> Under Dr. Peter Roberts an extended program was developed for non-English speaking immigrants, "beginning at the ports of embarkation and



following them in transit from the port of their arrival to their destination where the local Association [could] minister to them." Special secretaries were stationed both at European ports of embarkation, through the co-operation of the World's Committee, and at such American ports of entry as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.<sup>75</sup>

Towson emphasized "experimental work for the discovery of new methods." His vigorous pursuit of them resulted in work with railroad construction gangs, first aid, safety and health instruction, the "Industrial Service Movement" that introduced students to labor and industry,<sup>76</sup> special programs for Negroes, and stimulating boys' workers to do something for employed boys. By 1915 the program touched sixteen iron and steel industries, twenty-six mining operations, eighteen cotton mills, twenty lumber mills, six reclamation projects, and fifteen miscellaneous concerns.

In his report to the Convention of 1916, Towson described his organization of subcommittee and six regional co-operating committees of fifty members. Promotion was directed toward regions of the country, types of industries, groups of workers, and movements such as the student industrial service. In addition to more than 200 secretaries devoting themselves to industrial work, Towson indicated that ninety-nine buildings had been given by industries for Association work at a cost of \$2,159,800, and that they were contributing annually \$243,655 for maintenance. It seems, he said, "as though God had brought the Association into the industrial kingdom for such a time as this."

Towson further pointed out that in the multitude of contacts with industry there had been little attempt on the part of corporations to "restrict the religious work." The attitude of his department toward the social problems of the day was "that expressed in the social service program of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America."<sup>77</sup> Lay leadership was greatly needed. In controversial situations, the field of Association activity lay "in the zone of agreement between the employer and employee": the Y.M.C.A. did not "attempt to adjust issues" but rather tried to create "a spirit which enlarges the field of agreement in which issues may be more readily adjusted. It is not partisan. It is more than neutral; it is mutual."<sup>78</sup> Upon America's entrance into the World War, the program of the department was directed toward men in war industries.

An unusual industrial project that brought the Movement into close contact with government was the provision of welfare facilities for the

construction crews that built the Panama Canal. According to Morse this was suggested by President Theodore Roosevelt. It centered in several clubhouses erected following a study of the problem by the International Committee in 1905. "A big piece of Christian engineering," this effort was financed by the government and obtained the full approval of officials in charge. By 1910 there were thirteen secretaries engaged in a program of entertainment, Bible classes, evangelism, and such other features of Y.M.C.A. work as could be adapted. One clubhouse with program was maintained separately for Negroes.<sup>79</sup>

In addition to the direct work among immigrants mentioned above, the Associations developed a large Americanization program during these years of the greatest immigration in all American history. In their endeavors to help new Americans find themselves, Associations in the larger cities adapted their programs to meet the needs of these young men strangers by providing employment services, instruction in the English language and in American institutions and citizenship. The Pennsylvania state committee sent six college men to Europe in the summer of 1908 under the leadership of Edward A. Steiner for special training in the languages and national backgrounds of the larger immigrant groups. A few Associations—notably Detroit—conducted English instruction in industrial plants, in some of which college students were enlisted as teachers. In this aspect of industrial work, the hand of Towson was again clearly seen. As one of his contemporaries wrote of him:

Industrial Y.M.C.A.'s were established in some of the larger plants and in isolated industrial towns. The textile industries of the South began to respond. Although there was considerable initiative shown by local and state leaders, Charles Towson remained the big factor which sent industrial work forward with rapid strides. He made the Y.M.C.A. industry-conscious.<sup>80</sup>

However, the Movement could hardly hope to make a deep impression upon a social problem the very size of which baffled virtually all efforts to cope with it.

#### THE RISE OF TOWN AND COUNTRY WORK

Robert Weidensall devoted the last thirty years of his life to his hobby—the extension of the Y.M.C.A. to young men and boys in town and rural areas.<sup>81</sup> As the period discussed in this Chapter unrolled, it seemed to him that the "county" work, as he called it, had come to stay, for this was the era of its greatest development. Weidensall's

earlier promotion of this idea has been discussed in Chapter 5. He continued to put pressure on individual secretaries, conventions, and the International Committee. Several successful county Associations were established around the turn of the century in Kansas, Illinois, Kentucky—where the first state county work secretary was appointed in 1899—Minnesota, New York, and Massachusetts—Rhode Island, where the dynamic John R. Boardman was called as secretary in 1902. Next year Weidensall was given an opportunity to present the field to the International Committee, and as a result a town and country department was established with Boardman as its first executive.

The idea behind this promotion was for nation-wide coverage by county units served by Association secretaries. Boardman literally burned himself out in the absorbing task he had chosen and was succeeded in 1910 by Albert E. Roberts, who by 1916 "brought the department to a high stage of development," with a staff of eight secretaries "stationed at strategic centers." In approaching "the town, the village, the farm community," the secretary took the county as his unit and first tried to obtain a group of perhaps fifteen men as a committee. A budget would be raised and if possible a secretary obtained, perhaps in co-operation with the adjoining county. This worker would then organize boys' clubs and other characteristic activities, developing lay leadership whose supervision became his principal responsibility.

The county work was always precarious, because its financial base was that of the farmer himself. It had to contend with the Association idea—which was committee policy in at least one state at this time—that Y.M.C.A.'s were not to be established in towns that could not provide them with buildings. A parallel difficulty was that the Association idea was increasingly identified with a gymnasium-centered program. Nevertheless these pioneer nonequipment workers did unusual things with boys' clubs, and with health and recreational programs as adaptations of the usual physical emphases.<sup>82</sup> Evangelism was a cardinal program feature. Boardman and Roberts availed themselves of the best scientific data and co-operated with the rural improvement movements of their day. By 1908, when Association secretaries participated in President Theodore Roosevelt's Commission on Country Life, there were thirty-nine of them at work and forty-two counties organized. Beginning in 1910—when *Rural Manhood* was launched as the department's organ—they gave hearty co-operation to the rural church conferences and exchanged data and leadership with the aggressive de-



nominal agencies that entered the field. By 1915 there were seventy-eight organized counties. Enthusiasm over this development ran so high that the next year an editorial in *Association Seminar* set a goal of one thousand counties to be organized in ten years, and the Convention of 1919 hoped to do this at the rate of 250 a year. In the meantime the beginnings of county work were reported in India.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRAM

It should be apparent from what has been said thus far in this chapter that with increasing specialization and departmentalization, the Y.M.C.A. became more and more secretarialized. The trends in this direction led Luther Gulick to write in 1900 that an Association was actually a general secretary "who succeeds in extracting work more or less successfully from young men, who is the power behind the throne, nominating committees, members of boards of directors, outlining, if not writing all important documents, and in many cases responsible for the financial support of the institution."

This problem became increasingly acute as the period advanced, though it was not always seen so plainly. The time-honored committee system continued to be used, either as a real instrument for lay participation or as window dressing. As metropolitan Associations grew to unheard-of proportions, immense numbers of community leaders were enlisted on the multitudinous committees which were representative of each branch of program. Yet it was for the most part these committees and their elite, the boards of directors, who actually determined policy and made decisions, as far as these were made by others than the paid staff, the rank and file of members having little share in the process.

Institutionalization and centralization were revealed in the necessity for developing increasingly sharpened methods of business administration. One speaker before the Jubilee Convention of 1901 declared that the unbusinesslike methods of the "Y" would bankrupt any other concern within a year. This address was omitted from the official report of the gathering, yet the next *Year Book* described the organization of a business department of the International Committee. Not long after this the Movement had set before it "a wholesome lesson," when William J. Parker of the Chicago Association worked out a particularly useful business system. Improvements such as this were forced not only by the metropolitan form of organization but by the acquisition of im-



mense properties, the maintenance of which presented an almost brand-new problem. These factors also produced the business-efficiency type of secretary, a new phenomenon in the Movement.

Previous methods of publicity were far surpassed by the gigantic efforts of this period. Aside from the widespread influence of the triangle, the effectiveness of the methods used to set the Associations' claims before their communities or the nation as a whole may be gauged by the number of successful building campaigns and the over-subscription of the great funds raised during the War. But in all probability the most effectual was the testimonial value of the famous name—as when President Roosevelt at a public ceremony burned the mortgage of the San Francisco Association in 1903, or when President-elect Woodrow Wilson laid the cornerstone of the Atlantic City building in 1913 or addressed a mass meeting celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the Pittsburgh Association in 1914.<sup>83</sup> Testimonials of men in high position, whether President of the United States, leading clergyman, or general of the army, reached their ultimate climax when, in 1910, leaders and friends of the Movement were invited to the White House upon President Taft's initiative to learn of and subscribe to the foreign work. At the several World's Fairs there were graphic and photographic exhibits of Y.M.C.A. activities—a feature of each International Convention as well.

As was indicated in Chapter 3, the official Movement periodical had its highest circulation at the time of the First World War; it ably portrayed the widespread activities of the North American Associations. Local Y.M.C.A.'s dramatized their important anniversaries with widely heralded celebrations, as when the Chicago Association in 1908 raised a million dollar "thank offering" at its jubilee. In 1901 the International Committee had secured a like amount as its jubilee fund. A stunt that attracted nation-wide attention in 1908 was the running of "the world's greatest relay race" by 1,131 Association boys, who covered 1,092 miles between New York and Chicago in 114 hours and 46 minutes, carrying a message from one mayor to the other.<sup>84</sup> International departments, in their scramble for funds, vied with one another in the production of effective brochures and other means of setting forth their wares.

An extremely valuable adjunct was created with the establishment by the International Committee in 1907 of the "Y.M.C.A. Press," not as a profit-making enterprise, "but for the purpose of furnishing to

Association leaders the technical publications, Bible study courses, and general religious books needed in their work and also to promote the use by young men and boys of books which contribute to the making of Christian character.”<sup>85</sup> The next year it advertised what was to be both characteristic and prophetic: a book Mott had persuaded its author to submit, *The Second Mile*, by H. E. Fosdick. Since its beginning Association Press—it was so named in 1911—has kept the Movement supplied with professional, program, and leadership training resources of all kinds. Beginning before 1920, books on adolescent psychology, camping, recreation, personal adjustments, sex education, and more recently group work, established for the Y.M.C.A. a role as publisher of books for youth and their professional and lay leaders not only in the Y.M.C.A. but in many other organizations.

It is beyond the scope of this History to attempt to review the problems of membership in the twentieth century Y.M.C.A., but it may be said that by the beginning of that period Gulick’s attitude toward restoring the average member to a share in policy-making was held by several other progressives.<sup>86</sup> Fisher wrote in 1908 that democracy was the greatest need of the Movement, which to his mind was then a secretarial autocracy: the membership needed to be “fraternized, mutualized.” The transiency of membership had recently been recognized as had the presence of large numbers of non-Protestants.<sup>87</sup> The next year, when for the first time aggregate membership exceeded one-half million, a drive for a million members was proposed, but this goal was not achieved until 1920.

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AS A COMMUNITY AGENCY

In these years the Associations, both locally and collectively, took their place among the many agencies devoted to the betterment of community life. A significant means to this end was the fairly steady departure of qualified secretaries to specialized services outside the Y.M.C.A., for which it had prepared them. Playground and public school physical directors were a notable instance of this, Springfield College at one time being perhaps the outstanding source of such workers in the United States,<sup>88</sup> and the Associations the leading community resources. Specific cases were the staff members who went to the Boy Scouts and Gulick’s move to the New York City schools. In many communities the experience of the Minneapolis Association was duplicated: a social service club organized in 1907 by Secretary S. Wirt

Wiley and other social agency executives eventuated in 1915 in the Council of Social Agencies.<sup>89</sup> G. K. Shurtleff, outstanding secretary of the Cleveland Association, inspired several such moves in that city.<sup>90</sup> In January, 1908, a group of some forty secretaries met at Niagara Falls to organize a society for the promotion of social service in the Y.M.C.A.; they exerted a consistent minority pressure within an essentially conservative organization, pushing out into such areas as have been suggested.<sup>91</sup>

The Baltimore Association was successful in obtaining public swimming pools for that city, while Associations in many communities were aggressively working for public playgrounds.<sup>92</sup> Sunday School Athletic Leagues took Associations into the recreational as well as the church life of their towns. From 1911 on, the Associations threw themselves heartily into the "safe and sane Fourth of July" campaigns designed to reduce fire, rowdiness, and casualties. The Men and Religion Forward Movement, a co-operative Protestant venture of 1912, enlisted the aid of great numbers of secretaries, and its seven volumes of *Messages* were published by Association Press. All these trends were enhanced by the moves in the direction of what was called "community" work in the few years just prior to the World War. The community-wide implications of some of the programs reviewed in this Chapter—notably the industrial—should be obvious. The matter was summarized by Josephus Daniels, when he described the Y.M.C.A. as "a clearing house for community Christianity." "You can test a modern community by the degree of its interest in its Y.M.C.A.," echoed Woodrow Wilson before the Pittsburgh Association in 1914.

Relations with the Y.W.C.A. were generally amicable in the pre-World War I era, but woman's place in the Y.M.C.A. was increasingly an issue. The Women's Auxiliary of the International Committee rendered it an unusual service in furnishing the new Brooklyn Navy Yard building, and in other substantial contributions to the work for the armed forces; this was but the national reflection of what was done by scores of local auxiliaries. Y.M.-Y.W. co-operation in local projects, from Thanksgiving dinners to dances and teas, was going on across the continent. In 1914 the two Associations held a joint capital campaign for \$4,000,000 in New York, and co-operative projects were commonplace with the two student movements by that time. The developing rural program of this period brought the two organizations into productive planning relationships. Each year the Y.W.C.A.

edited one issue of *Rural Manhood*, presenting materials on the problems of rural women and girls. Widespread local co-operation was revealed in an article on "Working Together in Greene County," the author of which pointed out that the best results could be obtained in counties where "both the Y.M. and Y.W. are working, and working with a united community program." In the particular program described, the two organizations co-operated on the library, social nights, certain maintenance costs, Bible classes, and financing.

The exciting possibilities of community programming had also their potential dangers, in that the resources of the Y.M.C.A. were as a rule greater than those of the Y.W.C.A., so that it often took on functions that legitimately belonged to the Y.W.C.A. when it occupied the field alone. When Paul Super wrote his study outline on *Fundamental Principles and Tested Policies of Y.M.C.A. Work* in 1917, the relation of women to the Y.M.C.A. received its first serious mention by an outstanding leader. Super regarded the growing practice by Associations, such as those just mentioned of allowing women and girls to use their equipment, as mere yielding to strong local pressure rather than recognition of either opportunity or reality. He admitted that the family should be treated as a unit, but insisted that under no circumstances should women be counted as members or given a voice in the control of Association affairs.<sup>93</sup> Yet that very year the War set in motion forces that neither Super nor any other Y.M.C.A. secretary could control, when it brought both the opportunity and the necessity for great numbers of women in Y.M.C.A. service to the "doughboys" overseas. After that experience the Movement would be forced, if reluctantly, to take a different view toward this perpetual issue.

#### THE AMERICAN Y.M.C.A. IN WORLD WAR I

Unquestionably the greatest single event of Y.M.C.A. history to date was the tremendous War program expansion of 1917 to 1921, that enlisted almost 26,000 workers under the American Red Triangle at an expenditure of more than \$152,000,000. Canadian work and that in the United Kingdom were already known in the United States, and as the other units of the British Empire were drawn into the struggle their Associations had followed their men—from Australia, New Zealand, and from India, whence E. C. Carter, national general secretary of the Indian Y.M.C.A. and concurrently International secretary for



India, had sent Indian Y.M.C.A. secretaries to France with contingents of Indian troops; Carter later joined them in Europe.

By the winter of 1916-17, Carter, aware that there were already hundreds of young American ambulance drivers in French uniforms or driving ambulances, proposed to D. A. Davis the American secretary in charge of prisoner-of-war work in France, that an American "Y" be set up in Paris for these men. This was done. Carter next obtained the strategic site for the "Eagle Hut" that later served American men at the heart of London—but this was before there were American soldiers abroad and before the Committee in New York realized that there would be a tremendous job to do for American men in Europe.

Difficulties with Mexico had caused the United States to mobilize on its southern border as early as 1911, and some Association services followed national guardsmen to that area. When the trouble became serious in 1916, 374 secretaries and forty-two buildings were provided for a ministry similar to that of the Spanish-American War. General Pershing, who had been a friend of the Associations since his contact with Mott while a cadet at West Point, asked for Association facilities to follow the punitive expedition into Mexico, having come to expect them to be "as much a part of army equipment as the army mule or the commissary cook" since his earlier days in the Philippines.<sup>84</sup>

By February, 1917, some Association men were thinking in terms of potential needs should America enter the War, but when she did so they could not at first grasp the colossal nature of the task that those in Europe, chiefly Carter and Davis, had foreseen. It was hard even yet, to think of the conflict in more immediate terms than of a "civil war" in Europe, to which *Association Seminar* had referred in October, 1914. Their organizational machinery, like that in Washington and on most of the home front, stalled and fumbled. It exhibited all the weaknesses that were described in Chapter 10 before it finally got under way.

The archives of the American Y.M.C.A. in World War I occupy some fifty feet of shelf space. Of this immense record it is possible in this History only to summarize and briefly evaluate:<sup>85</sup>

*April 6, 1917:* The United States declared war upon the German Empire.

*April 6, 1917:* Mott, solely upon his own initiative, wired to President Wilson an offer of "the full service of the Association Movement."<sup>86</sup>

*April 10, 1917:* Mott, again upon his own initiative, called at Garden City, New York, a Movement-wide conference of International, state, and

local leaders. They recommended to the International Committee the creation of a War Work Council.<sup>97</sup>

*April 12, 1917:* The International Committee appointed 144 members comprising the National War Work Council. Mott was made general secretary of the new organization; William S. Sloane, New York furniture man, was chairman.

*April 28, 1917:* The first meeting of the Council heard Mott read a letter he had requested from Woodrow Wilson expressing the President's commendation of past army and navy work and his "sincere personal interest in the large plans" that lay ahead. A day earlier the President had issued Executive Order No. 57, enjoining officers of the armed forces to "render the fullest practicable assistance and co-operation in the maintenance and extension of the Association, both at permanent posts and stations, and in camps and field. . . ."<sup>98</sup>

*May 3, 1917:* The Executive Committee of the War Work Council, following British usage, adopted the Red Triangle as its symbol.

*May 10, 1917:* In Mott's absence the Executive Committee assigned duties to Brockman, Tichenor, and Towson, the general secretary having been asked by President Wilson to join the Root Mission to Russia. At this time it was understood that few if any troops would be sent to Europe before December. Mott returned early in August.

*May 23, 1917:* The Executive Committee voted to engage in work for American troops abroad; Brockman and Sloane were delegated to act "with power."

*May 25, 1917:* Sloane and Brockman cabled separately to Carter in London and Davis in Paris to organize the work in France. By this time, Carter, having written and cabled New York repeatedly but receiving no answer, was moving ahead. Joffre had visited Washington and Pershing was on the way to France.

*June 7, 1917:* Carter wrote Pershing, tendering Y.M.C.A. services to the Army—in the spirit of Mott's April 6 telegram to Wilson.

*June 19, 1917:* Upon invitation, and in pursuance of conversations, Carter wrote informally to Pershing's aide to state "our probable needs." Two days later he wrote again, unofficially, "to intimate that if you feel that the American Y.M.C.A. could render real service to the Army by undertaking in France canteens similar to the Post Exchange in the American Army, and the Expeditionary Force Canteen in the British Army in France, we would be prepared to recommend this for the approval of our Committee in New York."<sup>99</sup>

The Army was interested: further conversations and a letter from Carter on July 9 set forth specifications.

When, in 1920, the Inspector General was investigating criticism of the conduct of the canteens, Colonel Frank R. McCoy, who had been Pershing's Assistant Chief of Staff in 1917, testified: ". . . We were making most desperate efforts . . . to think of every way we could save combat personnel. . . . We decided to put it up to Mr. Carter." The judge here asked, ". . . Did

Mr. Carter first bring up the subject of what the 'Y' might do?" To this McCoy answered, "No, Colonel Logan and I put that up to him first. I am quite sure about that; but on the record it shows just the other way. . . ." <sup>100</sup>

To Carter "the advantage of this arrangement" would be to increase the social value of Y.M.C.A. huts "because there would be additional reason for the men to come to the Y.M.C.A."

*June 25, 1917:* Davis wrote to Brockman that he and Carter believed it advisable "to take charge of the canteen work, and we have offered our services to the American army in this regard." That day the first contingent of American secretaries sailed from New York. On the 30th, Fred B. Shipp sailed on six month's leave from the Pittsburgh secretaryship. He went as a special representative of the Council to straighten out the "confusion" caused by the two cablegrams "in direct conflict with each other" that had been sent to Carter and Davis on May 25.

Three days after landing, one of the newly arrived secretaries cabled New York: ". . . Almost overcome by size of task and opportunity. . . . Hurry forward men and more men."

*July 16, 1917:* In writing to Brockman, Carter dwelt at length upon the need for increased tonnage. About that time the first ship carrying Association supplies was torpedoed, a total loss. Carter, Davis, Shipp, and Barbour (an American business man) organized their staff and assigned duties. Davis took over American Y.M.C.A. work for the French Army; Carter's designation as chief secretary was confirmed.

Pershing wrote Carter congratulations "upon the energy with which you have taken hold of Y.M.C.A. work in connection with our forces." The General had "carefully considered the different Headings" of Carter's memorandum of the 9th, "heartily approve[d] the program," and asked Carter to go over it "a little more in detail," if he could find time to call at headquarters. Carter did so, but there was an agonizing delay of several weeks.

*July 19, 1917:* The Paris staff received a lengthy cablegram signed by Brockman, Sloane, and others which ended thus: "We believe in canteen program how far have you gone with it." There is no record of a reply.

*August 11, 1917:* Mott, returned from Russia, wrote of his admiration for Davis and Carter: "I stand ready to back you to the limit of my strength." The day before, Pershing had directed his Inspector General to investigate and report on canteens.

*August 20, 1917:* This report, which briefly reviewed British experience and practice, recommended the establishment of exchanges (canteens) in training camps and as far forward as battalion headquarters, with smaller exchanges for separate units; it was referred to the Y.M.C.A. with Pershing's endorsement.

*August 23, 1917:* Carter replied, accepting the responsibility on behalf of the Y.M.C.A.

Later, when critics asked whether this decision was "up to the 'Y' or was it left to Carter?," Mott said it had been "left to Carter and his committee in consultation with the authorities over there." Question: "The 'Y' over here had no knowledge that that was being taken on?" Mott: "We gave



large powers to our representatives over there, as has been the custom of the International Committee all along. They choose trustworthy leaders . . . and give them the largest possible latitude."<sup>101</sup>

*September 6, 1917:* General Order No. 33 granted the Associations authority "to establish exchanges for American troops in France to be operated along the general lines of post exchanges. . . ." By some slip, Carter was not informed of this until a week or more later. He announced taking over this "colossal job" to his fellow secretaries on September 16.

*September 28, 1917:* The Executive Committee of the War Work Council voted "to refer with power the matter of establishment of canteens among the American forces in France, to Mr. [John Sherman] Hoyt" and as it worked out, Philip L. James, Franklin B. Kirkbride, and Douglas L. Elliman. Plans were under way for a second financial campaign, for \$35,000,000.

Thus, almost six months after the declaration of war and more than five months after the formation of the War Work Council, that body was fully committed to the overseas venture. Unquestionably, its slowness in coming to grips with the realities of the situation was due not only to the inability of most Americans to grasp them, but to Mott's absence. The arrival in France in mid-October of the Hoyt commission marked the beginning of full appreciation by American lay leaders of the magnitude of the task and the absolute necessity of fully implementing the requests of the European staff. From this time on, the program rolled ahead with almost relentlessly growing momentum, save that tonnage and personnel never caught up with demands. The tremendous scope of the work done must be inferred from the following summaries which cover the period from 1917 until the Council closed its affairs in March, 1921.<sup>102</sup> Its undertakings in the United States covered:

The erection and equipment of 952 special service buildings and about 250 other units, costing \$8,338,317, and their operation to November, 1919, at a cost of \$4,800,000.

The maintenance of service programs on approximately 5,000 troop trains carrying 2,640,000 men.

Grants to city Associations for work among service men, totaling, to the end of 1919, \$2,397,404.

The maintenance of service in new naval bases and training centers at home and abroad, requiring 943 workers.

The organization of specialized work in 5 Navy yards, 5 arsenals, 34 shipyards, 14 shell-loading, chemical, and powder plants, with 34 buildings costing \$1,250,000 and more than 300 secretaries.

The service to 3,000 troop trains (in addition to those mentioned above) en route from camps to ports, and maintenance of centers at embarkation ports and at sea, with 1,512 secretaries accompanying 1,102 different sailings.



In the British Isles the activities of the Council included:

Setting up in various cities an American organization to care for the 1,025,000 troops sent to France in British-bound ships, and 110,000 others assigned to duty there or in training.

Operating 155 huts and other centers, including the famous Eagle Hut and Washington Inn in London.

Co-operating with Canadian, British, Indian, Australian, and New Zealand Y.M.C.A.'s in maintaining the International Hospitality League, providing, in addition to extensive home hospitality, advisory service to individuals, lodgings, entertainment, etc.

In France the work comprised:

The erection and equipment of 491 wooden "huts" and 1,045 tents, and procurement of 255 rentals, at a total cost of \$12,336,800; and their effective operation.

The management of an extensive chain of canteen operations for the Army, aggregating sales at cost of upwards of 50 millions.

The operation of leave centers in noted resorts of France, which accommodated 1,944,300 American officers and men during 17 months and required the assignment of 885 workers.

The deployment of services and staff during the great offensives, as for example: (a) the 381 secretaries attached to the eight divisions at Chateau-Thierry under shellfire and bombing operations; (b) the 362 men and 34 women with the 9 combat divisions in the St. Mihiel drive; and (c) the 653 men and 36 women accompanying the 21 divisions in the Meuse-Argonne operations.

The operation of 425 full-time service centers and 83 other mobile service units in occupied Germany, together with additional leave centers, canteens, etc.

The necessity for continuing adjustment of services to the successive stages of military operations in the preparatory period before the March, 1918, offensive, during that and the succeeding Allied offensive in August, the occupation of Germany, and the subsequent return home.

Among other Armies and areas the undertakings of the Council included:

Extensive work with the French Army, under the name "Foyer du Soldat," opening 1,452 such foyers (of which a maximum of 850 were in operation at one time, 130 having been captured or destroyed by shellfire, and 434 closed as the French Army moved into Germany); and requiring a staff of 1,123, of whom 328 were American. Inaugurated by Emmanuel Sautter of the World's Committee on a plan similar to the American program in the Spanish-American War, as that had been adapted by the British in the Boer War, these were financed by the War Work Council.<sup>103</sup>

The 140 huts devoted exclusively to the Chinese Labor Corps, staffed by

109 secretaries, including Chinese recruited in American colleges and in China. Notable in this connection was the unique method developed by Y. C. James Yen, for teaching large numbers of these men to read Chinese. Yen worked out a simplified Chinese alphabet which proved to be the foundation of widespread educational effort in China.<sup>104</sup>

The provision of eleven secretaries with other workers in the Portuguese Army. Typical of such work was the activity of Myron A. Clark, pioneer North American Y.M.C.A. secretary to Brazil, who helped bridge the language barrier.<sup>105</sup>

The operation of 150 huts, one-third at the front, in the Italian Army; and, after the Armistice, 200 huts.

The sending of 125 secretaries to Russia (following Mott's trip) during the summer of 1917 to begin an extensive work along the Russian front, a work that survived the Bolshevik ascendancy up to the American withdrawal in August, 1918.

The project at Archangel and Murmansk, with sixty-five American and thirty British secretaries at work among 30,000 Allied troops.

The international enterprise in Siberia and the Far East, with 100 secretaries, among troops of many armies, including, beside the A.E.F., the Japanese, Czech, Polish, Roumanian, Serbian, French, and other units that had previously been taken prisoner.

The work in Greece with nine huts, the Dardanelles, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, East Africa, through the agency of the British, Indian, Australian, and the respective Association organizations of those lands. This work among colonial troops included Australians encamped on the Nile, the famous "Anzac Hotel" in Tel-el-Kebir, forty centers along the Suez served by trains of camels bearing the red triangle, and the ministry of selected Negro secretaries from the United States to colored troops and porters in East Africa—a work "heroic in the extreme" and in which two of the six men sent lost their lives and two others returned with shattered health.<sup>106</sup>

The twenty-seven units operating in liberated Czechoslovakia in 1919, with their seventy-one former soldiers in training for the secretaryship in the Y.M.C.A., which had won the gratitude and official commendation of the new Republic.

The response to the formal request of the Polish Government for the continuance of work begun by American secretaries with the Polish Legion in France, in the rebirth of the Polish nation.

The work among approximately six million prisoners of war, served by sixty-five secretaries, in a desperately needed ministry that stretched across Europe and Asia.

Y.M.C.A. workers under British auspices but assisted by American money and men accompanied Allenby in the conquest of the Holy Land and entered Jerusalem with the conquerors.<sup>107</sup>

American Association men carried red-triangle welfare work into Roumania and other Balkan nations as these were liberated, laying the foundations for significant permanent developments.<sup>108</sup>

Dramatic beyond almost all other episodes was the Association activity among the men of the Russian Legion—"an army without a country." American secretaries "marched with the troops through storm and mud as they forged up to the [Western] front" in March and April, 1918.<sup>109</sup>

In terms of program requirements the War Work Council's undertakings included:

The erection and operation of 4,000 huts or centers for the American forces alone, costing more than 20 millions, where more than 73 millions were spent on activities and free services exclusive of post exchanges and canteens.

The mobilizing of 1,470 entertainers for overseas service alone, including many of the best-known artists of the day, with related coaching of soldier talent; 157,000 movie shows; lectures; song leaders, etc.

The provision of popularized athletics among military units at home and abroad, requiring more than 1,000 athletic directors and 4 millions worth of athletic equipment. These were accompanied by tests and training for military action. The Pershing Stadium was later built in Paris for the Inter-allied Games, "the greatest athletic event in history," aimed at meeting the difficult problem of morale during the post-War demobilization period.<sup>110</sup>

The organization of an Army Educational Commission, planned by Anson Phelps Stokes and headed by John Erskine, Frank E. Spaulding, and Kenyon L. Butterfield, with official approval and a budget of almost 15 millions, starting in October, 1918, on the assumption of continued hostilities, with nearly 600 instructors. Complete with courses, texts, and other educational material it continued after transferral to the Army in April, 1919. Spaulding characterized Stokes' proposal as "the most significant document in the history of American education."<sup>111</sup>

The operation of twelve leave areas in France, with twenty-eight recreation centers in well-known cities, and other similar services in the Rhine Valley, Italy, and England, with a staff of 477 women and 408 program executives.

The trusteeship and transmission, without handling charges, of 351,460 remittances, by A.E.F. troops, totaling \$21,558,214, and money-order service in American camps aggregating just over 20 millions. This extension of the thrift program at home encouraged troops to save their pay and bank it or buy war savings bonds.<sup>112</sup>

The conduct of religious services, in co-operation with chaplains and church leaders, with over 100,000 Bible classes in home camps, distribution of over 3 million Testaments and portions, and of 15 million special religious books and pamphlets prepared by noted church leaders.<sup>113</sup>

A total of 25,926 persons carried on these multifarious tasks, almost equally divided between those who worked at home and those who went abroad.<sup>114</sup> Of those who went overseas, 3,480 were women; at the Con-

vention of 1919 General C. P. Summerall declared that sending these emissaries was the "crowning achievement" of the Associations' War work; 1,665 women served in the home camps. "The women," said the Inspector General who investigated the entire Y.M.C.A. service record, "as a rule were more aggressive and hard working than the men, they were more cheerful and optimistic, and did not become so irritable under the strain as did the men."<sup>115</sup> Distinguished service was rendered the Negro troops by outstanding Negro leaders who donned the Association uniform.<sup>116</sup> This working force was recruited from some two hundred thousand applicants through a greatly expanded personnel service that, in spite of almost superhuman efforts, was never quite able to overcome the inertia in clearing passports at Washington. At one time there were 2,381 names in the War Department files; the organization was loath to exert pressure on the government at this point, although it was the most serious handicap to its overseas program.<sup>117</sup> There were 286 casualties: six men and two women were killed in action, two men killed by brigands, three men died of wounds, fifty men and twenty-one women died of disease, and eight men and one woman were accidentally killed. In the home camps, sixty workers died of disease or accident; one was taken prisoner on the Western front and four were Russian prisoners. Three hundred nineteen citations and decorations were given to Association personnel, including the French Légion d' Honneur, the Order of the British Empire, the Distinguished Service Cross, and the Distinguished Service Medal.<sup>118</sup>

#### PRISONER-OF-WAR WORK IN WORLD WAR I

In the estimation of the writer of this History the greatest service rendered to the participants and victims of the World War I by the Y.M.C.A. was its prisoner-of-war work. Often overlooked in the panoramic summaries of statistics describing far-flung activities, this tremendous humanitarian service should weigh heavily in the scales when the ultimate balance is made of the value of all these. The prisoner-of-war work grew out of Mott's idea of an international service on a reciprocal basis in all the belligerent countries, the only way in which conditions among prisoners of the Central Powers could be ameliorated. American secretaries were allocated to the English National Council in behalf of German prisoners in Great Britain, and by reciprocity American workers were also allowed to minister to Allied prisoners in Germany. The arrangement was later extended to all belliger-





TRAVELING LIBRARY AND RECREATION CHEST  
Typical of those Supplied to Prisoners of War (Austria-Hungary)

ents except Turkey. When the United States entered the War, American secretaries were withdrawn from the prisoner-of-war work, but the project continued with personnel from the neutral nations.

The most notable instance of the work at this point was the arrangement whereby Conrad Hoffman, American secretary-in-charge for all classes of prisoners in Germany, was allowed to remain and was able to provide the first food relief for American soldiers captured by the Germans. When Hoffman determined to stay in Germany, a high official saw in the fact "the finest possible expression of the ideal you represent in this world, worthy of the great Christian organization of which you are a part." Such efforts on behalf of prisoners of war reached across Europe and Siberia, south to Tashkend in Turkestan and Ahmednagar in India, and to German prisoners in Japan. Its headquarters, for it was administered through the World's Committee, was in Berne; its total staff included sixty-five secretaries under A. C. Harte. The American Y.M.C.A. *Year Book* for 1919 summarized the nature of the work:

Generally in all countries the principal features of the work for prisoners were much the same. They included the organization of educational classes under the direction of the prisoners themselves, the organization of choirs, bands, and other groups interested in music. In many cases kitchens were equipped and supplied in a way to enable the prisoners to assist invalids to recover who must otherwise have perished for lack of food. Wherever possible religious meetings according to the forms to which the prisoners were accustomed were organized through the cooperation of priests and clergymen of their own faith.

Social activities of all kinds were encouraged and large numbers of men found that despite the hardships and restraints of prison life it was possible to find peace of heart and even joy in unselfish service of their fellowmen. Mr. Hoffman was able to arrange for the concentration of American prisoners in a single camp, to secure material improvement in housing conditions, and to make an arrangement by which instead of being subjected to the petty tyranny of German sergeants the men were allowed to govern themselves within the limits of the camp. One of the finest evidences of the value of this work was found in the fact that when at the signing of the armistice the men were released from German authority, the organization established within the camp which had been set up by the Young Men's Christian Association was the basis of continued self-government and enabled our men to maintain a high standard of conduct, avoiding all excesses even when all outside control was withdrawn.

Hundreds of thousands of enemy prisoners held in Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia as well as in the United States, have had abundant evidence that America and the Allies have carried on the war in no vindictive spirit and have had a new vision of the practical and social value of Christianity in service.

Another authoritative summary pointed out that if it seemed presumptuous to think of sixty-five secretaries serving several million men it should be borne in mind that with the men idle what was needed was organization and equipment:

First of all the Y men sought to build up a simple organization in each camp and put what was really a welcome burden on the shoulders of the capable leaders in every camp. In one situation the committees were left to themselves for two years but there was no lapse in their work. The completeness of some of these organizations is shown by the list of committees in the camp at Grödig, Austria. It included, Welfare, School, Library and Reading Room, Music, Theater, Cinema, Athletic and Recreation, Arts, Wood Carving and Handwork, and Religious.

In many camps huts were provided. A wide variety of supplies was secured—theatrical costumes, musical instruments, books, school supplies, athletic equipment, hospital supplies, religious articles.

What music did for these prisoners they alone can tell in adequate terms. "Now we can keep our courage, and hold on until the day of peace"—this was the response to the old home music. Theatrical entertainments put on in buildings erected or adapted by the Y were a godsend alike to audiences and actors.

The Y helped in dealing with prison authorities. As a morale-building organization it aided in obtaining many concessions, chief of which was a large measure of self-government in camps where prisoners were busy and reasonably contented; in some such situations the basis of rationing was changed for the better. The information and correspondence department rendered an invaluable service with regard to missing and sick prisoners. One Russian, caged for several years, was quoted as saying, "Years of youth were passing. Mental atrophy had begun. You came. You showed us a new way and extended a helping hand." Recreation relieved the strain of monotony, but education saved thousands of years of manpower. Religious services were made possible according to accustomed forms:

In Russia 64 prison camps were touched by Y workers and through visitation 102 camp enclosures in France were served. In Great Britain an extensive and effective work was carried on everywhere. The major camps within the Central Powers, with their more than 4,000,000 prisoners, were organized and visited regularly.

Between April, 1917, and October, 1919, \$1,100,000 was invested in this service by the War Work Council alone. In essential values it dwarfed the much larger and more costly venture to be described next.

When the shortcomings of the canteens are evaluated, that operation should be seen against the total weight of all Y.M.C.A. services, of which prisoner-of-war work was most significant—at least to this writer.

#### THE CRITICISM OF ASSOCIATION CANTEENS

Americans remember most vividly the fact that the War Work Council operated 1,500 canteens or post exchanges for the Army in France, which did fifty million dollars' worth of business. This tremendous enterprise brought great problems of tonnage, transport, manufacture in France (the Y.M.C.A. set up its own candy and cookie factories), personnel, warehousing, distribution, pricing, and accounting. Around the operation of these "grocery stores" grew most of the criticism to which the organization was subjected. It has been indicated above that the responsibility for the Y.M.C.A.'s taking over this task was clearly inherent in Mott's telegram to Wilson on April 6, 1917, and that the arrangements made between Carter and Pershing's staff were considered by both sides to be mutually agreeable and advantageous. That the Army could not keep its promises, due chiefly to the submarine warfare, was the principal cause of the defects in the canteen service that gave ground for criticism.

The minimum number of secretaries, estimated at a ratio of one to 217 troops (originally one to 170), was approximated for a time in the spring of 1918, but by the autumn of that year it had fallen to one to 500—when, as noted above, the War Department had in its files the names of more than two thousand men long since cleared by the Association but still "straining at the leash," as Wilson remarked to Mott. Thus the staff in France through most of the War was "less than half of the minimum set in agreement with the Army Headquarters as necessary to do the job." Although the Y.M.C.A. personnel offices were repeatedly revamped, the bottleneck in Washington was never broken; not until May, 1919, did the number of secretaries meet the original estimate of one to 170—six months after the war was over.<sup>119</sup>

It was understood when the Y.M.C.A. undertook the operation of the canteens in France that it was to do so exclusively.<sup>120</sup> The Army naturally continued to maintain post exchanges in the United States, where prices were fixed by law at wholesale levels. In September, 1917, the high Army official in charge of arrangements with the Y.M.C.A. gave the Association *carte blanche* to set its own prices, in view of



the fact that "the history and reputation of the Y.M.C.A. [were] sufficient guarantees against any unreasonable conduct of the exchanges." The Y.M.C.A. canteens in France necessarily added to their prices the approximate costs of transportation, in spite of the fact that the War was over before they could learn whether they were to be charged for tonnage in Army transports, which had provided less than half the tonnage obtained but was actually one-fifth of what was needed.<sup>121</sup> When the government decided, after the War, to make no charge, the War Work Council gave the approximate sum saved, \$500,000, to the American Legion, for welfare purposes.

The "doughboy" expected to obtain in advanced post exchanges on the Western front essentially the same articles he had bought in "the States"; he did not know that his always inadequate supplies were substantially more than French, British, or Canadians had. He forgot that everything was conditioned by the submarine warfare. He probably did not know that in the spring of 1918 the desperate situation created by the collapse of Russia necessitated giving troop transport right-of-way over supplies. It was inevitable that criticism would be raised against an operation of this magnitude, regardless of who managed it, for "the sheer dimension of the undertaking was substantially beyond the normal, peace-time procedures of any group or agency like the Association or even the government."<sup>122</sup> Little criticism was heard before the summer of 1918 but the crescendo rose to such a point after the signing of the armistice that Mott, of his own initiative, asked for a governmental investigation at the end of 1918. There ensued more than four years of study, hearings, reporting, counter-investigation, and much plumbing of memory and record, the specific accounts of which fill dozens of heavy volumes. From them and from the passing of thirty years a few facts may be distilled.

The largest War work operation by the Associations was the canteen service, which Army officials and the Y.M.C.A. realized afterward "was not generally understood by the men" in its relation to the Army canteen. The net effect of the Y.M.C.A.'s involvement in this service "made it appear to be a commercial and mercenary welfare organization" that sold goods to them. The other welfare organizations were the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board. The Red Cross was not considered a welfare organization. None of these operated post exchanges, but they did maintain clubs and huts. In obtaining these or in operating them they all derived considerable

aid from the Y.M.C.A. organization, whether in the form of transportation, supplies, equipment, films, the use of buildings for Catholic or Jewish religious services, performers and costumes for the A.E.F. circus sponsored by the K. of C., the distribution of literature, or, in the case of the Jewish Welfare Board and the Y.W.C.A., actually functioning through the Y.M.C.A.<sup>123</sup> The relative amounts of welfare and other services performed by these agencies are indicated in the accompanying chart.<sup>124</sup>

COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF DIFFERENT SERVICES RENDERED BY  
DIFFERENT AGENCIES

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Y.M.C.A.</i>	<i>K. of C.</i>	<i>S.A.</i>	<i>J.W.B.</i>
Huts and clubs .....	90.00	5.00	4.00	1.00
Entertainments .....	89.80	10.00	.....	0.20
Athletics .....	82.00	18.00	.....	.....
Leave Areas .....	95.00	1.67	1.67	1.66
Remittances .....	98.00	.....	2.00	.....
Personnel .....	88.50	8.40	2.70	0.40
Totals .....	543.30	43.07	10.37	3.26
Averages .....	90.55	7.18	1.73	.54

The estimated proportion of welfare work by each of these four organizations, based on figures available is therefore:

Y.M.C.A. ....	90.55 per cent
K. of C. ....	7.18 per cent
Salvation Army .....	1.73 per cent
J.W.B. ....	.54 per cent

The first small group of Knights of Columbus workers arrived in France in March, 1918.<sup>125</sup> Their numbers increased from sixty in June to almost four hundred by the end of October; next April there were 725; these were later supplemented by numbers of demobilized soldiers who donned the Knights' uniform. At their huts and other centers the Knights pursued a policy of "Everybody Welcome and Everything Free." This included tobacco, cigarettes, candy, chocolate, and hot drinks as well as free entertainment, athletic and welfare services: it was the keystone of the K. of C. policy.<sup>126</sup> Naturally it tended to set in a bad light the prices charged by the Y.M.C.A. for similar "creature comforts" at post exchanges. Likewise, Salvation Army "lassies" served free coffee and doughnuts from comparatively few mobile kitchens strategically placed. Pershing's remark to Carter, that the welfare organizations obtained prestige in reverse ratio to the share of service

given, put the matter in a nutshell. The Army's official investigation in 1919 said it rather more fully:

The fact that the Y.M.C.A. took over the Army or government exchange and that in operating its canteens it was performing an army function and *not a welfare work* was never adequately explained to or understood by the great mass of soldiers in France. The average man considered that the Y.M.C.A. was a great organization which had represented to the people that it was going to Europe to perform a welfare work and had obtained large amounts of money from the people for that purpose. These immense donations conveyed to the minds of many soldiers an impression that considerable more would be given away in the way of supplies than was actually the case. This idea was strengthened by the fact that *other similar welfare organizations were allowed to enter the field and distribute free the very articles which the Y.M.C.A. was selling in the canteens*. At least one other welfare organization took advantage of the fact that the Y.M.C.A. was handicapped by the canteens. It adopted for its slogan the phrase "Everything free" and impliedly invited comparison between its free service and that of the Y.M.C.A. This was of course unfair. *The work of the Y.M.C.A. was so much larger than that of any other organization that there was no basis of comparison*. It gave away more than all the other welfare organizations combined, but the fact that it was engaged in the canteen business and sold the same supplies that others gave away was a fact that many soldiers not knowing of General Order 33, G.H.Q., A.E.F., 1917, under which the canteens were operated, could not understand, and because of their misunderstanding the Y.M.C.A. received considerable unmerited criticism.<sup>127</sup>

In 1923 when at Pershing's request the Army reviewed its previous findings in the matter, the investigating officer concluded "that had the Y.M.C.A. not volunteered to assume this responsibility there would have been no post exchanges. . . . Nor was the Y.M.C.A. canteen the only agency which came in for this criticism. The soldier had many complaints to make against our Sales Commissaries. . . ." Further,

. . . the American soldier was greatly incensed when he found he had paid for something which had been sent over as a gift. While gift shipments were generally kept separate and actually given away, this was not always practicable, and stores often had to be pooled to meet demands, just as an ambulance donated to some particular unit by friends at home was seized and pooled when it arrived in France.

It was true, concluded the reviewing officers, that the statistics of supplies distributed free by the Y.M.C.A. was relatively small, but "a great deal of money was spent in free entertainments of various kinds, and a large sum in hotels and restaurants run at a loss for the accommodation of our soldiers. The amounts and kinds of stores which could actually be given away were limited by A.E.F. orders."<sup>128</sup>

It was also said in criticism that the Y.M.C.A. performed most of its work in the cities and leave areas and a smaller amount of its work at the fronts. It arrived in France first and naturally began in training centers, the ports, and the cities, moving forward with the forces. Advance posts planned for the Chateau-Thierry front were subsequently overrun by the enemy, as an example. Other organizations came later and selected spot assignments; *none of them tackled the entire problem.* The casualties listed above did not take place in the cities and leave areas. The front itself often moved so rapidly that the Army's own services of supply could not keep up.<sup>129</sup> The Association was doubtless guilty of some overemphasizing of its front-line services in advertising—this was a third major criticism—but the reviewing officers dismissed most of this in 1923 and pointed out that there were instances in the records that “would substantiate many of the statements made in the publicity matter.”<sup>130</sup> The last major criticism—that a large portion of the Y.M.C.A. workers were unsuited to their assignments and performed them inefficiently—was “dismissed almost without comment” by the reviewing generals, who pointed to the simple fact that even with Army personnel “it was impossible to determine which ones of a given number would succeed or fail until the acid test of action had been applied.” The individuals who were criticized were the ones who failed, but no isolated case, however flagrant, could “warrant a general stigmatization of the personnel of the Y.M.C.A. organization as a whole.”<sup>131</sup> It should be kept in mind that the Association had to choose from men overage or rejected by the draft. It should also be repeated that no word of criticism was ever leveled against the women who served in the Association uniform. Not subject to the draft, they represented a higher caliber of personality than, on the whole, was available to the Y.M.C.A. among the men who offered their services. Of these thousands so hurriedly recruited, only seven hundred had had Y.M.C.A. experience. There was some criticism of the conduct of religious work, which will be noted in Chapter 12. Other minor criticisms were made but they were not serious enough to warrant reviewing in the centennial perspective.<sup>132</sup>

From that viewpoint it does need to be said, however, that if there was a basic error in the entire procedure, it was the assumption that a Protestant religious organization could “act as representative of all the people,” without doubt arising in certain quarters as to its disinterestedness. Once precipitated into the stress of great labor for im-



mediate ends, the organization found itself caught, in the case of operating the canteens, between the desire to help men in need and the necessity of running a business—both a big business in the aggregate and a little business at each post. The man who volunteered for welfare work often found himself counting the cash at the end of the day's hectic activity. Further ramifications of this problem were visible in some of the reflections of a commission that reported to the Convention of 1919:

The Young Men's Christian Association had laid upon it an enormous task by virtue of its acceptance by the Government as an agency of moral welfare in the Army and Navy. Not only was the task enormous, it was also most delicate and difficult, requiring the Association on the one hand to preserve its loyalty to its own character and its relation to the churches, and on the other hand to observe every propriety and obligation as an authorized agency of the Government.

This tension was not within the province of the Y.M.C.A. to resolve, for no Protestant organization could act as "an authorized agency of the Government" and maintain its integrity. In actuality, this was a major step in the long program trend toward the transformation of the American Y.M.C.A.'s from a Protestant religious organization into a general welfare agency.

If in perspective of the years there remains a serious residue of criticism concerning the conduct of the War effort, it must be placed on the shoulders of those who controlled the policies and administered them from 347 Madison Avenue. Concerning the laymen who sat in the seats of power during this operation, one leading secretary unburdened himself, in perhaps too sweeping language, to another in 1920:

. . . I never found a group of men who seemed to be so little in touch with the heart of the American public as this group. This was clearly evidenced by their treatment of the criticisms . . . we could not get any response whatever from them until about August, 1918, and even then they treated this as a matter of not much importance, largely because they did not know what was going on. . . . <sup>133</sup>

As successive lay missions crossed the Atlantic to investigate Carter's administration they were usually convinced, albeit "too little and too late," of the validity of his requests. Several of the most successful policies ultimately carried out were accepted only after long and painful hesitation. For example, the one feature for which the organization received only unstinted praise was resisted for months at

"347"—sending women to the European theatre.<sup>134</sup> There is reason to believe that the chief European secretary's proposal to enlist and emphasize Roman Catholic workers—a method pursued by his own Indian Association—would have minimized if not obviated the competitive program and criticism of the Y.M.C.A. by Catholics. But headquarters would have nothing of it; only after lengthy consideration was such an offer made to the Jewish group, which accepted it.

Behind all these inertias was the seeming inability of lay leaders, who were sincere and even venturesome in their own businesses, to accept the actual cost and implementation of Mott's promises. It was little short of tragic that he, who alone could convince them, was out of the country during the crucial months between April and August, 1917. When the Army investigated the conduct of the Y.M.C.A. operations, it pointed out that Carter's "powers and authority" were vaguely stated: "This was first shown in the way of lack of definition of function and responsibility." Both Carter and his first colleague, Davis, were "in a very embarrassing position because of the lack of definite instructions from the War Work Council." The statement continued: "For the first six months any detailed report of the operation of the Y.M.C.A. would be impossible."<sup>135</sup>

There followed, over a period of nearly three years, the frank and often publicly given testimony of various high military personages tending in the main, while recognizing certain shortcomings in its work, to commend the Y.M.C.A. for its war-service achievements, and helping substantially to reassure those whose confidence may have been shaken. These included Colonel Frank R. McCoy of Pershing's General Staff,<sup>136</sup> General Pershing himself,<sup>137</sup> Marshall Foch,<sup>138</sup> General George V. Moseley,<sup>139</sup> and two brigadier-generals asked by Pershing to review the full story of the canteens. This was reported in a memorandum that wrote *finis* to the entire episode in 1923.<sup>140</sup>

In the next decade the American people indicated their judgment by giving the organization unprecedented financial support, as the second great building movement of the twentieth century added more than seventy million dollars worth of new facilities to the properties of American Y.M.C.A.'s.

It must not be assumed that the tremendous program of the War Work Council covered the entire participation of the American Movement in the struggle. The Council's work would not have been possible except on the foundation of solid support by local Associations

who threw themselves heartily into recruiting personnel, advertising the program, and organizing the financial campaigns in their own communities. Each department made its contribution to the home front, as has been suggested at various points in this chapter. The immense activities of local Y.M.C.A.'s during the war cannot be detailed here. Readers are referred to the footnote summaries for three leading Associations that were perhaps characteristic examples of local Association participation in the war effort: Chicago,<sup>141</sup> New York City,<sup>142</sup> and Minneapolis.<sup>143</sup> The net effects of the War upon the Movement were far-reaching, yet slow to take effect, and hardly obvious until the mid-1920's. This will be discussed in Chapters 12 and 13 and elsewhere.

#### ASSOCIATION RELIGIOUS WORK FROM 1900 TO 1920

During these two decades religious work became a special effort, rather than the spontaneous expression it had been in the nineteenth century. When a large city Association planned its religious work program in 1903 it included big Sunday evening meetings, with "after-meetings" for inquirers, graded Bible study, personal work campaigns, and devotional services. It was assumed that all other departments would co-operate in strengthening their religious emphasis.<sup>144</sup> Most Associations found such a program effective and popular. During the season of 1911-12, the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A. counted an attendance of nearly forty-three thousand at its religious meetings—"almost as large as the attendance at the physical department activities within the building."<sup>145</sup>

The unique emphasis of this period was Bible study. This was not new, but it was now pursued with increased vigor. The International Bible study department was inaugurated in 1897 and was administered chiefly by Edwin F. See, metropolitan secretary of the Brooklyn Association, until Fred S. Goodman became the first secretary of the department in 1901. This growing concern coincided with the fresh discovery by liberal Protestant scholars of the teachings of Jesus, the study of which had a tremendous vogue. The Y.M.C.A.'s program was influenced by this manifestation, and its study courses, particularly those developed by the student department, came to be among the most widely used in America. A special Bible study number of *Association Men* in 1901 showed that the work was popular and growing steadily. The study of the Bible was often used as the core of noon shop meetings that many Associations held in industrial plants.<sup>146</sup> In

1903, 877 Bible classes were reported with 731,602 attendances; 70,286 religious meetings were held that year in 1286 Associations, with a total attendance of almost four million. This program maintained its popularity until after the War. *The Social Significance of the Teachings of Jesus*, by Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of Cornell, and *The Social Principles of Jesus*, by Walter Rauschenbusch were studied by thousands of groups; the latter booklet was distributed in great number among the men of the armed forces during the War.

One of the most notable contributions of the Y.M.C.A. to the religious life not only of America, but of the world, was in the publication by Association Press of the "everyday life series" of devotional books between 1910 and 1920. The most important of these were *The Manhood of the Master*, *The Meaning of Faith*, *The Meaning of Prayer*, and *The Meaning of Service* by Harry Emerson Fosdick. The devoutly liberal content of these books was in keeping with the religious climate of the times and thirty years later in the middle of the century they continued to be among the most widely used of all devotional books.

When the religious work department of the International Committee was formed in 1901 and Goodman joined it as Bible study secretary, Fred B. Smith had already been at work promoting and organizing evangelistic work for the Committee since 1899. Next year (1902), the department published the first complete Association handbook of religious work methods and principles—an evidence of the standardizing tendencies of the times. This staff was augmented during the two decades now being studied, Mott directing much attention to it and Robert P. Wilder,<sup>147</sup> Henry B. Wright, and Clarence A. Barbour<sup>148</sup> giving special service at various times.<sup>149</sup> Through most of a score of years, Clyde R. Joy of Keokuk, Iowa, served as hard-working chairman of the religious work committee. Increasingly, city Associations added religious work secretaries to their force of workers, while Fred B. Smith became "the most sought after man on the continent to address meetings for men in theatres and churches."

Smith's technique was new and unusual. The streets of the city in which he was scheduled were placarded with announcements that "America's greatest speaker to men" would address a mass meeting. An hour before the doors of the theatre opened, Smith issued instructions to the staff of several hundred workers who had been enlisted from among the city's best-known laymen and younger clergymen.



Each was assigned a section of the auditorium, supplied with "decision cards," and then told how the speaker would proceed. A contemporary of Smith's, who witnessed a typical meeting, described how the audience poured in while inspiring music was played, and the speakers and leading laymen and ministers filed onto the platform. "Everything clicked":

... The leader of singing was an expert. Men sang and enjoyed it. Then came the collection, which Mr. Smith insisted upon handling. He and his audience got acquainted. He was not particularly serious. He made it easy for men to pay the expenses of the meeting. He told his audience that he did not receive one cent of the collection. Men seated in boxes were informed that folks who occupied the choicest seats in the house were expected to "chip in" at least five dollars. He got his audience laughing. Fred Smith knew how to handle men, and he was in fine fettle.

After some special music, a solo, Scripture reading by a minister, and prayer by another, the chairman made way for Mr. Smith, who spoke for an hour, and never minced matters. He held the attention of that great audience as he presented a living Christ who had the power to help men to live right. He denounced sin. He appealed to the courageous in men. He invited them to a life that was not easy. He resorted to no sensational methods. His appeal to the emotions was altogether reasonable.

The speaker invited "men who were dissatisfied with their way of living and who wanted to follow Christ" to come forward; he met them with outstretched hands:

Quickly dismissing his audience, Fred Smith invited any who cared to do so to remain, including those who had come forward. In the later meeting he spoke briefly on necessary steps one must take, laying great stress on the place of a wholehearted commitment to the Christian way of life. He emphasized the necessity of uniting with the church of one's choice. At an appointed time cards were distributed to record name, address, and church preference.<sup>150</sup>

The climax of this activity was the "Men and Religion Forward Movement," a nation-wide campaign of social evangelism initiated by Smith, in which the Associations shared seriously in scores of cities. At the conclusion of the continental campaign of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, Smith gathered together eighty-five leaders at Atlantic City in 1912 to review its lessons for the Y.M.C.A.: "The Association for the times will have to reckon with its responsibility to the entire community"; [it] "will be more than ever a servant of the local churches and its building a natural inter-church headquarters"; and [it] "will see to it that every group of men in the city who are trying to advance the welfare of its people, standing for social justice, good

homes, proper recreation, the abolishing of the social evil and the saloon, every worthy educational enterprise, every organization for the purifying of municipal government, may count upon its influence. Though as an organization it may not be able to identify itself with political campaigns or civic movements, Association leaders by the hundreds are now on record as never before and there must be no backward step." Seven volumes of *Messages* were published by Association Press. Next year Smith and a party started around the world with their "social gospel message of the church's responsibility and opportunity."<sup>151</sup>

Such was Y.M.C.A. evangelism in the generation after Moody. For most of the period before the War, the religious work department held the spotlight and spiritual emphasis was significant in local Associations. A leader was the Cleveland Association, whose general secretary, Glen K. Shurtleff, had been instrumental in formulating the rationale of the International department. Augustus Nash, Shurtleff's religious work secretary—possibly the first such—was a foremost advocate of taking the religious activity "where men are"; this led to shop meetings in many a city, where the best talent of the local clergy was pressed into service. Something of the nature of these meetings was caught by a later secretary of the Cleveland Association:

Unless one has had the thrill of meeting at the noon hour with five hundred to six hundred men in their places of work, unless he has heard them sing as they sat about or leaned on machinery and work benches, and has talked with them about the deepest things of life—one cannot possibly visualize the drama and the effectiveness of these unusual gatherings.

Few men in the ministry or the secretaryship in the various cities had developed the ability to speak to men in their places of work. The message had to be packed into fifteen minutes, often less. The occasion required speakers whose voices would carry. Unless a speaker could capture his crowd in the first few minutes, he was practically through. It was not the place for written sermons or extensive notes. A man had to know his stuff and go quickly to the point. He had to know men and, believe me, he had to be natural and give full rein to his sense of humor.<sup>152</sup>

The appeal in these meetings was very different from that of an earlier period. Little emphasis was placed on fear, "perhaps not enough on the life which is to come," but chiefly were men stimulated "to live, here and now, the kind of life which gave men the greatest satisfactions and which enabled them to break vicious character-destroying habits." Much of the preaching was imbued with a strong social gospel note. Men were reminded, said this secretary in retrospect, "that being

a Christian in their generation meant vastly more than it did in the generation which preceded them." This was essentially the motivation of the student evangelism that was one of the major emphases of the period. It also characterized the revivalism of the several gospel teams that crusaded among the English-speaking armies on the Western front during the War.<sup>153</sup> It was an important factor in the remarkable evangelism of Mott and Eddy in China in the pre-War era. Evangelism as carried on by the railroad department, however, remained on the much simpler level of individual appeal to the homely virtues of self-control, temperance, and conventional morality.<sup>154</sup>

Inevitably, however, a reaction against this methodology set in, even among religious work secretaries themselves. Thoughtful observers noted that the great meetings—which sometimes brought J. Wilbur Chapman, Charles Alexander, or the ex-Y.M.C.A. secretary, Billy Sunday, to town (Sunday had to be booked at least a year in advance)<sup>155</sup>—hardly made a dent on the workaday Christian enterprise of the Association in the community. Whatever the reasons, the mass meetings, directed toward mature men, gradually disappeared. By 1914 serious questions were being asked as to whether a separate religious work department was justified: all secretaries, it was said, should work at the task of building Christian character.<sup>156</sup> Many staff changes showed religious work secretaries leaving the Association for the churches, but statistics held up until after the War, when the Movement found itself rethinking the entire matter.

It was characteristic of the tensions in religious thought and action of the period that the widespread evangelism and more or less traditional Bible study emphases of the period were paralleled by a steady interest in the developing religious education movement on the part of Association leaders. At the Lake Geneva Training School of 1903, George Albert Coe, pioneer religious educator then at Northwestern University, gave a series of lectures on the new field "with special reference to the work of the Y.M.C.A.'s." For some years there was a Y.M.C.A. section of the Religious Education Association, of which secretary Edwin F. See of the Brooklyn Association was the first president. The focal point of this interest in the Movement was Springfield College, where President Doggett, as well as several members of the faculty, laid considerable stress upon it.<sup>157</sup> It was through this medium that some Y.M.C.A. leaders first became aware of the concept of character-building through educational and group activities; the Associa-

tion's physical, social, and educational work seemed an ideal laboratory for the testing of these new ideas which in turn greatly illumined and stimulated its aims.<sup>158</sup>

A prophetic note, struck by Professor Coe in a commencement address at Springfield in 1910, was indicative of the influence that would affect the Movement at large fifteen years later. In answer to his own question, "How shall the Kingdom come?," Coe declared, that

. . . the kingdom of God will surely come, yet it will not come down upon us (as in primitive Christian belief) but up through us . . . through the inspired labor and sacrifice of Jesus' followers. . . . Not by might nor power, but by a holy infection from mind to mind . . . Analysis of conditions in the spirit of science, organization of forces in the spirit of business, definiteness and comprehensiveness of attack like that of an experienced strategist—these have of right the same place in the religion of Jesus as in concerns that are called secular. When we do thus know, organize, and plan, we shall surely place our chief reliance upon formative or educational methods and resources. . . . Christian associations and institutions of all kinds will gain in effectiveness because they will duly subordinate immediate and lesser ends to the large end of Christianizing civilization at its sources. . . . And always, at home or abroad, when we make a business of Christianizing the world, the child rather than the adult will be the center of effort.<sup>159</sup>

An important Commission reported to the Convention of 1913 that the inward religious program of the Movement would come to be more and more expressed in the modern term, religious education. When Doggett published his biennial survey of the Associations in 1914, he declared that they, always radical in method but conservative in thought, had shown a deepened interest in social service and a new conception of religious education during the past two years, which marked the times as a transitional period.<sup>160</sup> The coming of the War prevented that transition taking place as it might have. In the 1920's these earlier trends were re-enforced by new psychological insights that had a tremendous effect upon the leaders of the Movement and pushed it squarely out into the stream of advanced thought in the realm of the psychology of education—as will be seen in Chapter 13.



## Chapter 12 Changing Currents in Religion and Ethics, 1900-1940

The Young Men's Christian Association we regard as being, in its essential genius, a world-wide fellowship of men and boys united by a common loyalty to Jesus Christ for the purpose of building Christian personality and a Christian society.

—1931 STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE MANIFOLD RAMIFICATIONS of the varied program that was reviewed in Chapter 11 were accompanied by marked changes in the ways in which the Associations mirrored the religious life of the country. During the pre-World War I years lines were gradually drawn between the two religious groups with which the Y.M.C.A. had been most intimate. Conservatives whose faith was expressed in biblical and dogmatic terms developed a viewpoint they christened "fundamentalism." Backed by ample funds, they opened the major theological war of the first half of the twentieth century by publishing in 1909 *The Fundamentals*, a dozen booklets setting forth the premillennial and prophetic doctrines they had derived from a literal reading of the Bible. The First World War stimulated these foes of liberalism to dogged efforts to capture the machinery of their denominations, though prior to that time they had been somewhat localized in the Bible Institutes, chiefly the Moody institution at Chicago. The 1920's witnessed a tremendous surge of the fundamentalist spirit, perhaps most obviously expressed in the Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee, in which William Jennings Bryan prosecuted a young high school instructor for violation of a recently enacted statute prohibiting the teaching of evolution in the tax-supported schools of that state.<sup>1</sup>

Fundamentalism was precipitated largely by what its protagonists called "modernism," a liberal current, the precursors of which were the "progressive orthodox" leaders of whom mention was made in Chapter 9. It was chiefly the result of the impact of modern science,

especially the idea of evolution, and of Biblical criticism upon the main stream of the evangelical tradition. This trend resulted not merely in certain basic modifications of theological ideology but it altered the attitude toward religious authority and softened the lines between denominations. In the first decade of the twentieth century liberalism discovered the teachings of Jesus. It first responded to social problems and was influential in federating the churches.<sup>2</sup> Naturally the Y.M.C.A. was more congenial to such viewpoints and attitudes than to the rigidity of fundamentalism, which it tended to avoid because of its own pragmatic mood, its refusal to be drawn into theological debate, its dislike of creedal statements, and its lay character.

The sympathies of most local Association workers were long with the conservatives while national leadership almost imperceptibly gravitated toward liberalism. Interpenetrating both camps were strong evangelical interests that manifested themselves in a variety of revivalistic activities continued by the Associations until well into the 1920's.<sup>3</sup> Although the fundamentalists took over the Moody Bible Institute, the Y.M.C.A. was the more legitimate heir of Moody's warmly evangelical but open-minded and essentially liberal spirit, as was evidenced by his bringing Henry Drummond to the Northfield conference of 1887. Until the 1920's the Associations attempted to keep Protestants of all viewpoints within their embrace. When, in 1902, *Association Men* had published a symposium on "Shall there be a great religious awakening?" the contributors included leading liberals and conservatives, such as Charles E. Jefferson and J. Wilbur Chapman. Professor Shailer Mathews of the liberal University of Chicago later contributed, while Don O. Shelton, president of the fundamentalist National Bible Institute, was a regular writer for the magazine. As the years passed, the names of more liberals were seen in its pages than were those of conservatives. This trend was less noticeable in the programming of International Conventions. Association leadership was nationally significant in this era, as a leading American theologian wrote in 1947:

The generation that fought the First World War was led to Christian commitment by a triumvirate of great lay leaders, continuators of the tradition of lay evangelism which formerly centered at Northfield in Dwight L. Moody. No one who went to student conferences or church mass meetings in those days could be in any doubt as to who the real leaders of American Christendom were. Their names were Mott, Speer, Eddy—the inevitable three to call upon when a Christian movement was to be launched or a national convention held. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The focal center of liberalism for the American Y.M.C.A.'s was Springfield College, where President Laurence L. Doggett felt that the earlier achievement of the Associations in getting members of different denominations to work together might be repeated in unifying those of varying theological outlook. From the beginning of Gulick's forward-looking studies in the early 1890's, the College and its publications, notably *Association Seminar*, took a liberal position not only in psychology and educational philosophy but in religion. George A. Coe, Carl Seashore, J. Herman Randall, G. Stanley Hall, and others contributed to the magazine which was read throughout the Movement. The nearest the Associations came to involvement in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was an attempt on the part of Selden P. Spencer, who was subsequently a United States Senator, and a group of midwestern conservatives to impose personal acceptance of the Portland basis upon members of the faculties of the training schools. Spencer attacked Springfield College on the floor of the Convention of 1913; the matter carried over to the next Convention which by a unanimous vote upheld a compromise motion that left it to each college to "make sure that the members of its faculty and its graduates" were not only evangelical church members but "in sincere accord with the evangelical standards of the Associations." This vindication of academic freedom was an inadvertent result of the International Committee's original refusal to accept responsibility for either school. The confused state of Association loyalties was shown by the discontinuance of Edward S. Harkness' support because the great philanthropist became convinced that all Y.M.C.A.'s were conservative; at the same time James Stokes, a member of the International Committee, after an unsuccessful attempt to secure the Springfield Bible professor's endorsement of the five cardinal points of fundamentalism, cut the college out of his will.<sup>5</sup> In consequence of theological controversy in the churches, many Associations dropped specific religious activities and sought instead to help churches of all shades of opinion in mutually acceptable ways.

#### ATTEMPTS TO MODIFY THE PORTLAND BASIS

There had been considerable discussion of possible change in the membership test as early as 1905, especially in the *Seminar*.<sup>6</sup> In 1907 the membership basis of the Association of Mexico City, which was a member body of the North American International Convention, was

modified to include Roman Catholics on its board of managers. This move, given no publicity in the United States, was accomplished in two steps: male members of evangelical churches could become active members by subscribing to a statement declaring their sympathy with Y.M.C.A. methods, practices, and principles as demonstrated in its international undertakings and affirming that their personal beliefs were in accord with the Paris Basis. An evangelical church was one defined by the Portland Convention of 1869. But the Mexican Association did what no other Y.M.C.A. had ever done: it named the Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic churches as fulfilling the definition.

The inclusion of the last involved lengthy correspondence with headquarters. In January, 1907, Secretary G. I. Babcock of the Mexican organization wrote to his supervising officer in New York that his board had demanded that the practice, widely current in the United States, of admitting Catholics "to active membership without conforming to the Portland declaration," be sanctioned openly.<sup>7</sup> The aging Cephas Brainerd was consulted on this new interpretation of the Portland test with the verdict that "the Roman Catholic Church must be pronounced evangelical and members of this church must be eligible to active membership."<sup>8</sup> Inklings of a similar modification for the Association at Manila set off a flurry of criticism at home in 1913. These expedients in Roman Catholic countries will be mentioned further in Chapter 17.

In 1907 the International Committee attempted to deal realistically with the problem of the basis by proposing to the Washington Convention a rephrasing of the test in terms of the Paris Basis and of the statement adopted in 1905 by the interchurch conference that had laid the groundwork for the Federal Council of Churches, which would be organized in 1908.

. . . The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His kingdom among young men, and the right to representation in the International Conventions is restricted to those Associations in which active membership (including the right to vote and hold office) is limited to men, members in good standing in evangelical churches holding these fundamental truths.

This was flatly rejected. Mott asked the Convention to modify the basis for student Associations. His statement was couched in more tradi-



tional language and was voted although William Jennings Bryan opposed it:

Resolved, That Young Men's Christian Associations for students shall be entitled to representation at future International conventions whose active membership shall be restricted to students and members of faculties who are either members of evangelical churches or accept Jesus Christ as He is offered in the Holy Scriptures as their God and Saviour, and approve the objects of the Association which are as follows: To lead students to become disciples of Jesus Christ as their Divine Lord and Saviour; to lead them to join the church; to promote growth in Christian faith and character, and to enlist in Christian service. Only active members shall have the right to vote, and only active members who are members of evangelical churches shall be eligible for office.

The Convention did, however, appoint a committee of fifteen to see if the wording of the Portland test "could be rephrased in such a way as would meet some objections from those who [were] thoroughly loyal to the basis itself."

This group brought an abbreviated definition to the Convention of 1910 together with a suggestion from Methodist Bishop William F. McDowell that the Associations adopt the Federal Council basis—"the essential oneness of these churches in Jesus Christ as their living Lord and Saviour." It seemed to McDowell that the Y.M.C.A.'s were side-stepping current issues in holding to "a hastily phrased declaration" forty years old. When this suggestion came to the floor conservatives raised the ghosts of those years and Spencer's motion discharging the committee and reaffirming the Portland test carried the house. The problem was referred back to the committee. To the Convention of 1913 it proposed an alternate definition of evangelical in terms of requirements for Federal Council affiliation, but an aging fundamentalist member of the committee, its only dissenter, with Spencer's aid, stampeded the Convention into voting another affirmation of the Portland test which now stood until 1931. Thus it was evident that there was a wide gap between the leadership and the rank and file of the Movement. Except for the suggestion brought before the Convention of 1907, there was no expression of interest in the Paris basis on the part of American Y.M.C.A. leaders in this period, save for a report in the 1905 *Year Book* of the action of the World's Committee in reaffirming the Paris statement on its fiftieth anniversary that year.

## THE ASSOCIATIONS AND PUBLIC MORALITY

In their attitudes toward moral problems, early twentieth century Association leaders held rather closely to the positions described in Chapter 9 as characterizing the Movement in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1909 the New York Central Railroad advertised in *Association Men* a convenient train schedule that would get delegates to a certain conference without travel on Sunday. The anti-vice crusade was occasionally mentioned, but the use of tobacco was consistently inveighed against. Billiards was slowly accepted as a legitimate Association amusement and the emphasis upon clean athletics continued. Gambling was abhorred but *Association Men* several times accepted advertising from questionable gold mining schemes, though it occasionally cautioned local Associations against admitting publications containing deceptive advertising into their reading rooms. Later, however, the paper claimed that it guaranteed every ad accepted and that "contracts aggregating thousands of dollars" had been rejected. Several articles at the time of the Spanish War were critical of the War but when hostilities began the periodical climbed on the band-wagon. As will be shown later in this chapter, considerable social gospel interest arose prior to the World War, but much of the Association's reforming energy was directed toward the temperance cause until the adoption of prohibition when it ardently upheld the enforcement of law. As in previous times, however, the Y.M.C.A.'s did not identify themselves with specific temperance reforms. Appeals were revivalistic or moralistic, sometimes buttressed with medical data; there was a growing realization of the sociological significance of the saloon, which was regarded as the "Y's" worst competitor. Occasional issues of *Association Men* were devoted to temperance,<sup>9</sup> and, as the War approached, alcohol was branded as a foe to preparedness—the prohibition attitude of the day.

There was enthusiasm for the new entertainment device called moving pictures because it kept men out of saloons. A new program feature stressing the value of thrift again brought to the fore the virtues of saving<sup>10</sup> and produced one editorial contrasting "profit" and "prophet" in the functions of the average overworked secretary. Billy Sunday on one occasion converted and consecrated \$40,000,000 worth of personality to God—according to *Association Men*. At the height of the building movement, just prior to the World War, the magazine answered criticism that the Associations were selling out their re-

ligious work for money with the statement that the organization's fund raisers had never once been forced to "hedge" on the evangelical position.<sup>11</sup> That materialism was quite as prominent as it had been in the period reviewed in Chapter 9 was attested by a speaker at the Convention of 1913 who averred that the true test of Association efficiency was the continued public confidence shown during the previous six years in increasing Y.M.C.A. property values from thirty-three to seventy-four million dollars. "The Y.M.C.A. is one of the biggest departments in the organization of the Lord's business," he declared.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR UPON ASSOCIATION THINKING

In the midst of the large program expansion that was described in Chapter 11 the American Associations were suddenly called upon to extend themselves to an unprecedented degree in behalf of youth at war. The First World War, wrote Sherwood Eddy in retrospect, "broke upon our complacent, ordered, evolutionary world as a brutal fact, like Vesuvius in sudden eruption. Then it began to obtrude as a theory or problem which must be faced. . . ."<sup>12</sup> This was true of leaders such as Eddy and Mott, Carter and Davis, and others trained to a world view. But the very slowness with which the American Movement, like the United States itself, awoke to the needs of the Western front—as indicated in Chapter 11—was perhaps an evidence that participation in the struggle would hardly of itself produce a basic reorientation. Y.M.C.A. men were led no more than Americans at large by their participation in a global conflict to world-mindedness or to re-evaluation of institutional principles. Yet as the impact of the War was borne in upon the Association consciousness by the primary post-War recession and the new ways of thinking in education and religion that had been stimulated by the experience, thought was given in the 1920's to the meaning of accepted procedures and assumed ideas. The War was not of itself a major factor in initiating the new philosophies of purpose and program that came to be the outstanding features of the Y.M.C.A. in the 1920's. It was rather an expediting agent that accelerated earlier trends of which the Movement had been for the most part oblivious.

Some superficial attitudes underwent a degree of modification, such as the previous intolerance of the use of tobacco which became un-

tenable when the Associations found themselves the largest distributor of that article in the world through the canteen service. "We don't like it," declared the editor of *Association Men*, but we have no business criticizing those at the front who do.<sup>13</sup> Through most of the War traditional religious attitudes underwent slight modification—there were the usual stories of lives saved by Testaments carried in the breast pocket—but the effect upon individual religious leaders was in the long run humanizing and broadening. For the organization this was to further the trend toward secularization. Many a worker who went to France with the expectation of saving souls found himself operating the business of a canteen, the counter of which was frequently a more influential pulpit than the platform at religious services. Evangelism took the practical form of moralistic injunction against the evils of camp and disease—"moral prophylaxis" as well as physical, as Eddy called it—together with constant reminders of home, family ties, and democratic ideals.<sup>14</sup>

The net effect of the War upon the Movement was well reflected in the Convention of 1919, which was concerned at many points with the articulation of democracy in the organization. Yet we must agree with Owen Pence's conclusions in *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* that on this occasion the Associations "appeared chiefly concerned to enter into opportunities that resulted from the contacts of the war, both at home and abroad." Underlying points of view were hardly changed:

Accustomed to working extensively rather than intensively, and relying heavily upon organizational or structural strength, the post-war Associations had great need to re-examine both objectives, methods, and structure. They had institutionalized all of these through the preoccupations of many years of establishment and expansion. Significant adaptation to the realities of post-war America would require fresh thinking at each of these points. When the Associations gathered in their 1919 Convention, however, in the midst of unprecedented scrutiny and criticism, only at a few points did the disturbing insights of a genuine revaluation enter into what was done. There were the customary reaffirmations, the same familiar arguments for expansion. But few were sufficiently realistic to recognize that the period of expansion as such was nearly ended, and that a period of fundamental readjustment was inevitable.<sup>15</sup>

There were those who did not anticipate a "period of fundamental readjustment" with pleasure and who regarded the changes that came as a definite loss.<sup>16</sup>



## NEW IDEAS IN THE POST-WORLD WAR I ERA

The fifteen years following the War saw the repudiation of the evangelical position by the American Y.M.C.A.'s. The "central religious purpose" now became the subject of study by commissions. Mott and Robert E. Speer continued to address International Conventions on "The Living Christ" and similarly evangelical themes but a commission had to be appointed to study the practice of prayer in the Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>17</sup> Personal evangelism came to be defined as a life process rather than a single momentary commitment: "It is a growth and as such must include a series of daily responses which tend to perpetuate habits that will lead to real Christian character."<sup>18</sup> Group evangelism and Bible study fell almost entirely out of the Associations' program; in their place came the view of the Y.M.C.A. as an educational Movement, to be shown in Chapter 13. As a new generation of leaders came to positions of influence the growing secularization of American life that had been proceeding apace since the 1890's manifested itself in the trends suggested above. Unquestionably better trained in religious education and in the techniques of leadership than were earlier generations of secretaries, the leaders of the American Y.M.C.A.'s in the 1930's were secretaries and laymen whose ignorance of the Bible and of the essential content of the Christian religion was at least equal to that of the average Protestant. In common with the liberal churches with which they were increasingly affiliated, the Associations shared the theological vacuum left by the collapse of revivalism. Like those churches they also emphasized to a greater degree than ever the methods of religious education, and religion was more and more looked upon as a means to an end.

A distinguished foreign work secretary announced in 1923 that his creed had changed from "I believe in God" to "I believe." American leaders who attended a European Y.M.C.A. conference in 1926 were unable to understand the religious reasoning of German delegates and rationalized the fact by explaining that the Europeans proceeded upon "theological" presuppositions whereas their own were "psychological." In these years traditional religious ideas were increasingly interpreted in psychological, moralistic, or educational terms. The Easter message, declared a writer in the *Association Forum* in 1930, can be summarized in the concepts of the sacredness of personality, the duty of service, the reality of fellowship, and the power of self-sacrifice. At that time the National Council's *Home Work Bulletin* was suggesting that Associa-

tion workers familiarize themselves with the current expressions of ethical, religious, and philosophical liberalism—Walter Lippmann's *Preface to Morals*, George A. Coe's *What Is Christian Education?*, and John Dewey's *Quest for Certainty*.

By this time most of the leadership of the Movement was committed to the liberal or modernist view of religion, much of the appeal of which was as a methodology as well as a set of beliefs. The theme of the 1927 Association of Secretaries meeting was "The Y.M.C.A. as a Christian educational movement." As the *Home Work Bulletin* put it in 1928, "the differences that arise out of experience, not out of mere factious argument, are important to us; and it is probable that Christian unity of spirit will develop from a recognition of the differences of spirit rather than from ignoring them."

The character of human needs does change, and the conditions under which the Association must try to meet those needs are changing from year to year. Old methods do not fit without much adaptation. It is suggested then that we can best reinterpret by trying out promising applications of our Christian message and evaluating our results as best we can. As long as we must deal with living human beings struggling to achieve character and satisfaction in a difficult existence, we can leave the search for absolute certainties to the philosophers and try for ourselves in all humility to learn from experience what aspects of truth are most serviceable to those with whom we deal.

There followed a group of outlines of courses of study and discussion being tried in certain local Associations.

#### A NEW MEMBERSHIP BASIS AND STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In 1915 the conference of the Employed Officers' Association adopted a radically new statement of the spiritual objective of the Movement: "To win men and boys to allegiance to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour and to enlist and train them in service for the extension of his kingdom." The Convention of 1919 reaffirmed the necessity of the evangelical test in foreign Associations supervised by its agents, although there were by that time several—notably in Latin America and the Philippines—that had made obvious adjustments to sentiment in Roman Catholic countries quite without the general knowledge of their American sponsors.<sup>19</sup> Some local Associations in these years experimented with liberal bases. The enforceability of the Portland test "broke down years ago," wrote Secretary S. Wirt Wiley of Minneapolis in 1922, "so let us admit the fact, work out a list of churches congenial to the

Federal Council and if necessary admit locally congregations that work together in evangelical fellowship."

As pressures began to accumulate in the direction of change, it was said that a few influential secretaries were anxious to seat certain Roman Catholic laymen on their boards of directors. One such protagonist proposed that associate members who signed a declaration of purpose similar to the Paris Basis be allowed on the board to the extent of 10 per cent. This was adopted by the Atlantic City Convention of 1922. The Constitutional Convention of 1923 was forced to shelve the revision of the Portland test. The next year the National Council of Canada adopted an alternate membership statement quite similar to that formulated by the secretaries' conference of 1915. The Convention meeting at Washington in 1925 slightly revised the personal basis that had been allowed the student Associations in 1907 and made it optional for other Y.M.C.A.'s.

Many of the trends, tensions, and connections of the Movement were seen in the efforts through the next half-dozen years to obtain a new statement of purpose. The Canadian formulation was hardly satisfactory in operation, and liberals were seeking an opportunity to work out a fresh statement when in 1930 there was appointed, somewhat unexpectedly, by the General Board a "Commission on Message and Purpose." The move was unanticipated inasmuch as it was the outcome of an abortive attempt by conservatives, who resented the philosophy of certain National staff members, to enforce a creedal statement upon the latter. A layman suggested that whatever formulation the commission might produce ought to be directed toward work and purpose rather than doctrine or belief. Nevertheless the distinguished group of laymen, theological professors, ministers, and interdenominational representatives who made up the commission failed to impress the Convention of 1931, which accepted and filed their report.

This Convention also heard from a small study group of secretaries and laymen who had been asked to consider the religious program of the Y.M.C.A.'s. Its chairman, Ernest M. Best, then fresh from the Orient where he had participated in the International Survey of Association foreign work, was impressed by what he saw as the crying need for a unifying purpose based upon loyalty rather than belief, and stressing the development of character and the building of a Christian social order.<sup>20</sup> With the aid of the committee's secretary, Owen E. Pence, Best challenged the Convention with a restatement of message

and mission "adequate for the needs of our day." This was an introduction for Samuel M. Cavert, executive secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, who set before the gathering a simple statement that Best had prepared, expressing the desires of the liberal leaders of the Movement and at the same time reflecting the thought-currents in which the Y.M.C.A. had chosen to chart its course:

The Young Men's Christian Association we regard as being, in its essential genius, a world-wide fellowship of men and boys united by a common loyalty to Jesus Christ for the purpose of building Christian personality and a Christian society.

Heartily adopted by an overwhelming majority, this action was *prima facie* evidence that the Movement had abandoned not only fundamentalism, since the Portland test had been regarded by fundamentalists as the Associations' sheet anchor, but theological identification of any kind. Best wrote to a friend that the Convention vote marked the finish of "a struggle going back to origins, and the end of the Portland Basis (and the Nicene Creed) in the Y.M.C.A." *The Christian Century*, leading liberal nondenominational weekly, editorialized that the Y.M.C.A. was "reborn." Incorporated into the National Council constitution in 1939, this affirmation stood as the considered purpose of the American Associations at the end of their first century. A statement of commitment rather than passive acceptance, it would have obtained William Chauncy Langdon's full approval. In 1933 the National Council voted that each Association might determine the qualifications of its voting members and boards of control, provided only that such members "be in accord with the purposes, ideals and spirit of the Y.M.C.A."

One of the organization's most popular leaders, James Lee Ellenwood, secretary of the New York state committee, challenged these actions through *The Christian Century* in an article that loosed a flood of discussion. In answer to his own question, "Can the 'Y' be Christian?" Ellenwood referred to the return of the qualifications of membership and control to the local Association and stated his belief that the organization, "long associated in the public mind with the Protestant church," had now made possible "the severing of that relationship." It seemed to him that the typical Y.M.C.A. compromised its energies and aims by trying to attain three goals: it considered itself a social service agency, an educational institution, and a religious organization. The question, he felt, was whether one institution could



fulfill all three. Social service, he pointed out, was a strictly nonsectarian enterprise that ought to become the responsibility of all citizens. But if it were controlled by a strictly Protestant board dominated largely by Protestant control, it could not win "the full support of the community." An Association honestly trying to meet this first purpose should have Jews and Roman Catholics on its staff, "and there should be no restrictions as to membership and privileges." It ought to liberalize its paid personnel until it became a community project like the Boy Scouts with no religious distinction.

But Ellenwood believed that it was "impossible to deal realistically with youth and his problems without religion" and unless the "Y" had this element it merely duplicated what a good high school was already doing. He believed that the Movement should be definitely Christian and should announce such a decision: "That organization best serves today's youth which dedicates itself to an inspirational, informative program to the end that socially conscious, personally honest and vitally purposeful living shall be developed."<sup>21</sup> The Movement ought to make it plain, continued Ellenwood, that it believed in "Jesus Christ as a living leader of personal religion and social reform" and that it was its intention to present Him in every possible way. Of course, this would involve serious changes. "Secretaries would have to shift their emphasis from the promotion of practically meaningless to purposeful, educative planning," they would be selected upon the basis of religious interest, boards would be chosen because of their concern for such a purpose, and members would no longer be enlisted upon "the fervent plea that summer rates are cheaper and every man should enjoy a swimming pool."

This critic would evaluate each group or activity in terms of "actual character developing results" and continue only those that met the test. He would not discard all the equipment, but as an end in itself it did not meet the need of the day. The Hi-Y club, for example, was in many instances extremely effective without the use of much equipment. Ellenwood flatly accused the Movement of crowding religion out: "The plain fact is that the Associations have been so successful in other things that no time is available" and religious work secretaries have been dropped when retrenchment became necessary. But Ellenwood believed that religion and educational approaches were essential and would have both. What he would not have was "a continuation of a sort of neutral service program. . . . What an oppor-

tunity for an organization with real contact and a vital message! What a movement the Y could be!"

The replies to this outburst indicated the trend of the times. Only one article published by *Association Forum* was inherently friendly to the critic's viewpoint: David R. Porter, then retired executive of the student department, felt that the "tides of youth at its best" were beginning to recede from the secularism of recent years. The youth of the world, he contended, "are now challenged by positive, constructive, definite, crusading, evangelistic, contagious movements." He claimed that neither "non-theistic humanism nor [syncretism] (i.e., an amalgam of all religions which would presumably be better than Christianity) is satisfactory." Citing contemporary religious leaders whose viewpoints were strongly evangelical, but whose words and writings were hardly known in Association circles, Porter declared that no mere philosophy of life was adequate for youth's needs or the social demands of the day: "a philosophy is something we hold; a vital religion is something that holds and dominates us." Another writer accused Ellenwood of a fatal blunder in assuming "that social life and physical life are not or may not be made distinctly religious." It was also said in rebuttal that the genius of the Movement lay in "the realm of ethical expression and the development of personality through social influence." Our main purpose, said another, "resolves itself into helping youth apply Christianity to life in all its relationships." Here was a new dogmatism.

Partly to meet such criticism as Ellenwood had stated, which was more widespread than apparent, the 1931 statement of purpose was from time to time used as a point of departure for formulating the ideals held by the leaders of the Movement. In 1936 the program services committee of the National Council asked three whose names were synonymous with liberalism, religious education, and current Association techniques to prepare "a general statement in harmony with present practice that can be used as a guide in policy making and program planning both by local Associations and by the Movement as a whole." The following is the statement by Harrison S. Elliott, Lawrence K. Hall, and Robert Seneca Smith, which admirably set forth the Association ideal of that time:<sup>22</sup>

## "WHAT IS THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION?"

### DISTINCTIVE OBJECTIVES AND CHARACTERISTICS

The Young Men's Christian Association we regard as being in its essential genius a world-wide fellowship of men and boys, united by a common loyalty to Jesus, for the purpose of developing Christian personality and building a Christian society.

#### I. DEVELOPING CHRISTIAN PERSONALITY

The first Young Men's Christian Association was formed by a group of young men, who worked and lived together, for mutual helpfulness in maintaining Christian standards and growing in Christian experience in the face of their working and living conditions. What characterized the first Association group has been distinctive of the Y.M.C.A. throughout its development. It provides a medium for mutual helpfulness in Christian living to boys, young and older men, where they live, attend school, work, or spend their leisure time. It seeks to enlist boys and men in the Christian life and to lead them to avail themselves of the opportunities it offers for the development of Christian experience.

To these ends Association work at its best provides:

1. *Groups* around school, vocational, neighborhood, friendship, leisure-time, and other social relations which furnish a medium for mutual helpfulness to boys and men in their everyday lives.
2. *A group program, leadership and methodology* through which boys and men
  - may find opportunity for a group fellowship through which they can help one another in personal problems and can reinforce one another's ideals and purposes, and in which they may share and discuss experience in meeting their life situations.
  - may live coöperatively rather than competitively amid the consequences of the competitive struggle so common in our modern world.
  - may be challenged through the study of the Bible and of the writings of others in the nineteen centuries of Christian experience to explore the meaning of the Christian religion and its applicability to one's own life, and through prayer and worship use its resources in facing personal problems.
  - may have opportunity to enrich their lives in areas of need or interest.
  - may obtain counsel from a leader or other competent individuals on their intimate personal problems, thus becoming happier and more skillful in their work, recreation, social and religious life.
3. *Service buildings* providing wholesome living, eating and recreational conditions for young and older men away from home or in the community. These centers are located near neighborhood, work, or school relationships, at railroad junction and lay-over points, important shore-leave ports for the Navy, near Army posts, industrial plants, and in student communities.
4. *Service to individuals* where there is need or strain in their living, school, work, or leisure-time relations. Counsel is made available to boys and

men on personal difficulties, putting them in touch with experts where needed, helping them to make satisfactory church, social and other connections in strange communities, aiding them in vocational choice and placement and helping them to find the resources of the Christian religion. Healthful physical exercise, is provided. Courses of study are offered, suited in content and method to individual needs, so that younger and older men may improve their vocational status through proper training, and that individuals may enrich their lives in fields which they have not had previous opportunity to explore.

## II. BUILDING A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

Although the Association started as an agency for personal helpfulness, more recently it has come to recognize the close inter-relation of personal and social problems. Personal problems can be successfully solved only in a society that respects personal values. Further, the Christian gospel implies both the sacredness of individual personality and the necessity of a society based on sacredness of individual personality wherein people live together coöperatively in the spirit of good-will. Consequently the Association work seeks to enlist its functional groups in such group and intergroup programs as to:

1. Stimulate competent, constructive, independent thinking and action both on personal problems and on economic, political, inter-racial, and other issues.
2. Challenge men to explore the meaning of Christian principles and of the gospel and bring them to feel and understand the tension between life as it is and as it would be if the Christian ideals operated more fully in our economic, political, business, inter-racial and national affairs.
3. Encourage groups to re-make on the Christian pattern the life of which they are a part.
4. Encourage coöperation by dissenting groups or minorities within groups with those of like mind in the community to put into effect their varying Christian convictions.
5. Bring about through such activities a fellowship characterized by understanding and friendship, in which boys and men shall work together positively and constructively to transform the contemporary life of which they are a part.

## METHODS OF WORK

The methods of Association work at its best are consistent with its Christian emphasis and objectives, because of the conviction that Christian goals cannot be achieved by unchristian methods. At the same time full use is made of the best insights as to effective methods growing out of Psychology, Mental Hygiene, Education, and Sociology because of the conviction that only as Association leaders meet the conditions that modify individual character can they be effective co-workers with God. The Association seeks to demonstrate the democratic and coöperative ideals which it espouses for society. To this end it attempts:

1. To give all members an opportunity to share in planning and managing the activities in which they are directly engaged.



2. To be democratic in organization and management so that all members may participate in its policies.
3. To provide a fellowship in which not only the strong may find avenues of expression, but in which the weak may find such sympathetic understanding that they may grow strong.

### COMMUNITY COOPERATION

The Association is one of many community agencies that seek to help individuals and to aid in social reconstruction. Related on one hand to social agencies, on another to religious agencies, and where they are found, to Community Councils, it works coöperatively rather than competitively to achieve the aims which these character-building and social agencies have in common, and at the same time to add its own distinctive contribution to the work. It finds its closest fellowship with agencies sensitive to personal values and spiritual in their interpretation of life. On any community problems it helps individuals or groups within the Association to work with those in other similar agencies to achieve their common goals. This means that it often finds itself coöperating with other groups for a special purpose even though it may not be in sympathy with all the purposes of the agencies with which it coöperates. In such coöperative work it seeks to lead its own constituency to an understanding and tolerance that keeps them from labeling other groups and opposing them in toto, but rather encourages comparison of principles and objectives that will bring about understanding of likeness and difference and enable each to share with the other those convictions of most concern.

In the community pattern it seeks to determine and understand its distinctive function and contribution. To this end it finds a community survey of conditions and agencies important. Other institutions carry on certain activities characteristic of the Association; other agencies share certain of its convictions and emphases; some organizations follow its social groupings. The distinctive function and contribution of the Association is its particular combination or pattern of these characteristics.

1. It seeks to fulfill the needs of individuals or groups in their daily life, school, work, or leisure, as compared with some agencies having specifically educational or remedial functions.
2. Its basic organization is in selective social groups as compared with public agencies serving all, like the school.
3. It is a preventive and educational agency as compared with corrective agencies. Its primary purpose is not to cure disease but to keep boys and men physically fit; not to deal with delinquency directly but to get at the source of delinquency in individuals and communities and to build the kind of character and morale that can withstand the temptations to delinquency.
4. It is an inter-racial, inter-class agency as compared with those appealing to only one race or group, such as Negro, labor and other groups. The Association seeks to offer a unique medium through which boys and young and older men, coming from widely different groups (e.g. different economic levels, different levels of maturity, different degrees of educa-

tional advantage) can unite in a new kind of brotherhood hitherto not experienced by them.

5. It is primarily an organization of boys and men, dealing with their distinctive problems, in contrast to agencies formed on a family basis, as is the church.
6. It is a Christian agency as compared with those whose distinctive emphasis is on character development or some other type of religious emphasis. While it welcomes within its groups members of other religions or of no religious affiliation who are in sympathy with its purposes, the Association believes that the most significant measure of human values is to be found in Christianity; that the "C" in the Y.M.C.A. stands for a particular quality of young men's Associations which is more than philanthropic or secular; that it is a Christian association. While not committed to any specific creedal or social interpretation of Christianity, the Movement is nevertheless devoted to such experimentation in personal and social living as may be carried on within the framework which we know as Christian.
7. It is an interdenominational fellowship, as compared with the distinctive approaches of various communions.

The Association, therefore, clearly realizes that its best contribution in any community or nation is made as it confines its work to the groupings and program in line with its distinctive functions. It cannot minister to the whole community because it cannot be "all things to all men," or provide what all sorts of tastes may desire or demand. In that sense it is and must continue to be a minority group in our society, one of many agencies in the community.

It does feel, however, that because it deals with the needs and relationships of boys and men at strategic points of their living, school, work, and leisure-time conditions, because it offers facilities to social groups and service to needy individuals, because it is a voluntary and private agency, because it is doing preventive and educational work, because it is Christian in its emphasis and purpose, it has a distinctive and worthy function in community and national life.

#### Y.M.C.A.-CHURCH RELATIONS, 1900-1940

Until well after the First World War, the relations of the Association to the Protestant churches continued, with the notable exception of greatly enhanced participation in interchurch affairs, much as they were in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as was reviewed in Chapter 9.<sup>23</sup> Clergymen endorsed the local Association and called it "the institutional arm of the Church." In 1917 Gaius Glenn Atkins, leading liberal preacher of Rochester, New York, referred to the Movement as "the Church at the heart of the city." Through it, he declared, the church can do its best unified work requiring special equipment.<sup>24</sup> The Y.M.C.A. was commended by clergymen for its work

among immigrants and for its pioneering of an interdenominational and fourfold program in foreign cities. Churches opened their pulpits to Association speakers during capital fund drives; Sunday School athletic leagues spread; city-wide evangelistic campaigns brought church and Association workers together. Associations fostered go-to-church drives, and the exchange of personnel, especially religious work secretaries, was marked.<sup>25</sup>

Association concern for interdenominational endeavor was exceptionally strong in these years. From its establishment, Y.M.C.A. leaders took an active part in the affairs of the Religious Education Association. Special attention was paid to church brotherhoods, and some city Associations added "interchurch" secretaries to their staffs. Inter-brotherhood conferences were promoted and there was a close relationship with the Laymen's Missionary Movement.<sup>26</sup> The Association-promoted "Men and Religion Forward Movement," a nation-wide evangelistic campaign of 1911-13, was characterized by Washington Gladden of Columbus, Ohio, an outstanding Congregational pastor, as "the most salutary influence" that had visited the churches of the country since his ministry began soon after the Civil War. "County" workers of the Y.M.C.A. participated in the growing concern of the denominations for their rural churches as this expressed itself in conferences and they sometimes held such conferences themselves.<sup>27</sup> The development of nonequipment work brought a new relationship with many local congregations when Association workers asked for the use of their facilities. In the student department there was considerable co-operation with denominational agencies in preparing Bible, mission, and social study courses.

Upon the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in 1908, intimate relations developed between its leaders and those of the Y.M.C.A.<sup>28</sup> To a great many Association men it seemed that the simple "basis" of the Council provided an admirable substitute for the Portland statement but, when the Convention of 1913 rejected this proposal, Federal Council Secretary Charles S. Macfarland opined that the overconservative Y.M.C.A. hardly felt like anchoring itself to "a floating raft" like the as yet unsteady Council. When the Movement was finally able to rephrase its religious basis it had moved so far to the left that the Federal Council statement was hardly considered. In 1915 when Mott became general secretary of the International Committee he was a member of the Federal Coun-



cil's board. "I am loaded but I thought it wise to get inside," he confided to a group of secretaries. Liberal leaders long tried to obtain Association ratification of the Federal Council's "Social Creed of the Churches" but did not succeed until the Convention of 1919.

During these years the Y.M.C.A. faced decreasing criticism at the hands of churchmen, but that its contacts with the denominations were not all they were expected to be was becoming more and more apparent. In 1912 a commission was asked to "reconsider the relation of the Y.M.C.A. to the Church in its different aspects" and bring to the Convention of 1913 "recommendations which may clearly define the place, the policy, and the program of the Association in relation to the Church." The resulting statement, approved by the Convention, was perhaps the most detailed and best balanced formulation of basic principles thus far stated. Its key paragraph declared:

The most important agency for the promotion of religious life is the Church. No other institution should be permitted to supplant it or to ignore its primacy. The Association reaffirms its historic policy of absolute loyalty to the Church and reasserts its intention to recognize in all its activities the pre-eminence of the Church, the extension of whose influence is the primary purpose of the Association.

It was further stated that the Y.M.C.A.'s felt their responsibility for the fourfold approach but insisted that their supreme aim was to build up the Kingdom of Christ by leading men and boys to become his disciples, leading them into church membership, and helping to develop their Christian character.<sup>29</sup> Two years later Willard L. Sperry, then a Congregational pastor in Boston, commented upon the fact that this declaration had scotched the possibility of the Association breaking away from the organized Church to set out upon "an independent life of its own":

Its threefold program might well offer the basis for a new and more comprehensive creed, and its secretarial force has already become, unconsciously, a new type of clergy. The Association has developed its own forms of religious instruction and its own types of religious service. All that was needed, apparently, to give the Association formal liberty was some act of its own, some declaration of independence which should launch it out on its way as a free agent in the wider world.<sup>30</sup>

While the essence of that act would be postponed until 1933, as has been shown in the account given of the changes in basis of membership and policy control over them, there were those who felt that the Y.M.C.A.'s had almost expropriated the prerogatives of the churches



in their conduct of religious activities in connection with their work in World War I. A commission of churchmen pointed out in 1920 that the War Work Council had been almost wholly composed of laymen, in contrast to the inclusion of a significant number of clergymen in the Christian Commission that had organized the Associations' effort in the Civil War. They felt that there had been a serious lack of coordination with the churches on both national and local levels, that the Y.M.C.A.'s publicity had "overpraised and exalted the Association" while deprecating the work of the Churches either by silence or by implication or by direct statement; it had, they thought, "disavowed the repeated official declaration of the Association with regard to its religious and evangelical character and its relation to the churches."<sup>31</sup>

In the post-War years church relationships continued to be the subject of study. Commissions found a widening gap. As the Associations became larger and richer the churches looked for greater returns than they received. The widespread development of church federations paralleling the assumption of community welfare services by Associations altered the pattern of relationships. There was a distinct feeling that the Y.M.C.A., a "child of the Church," had become a distant relative. A comprehensive summary of these matters may be found in S. Wirt Wiley's *History of Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations*; here we may cite the view of a retiring city secretary who wrote in the mid-1930's in answer to the question, "Will the Association continue to emphasize the historic relationship to the churches?" Taking his departure from the new statement of purpose, he declared that the Associations would continue to work "in intimate relations with the churches, possibly more on the basis of common interest than on the basis of traditional relationship. We will increasingly find that the Associations and the churches will meet each other, having much to learn from each other's experience."<sup>32</sup> That this was the trend of the time was indicated by questions raised by the *Year Book* of 1935 in opening the critical problems of objectives, co-operative practices, and "relationships as to leadership, content, and location of religious education efforts" that would make "the combined programs of the Associations and organized religious bodies most effective in meeting urgent current social problems." It also asked whether such efforts would be likely "to lead to personal affiliations with churches, and to life commitments."

On the whole, Association relations with the Roman Catholic form of Christianity were amicable in the twentieth century as they had

been in the nineteenth. Increasing numbers of Catholic youth took advantage of associate membership, especially in railroad and other industrial Associations.<sup>33</sup> In cities having large Roman Catholic populations there probably were more Catholic members of Y.M.C.A.'s than there were members of the Knights of Columbus and other Catholic welfare societies. When it was reported in 1902 that the Roman Catholic church planned a system of young men's societies of its own, the idea was approved and good feeling expressed by *Association Men*. A Roman Catholic archbishop is said to have contributed \$5,000 to the Y.M.C.A. building fund in his city in 1905. Typical of the variation in local conditions was the statement by an Association in a nearby city two years later that its building campaign had been "met by large opposition" on the part of brewing interests and Roman Catholics.<sup>34</sup>

In 1915 a St. Louis priest and editor in a study of "Catholics in the Y.M.C.A." found that there were some one hundred and fifty thousand such members of the North American Y.M.C.A.'s, who could not vote, hold office, or be employed as secretaries. This seemed only a slight disadvantage to them, however, as the Movement asserted its distinctively Protestant character and did not actively proselyte. The Y.M.C.A.'s "indifferentism" to denominationalism was seen by this Roman Catholic student as a flat denial of Rome's claims and he deprecated the influence of the Y.M.C.A. upon Catholic youth but made of his study an object-lesson to his church which he thought ought to provide its youth with the physical and educational advantages that constituted the chief attractions of the Y.M.C.A. This writer held that leading secretaries, of whom he cited Messer as an example, were in favor of comparable Catholic organizations and had offered to help obtain them.<sup>35</sup>

With the modification of membership policies in the 1920's, a few Roman Catholic laymen came to positions of leadership in local Y.M.C.A.'s, but their number was always small. For the most part Roman Catholic criticism of Y.M.C.A. war work was ignored by the Movement, as were some pronouncements, one by the Vatican, of a distinctly hostile tone, that appeared in the early 1920's. Two of these are summarized in Wiley's *History* where it is rightly pointed out that "the Roman Catholic Church has never, by official act, approved or offered assistance to the Y.M.C.A." In Roman Catholic lands where Associations were formed under American tutelage—Latin America,

the Philippines, Poland—apparently adequate provision was made for Catholic membership and office, as was indicated above.<sup>36</sup> In those countries, lay Catholic participation grew while for the most part the opposition of the hierarchy became less vocal and occasionally a local priest co-operated in certain Y.M.C.A. affairs. Relations between the American Y.M.C.A.'s and the Orthodox Churches will be mentioned in Chapter 17. Serious attention was given to the problem of church relations in the 1940's, as will be indicated in Chapter 18.

#### ASSOCIATION PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

The currents of thought and action described in this chapter paralleled the development by most of the leading American denominations of a sensitiveness to what was called the "social gospel."<sup>37</sup> This widespread movement toward the ethicizing of Protestantism had been pioneered much earlier by a growing number of clergymen, but after the turn of the century it became embodied in denominational commissions and in the Federal Council of Churches. Prior to the First World War its outstanding spokesman was Walter Rauschenbusch. The Y.M.C.A. was extremely slow to commit itself to the moderate platform of social ideals formulated by the Federal Council of Churches at its inception in 1908, due doubtless to institutional inertia, close ties to wealth and business, and the belief that the traditional attitude was adequate. Furthermore, until the conversion of Sherwood Eddy to the social gospel in the early 1920's, the Associations had no Walter Rauschenbusch of their own. Such speakers were the exception rather than the rule at their gatherings. Even so, "their messages did not avail to change greatly the established pattern of social education in the Association."<sup>38</sup>

Leaders with a social conscience tried for years to obtain endorsement of the Social Creed of the Churches by the International Convention. Student delegates led by Ben Cherrington and George Stewart, with the aid of William E. Sweet, who was presiding officer, swung the Convention of 1919 to an endorsement of the statement which had become the standard pattern for denominational pronouncements up to that time. It called for "practical application of the Christian principle of social well-being to the acquisition and use of wealth"; social planning and control "of the credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good"; the right of all to the opportunity for self-maintenance; "a wider and fairer distribution of

wealth"; a living wage but above it a "just share for the worker in the product of industry and agriculture," together with reforms that were being demanded at that time—unemployment and accident insurance, abolition of child labor, regulation of the conditions of labor for women. In addition, "justice, opportunity, and equal rights for all," the repudiation of war, and recognition of the rights and responsibilities of free speech, free assembly, and a free press were included.<sup>39</sup> The Convention of 1931 reaffirmed a revision of these Ideals consonant with the needs of youth at the depth of the depression. The next year the National Council meeting added articles stressing the need for economic justice and cultural equality for the farmer.

The most important step taken toward implementing social ideals was the appointment in 1935 by the National Council of a committee on public affairs. This "marked a radical change as to promotion of citizenship and public affairs throughout the Movement," a change from "intermittent attention, incidental planning, and secondary emphasis to continuity of attention, thorough planning . . . and major emphasis. . . ." It was a tacit abandonment of the "zone of agreement" neutrality of a half century or more. The purpose of the newly formed committee was "to stimulate interest in study of, and action regarding, civic, interracial, international, and other social issues on the part of the membership and the official leadership bodies of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States, in harmony with the purposes of the Association Movement." It first set out to foster "a process of education throughout the Association Movement" but it also encouraged local and state groups to exert influence with regard to specific proposals "on which the attitude of the National Council is or may be clearly defined." Pronouncements on social issues it regarded as the province of the Council or the General Board. It planned to work through other agencies, such as the student division or the industrial committee. It expected to keep close to the Federal Council of Churches and the International Council of Religious Education.<sup>40</sup> Naturally, policies were supplemented by later statements, as will be indicated in Chapter 18. J. Edward Sproul of the National staff was the committee's secretary from its appointment. Aggressive leadership was given the Movement by this body, most of the effect of which was felt in the 1940's, although its efforts in Washington between 1935 and 1937 in behalf of social security coverage were direct and precedent-breaking.

These official moves reflected a gradual change in the thought and



action of the Movement. The first decade of the twentieth century, when the churches were well on their way to discovery of the social gospel, had seen a few Y.M.C.A. leaders interested—Walter C. Douglass, Glen K. Shurtleff, Edwin F. See. *Association Men* occasionally published an article on the Y.M.C.A. as “a promoter of social Christianity,” the application of which in those days was usually in terms of purified municipal government, abolition of child labor, or the Americanization of immigrants. A sermon on “A Social Gospel” by the Reverend Newell Dwight Hillis was featured in 1906; the next year the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick, in writing on “The Bible and the Social Problem,” quoted Professor Jenks of Cornell, whose Bible study course was extremely popular among students, as saying that “the work of Jesus was primarily social.” In 1908 the Employed Officers’ conference considered an interest then widespread among liberal churchmen—the Kingdom of God. In a résumé of this meeting, Secretary G. A. Warburton wrote in *Association Men* that the message of the conference was that the Kingdom of God is supreme; that we have the duty of extending it; that both individuals and society are in need of regeneration; that the mission of Christianity is to the needy and the hopeless; that our Associations have an obligation of transcendent importance in the working out of the purposes of Jesus Christ in the whole world, and that leadership in such a task is one of the great and imminent needs of the Church of Christ.<sup>41</sup>

At that conference, Professor Edward I. Bosworth of Oberlin had declared that Jesus’ conception of the Kingdom could be summarized in the phrase, “a fair chance for all men at all good things.”

A group of Y.M.C.A. leaders undertook to channel this social gospel concern in the direction of what was at that time often called social service. Secretary R. R. Perkins, then of Toledo, in speaking before a conference called by these leaders in 1908, expressed his belief that prophetic Christianity produced men of real courage and real religion who could not brook injustice. Of the Associations’ attitude he declared:

Too long for the good of our men have we developed personal religion without the corresponding development of the social religious life. Social service, rightly ordered, will get better men, will keep them longer and make them plow deeper. It will get a class of volunteer workers that know more about the cities we live in, it will save them to themselves, to us, to God’s service.<sup>42</sup>

Much of the impetus toward the Society for the Promotion of Social Service in the Y.M.C.A. was supplied by Dr. George J. Fisher, senior

International secretary for physical work. The Society met for about five years. As Fisher interpreted the new demands made upon his own department by the social viewpoint, he called for the use of scientific methods, co-operation with existing social agencies, and the expansion of opportunities especially in enlisting more men in Christian service. Several statements of purpose were worked out by this group, notably at their conference at Bronxville in 1907. Another formulation that was widely pondered was by A. T. Burns, of the railroad department of the Chicago Association, who distinguished between the broad and general idea of social service that had been widely held by the Associations and what he described as the exact sense of social service. The former was "the action of individuals or organizations to lighten or change the effects on individuals of the social conditions under which they live," a definition emphasizing the changing of effects rather than conditions, whereas the specific definition was "the collective action of individuals to change conditions. . . ." <sup>43</sup> The most characteristic Association definition of social service was, however, that of Messer, who interpreted it as any service that might bring about better physical, social, intellectual, and civic conditions among young men and boys. Whenever discussions of reform became serious, someone always reminded the participants that Association men as individuals ought to enter politics and reform movements, but that Associations must stay out.

The net impact of this activity was to emphasize the importance of sociological study and investigation, the development of courses of study, and attempts to bring the secretaryship to awareness of the importance of understanding their communities.<sup>44</sup> It was in no sense a move toward political or economic liberalism or an effort to modify basic causes of social maladjustment, although a Springfield College audience once heard George A. Coe say that the social gospel implied a redistribution of power in the interests of humanity. In general the College's organ, *Association Seminar*, took a more advanced view than did *Association Men*, although the latter editorialized in 1913 that "there is no religion that is worthy of the name without a social conscience." Walter Rauschenbusch addressed the Convention of 1913 on "Meeting Present Day Social Problems." His then current book, *Christianizing the Social Order*, had evoked a thoughtful editorial in the *Seminar* that had pointed to the growing institutionalization of the Y.M.C.A.:

... When any considerable number of the leaders of the Association begin, either consciously or unconsciously, to identify the Kingdom of God with the material prosperity of the institution and are satisfied with the noise of their machinery and indifferent as to its spiritual product, all is wrong.

In his Convention address, Rauschenbusch made a prophetic appeal for economic democracy but endorsed the Y.M.C.A.'s traditional position of impartiality in partisan conflict. Far-reaching effects of the social gospel were not evident in the Movement outside of the student division prior to World War I, but Rauschenbusch's personal influence at Lake Geneva summer schools and similar meetings was marked.

At the International Committee dinner in honor of General Pershing in 1921, Mott declared that the Y.M.C.A. was "at the forks of the road" in dealing with the three greatest problems of the day—social, racial, and international. How would it meet them? For Mott that was the choice between contraction and expansion; in the 1920's the response was in terms of expansion. However, the Movement soon had an opportunity to show which road it would take on social issues. Sherwood Eddy had been converted by his experiences in the War into a passionate advocate of social reform. Knowing that his new message would be unpopular with many large contributors, he placed his resignation in Mott's hands. What happened next is best told in Eddy's own words:

... Mott replied that no organization needed a social message more than did the Y.M.C.A. ... when I returned to New York I placed my resignation before the wealthy men of the International Committee, pointing out that I was bound to be an embarrassment to them; but they also refused to accept it. I warned them that there would be trouble, and soon there was. On behalf of big business Judge Gary took up the cudgels and by implication threatened a boycott of the Y.M.C.A. by the industrial leaders. He demanded my expulsion from the Association. Friends in Chicago, whose institutional income was being threatened because of my policy, seconded the demand. ...

Other capitalists took up the fight with Judge Gary. The American Legion repeatedly tried to have my meetings cancelled. The commander of the Legion said he would like to have me silenced in peace time, deprived of the right of free speech, and shot in war time. The Daughters of the American Revolution, the Better America Federation on the Pacific Coast, and other convinced or professional patrioteers, were likewise not failing in their duty to save the country from a reeducated individual. According to them, I was surely being supported by Moscow gold, and all the more certain were they because I had long advocated the recognition of Soviet Russia by our government. I now had the privilege of having my name appear on the honor roll of the various black lists.<sup>45</sup>

Again in 1926 Eddy embarrassed some Association leaders, his position (which had been garbled by newspapers) being disclaimed by the president of the Chicago Association; this time the Y.M.C.A. was blacklisted by the Daughters of the American Revolution.<sup>46</sup>

Many Association secretaries were themselves embarrassed by Eddy and some thought the Movement was in danger of exchanging "an experienced and efficient missionary leader and evangelistic worker for an amateur social agitator." An officer of the City General Secretaries' Association conducted an independent investigation of Eddy's remarks in 1921 because of the claim that Eddy was "siding with Labor during this important crisis"; this secretary further felt it his duty to pursue the attempts of liberals to spread their ideas. This effort came to naught when Eddy was cheered "to the echo" after an address before a large audience that included two dozen representatives of \$200,000,000 in vested interests at Youngstown, Ohio—a meeting described by the Association secretary of that community as the greatest of any kind since Billy Sunday had been there. Eddy likewise convinced the majority of secretaries, and Mott upheld him. Disagreement was occasioned when the Y.W.C.A. took an advanced stand on social issues and a few liberal secretaries obtained signatures to a congratulatory letter sent to the president of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. pledging their hearty support.<sup>47</sup> Some of the specific programs that reflected these liberal interests will be described in the next chapter.

The International Committee, when it reported to the Convention of 1922, believed that the Movement was realizing in a larger way than before the industrial and social implications of the gospel. Oddly enough, an experienced secretary who the next year reviewed Mott's book, *Confronting Young Men with the Living Christ*, criticized it for the lack of an adequate and forceful presentation of the social gospel. It was claimed that the standard boys' work program, known as the Christian Citizenship Program, of the 1920's was more than mere activity and organization, being described as an ideal of life—the Y.M.C.A. working with boys and their leaders "in all their relationships and in cooperation with all constructive forces." Conferences on human relations in industry, forums, and a rising interest in the discussion of social, economic, and ethical problems indicated that some of the social gospel meaning was taking root,<sup>48</sup> although some liberals were critical of the organization's failure to take a stand on national



issues.<sup>49</sup> The later 1920's showed a general transition in the pages of *Association Men* to a fully liberal position in theology with consequent implications for social and ethical thought. At the same time *The Christian Century* was critical of the Movement's social conservatism which it believed inimical to the best interests of the youth it tried to serve. Its physical attractions seemed to the editor legitimate but he pointed to the locus of Y.M.C.A. authority in middle-aged boards and general secretary, which combination lacked democracy; some secretaries were liberal, he thought, but few Associations were. The program, weighted on the side of education, was lacking in broader cultural and spiritual values; yet this critic saw the college Associations prophetically leavening the whole Movement.<sup>50</sup>

### THE ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

With the enactment of national prohibition in 1919 the Associations transferred their previous concern for temperance to support of law enforcement and praise of the new liquor control legislation. As prohibition came more and more under popular criticism the Movement tended to strengthen its endorsement. The *Year Book* of 1925 managed to find a correlation between the dry vote and Y.M.C.A. membership in certain states, commenting that "the stronger and more comprehensive the work of the Y.M.C.A. in its Christian character building, the more easily are the prohibition laws enforced and the better are the results."<sup>51</sup> Mott wrote in *Association Men* that with all its limitations prohibition's advantages far outweighed its disadvantages. A representative group of traveling secretaries, polled in 1928, had seen a decrease in drinking and one of them wrote in *Association Men* that the Volstead Act seemed to him a great improvement over preprohibition days, even in New York City. After the prohibition amendment had been repealed, the *National Council Bulletin* published the Federal Council's outline of what it regarded as fundamental considerations: that the saloon should not be allowed to return, control of the liquor traffic should be divorced from politics, profits should be strictly limited through governmental regulation of sale "in order that the consumption of liquor may not be stimulated," advertising should be subject to "strict governmental control and should be reduced to the lowest possible limits," while educational measures of a broad and inclusive nature should be initiated.

The Association's several programs—through the student division

and the physical department—on sex education were continued and enlarged. Some local Y.M.C.A.'s began discussion groups for men about to be married while others found a renewed interest in the enforcement of laws against obscene literature; in the latter connection *Association Men* spoke of the value of having a program of "enlightenment" for men and boys and declared that the best cure for suggestive printed matter was "complete unflinching understanding of all the facts." Max Exner published through the periodical a series of articles dealing with broad aspects of the problem. The "Watch Tower" columnist of *Association Men* declared in 1926 that sex impulses had come to be regarded as assets, but although the 1920's had the reputation of being "wide open" this was a subject still surrounded by powerful taboos. Heavy correspondence received by the National program services indicated that there was great and nation-wide need for adequate sex education. In 1929 Y.M.C.A. leaders—as individuals, they carefully pointed out—came to the support of Mrs. Mary Ware Dennet who had been convicted and fined for sending obscene literature through the mail in the form of her book, *The Sex Side of Life*.<sup>52</sup> By the 1930's this program was greatly expanded, there being many Associations that featured discussion groups dealing with sex questions.

The Associations' chief interest in labor problems—the focal point of social unrest in twentieth century America—was, as will be indicated in Chapter 13, the concern for better relationships between employers and workers, and attempts to deal with the issues involved were chiefly through meetings known as "human relations in industry" conferences. An informal conference of secretaries that met with Sherwood Eddy in 1922 drafted a statement on "the Association and industry" which made the much needed point that the "zone of agreement" in controversial issues was not an area prescribed by others for the Association "in which its rights and the freedom of action of its individual members would be limited." Rather, secretaries should enjoy "full liberty of opinion and action" on the "great moral issues of the day." The Y.M.C.A., concluded this statement, "seeks to work in the realm of practical cooperation in its activities while preserving complete liberty for its individual secretaries and members."<sup>53</sup> The Convention of 1922 heard the industrial department report that its message for the day was a primary emphasis upon securing a relation between men and boys and the Church, by-products of which were "the recognition of personality and brotherhood, the co-operative spirit

in industry, better industrial relations, increased efficiency, and right adjustment of wages, hours, and conditions."<sup>54</sup>

A significant weighing of Association strengths against weaknesses took place late in 1926 when the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick wrote to *The Christian Century* his doubts on the directions and speed at which the Y.M.C.A. was moving. A few weeks later E. T. Colton of the National staff asked Fosdick whether he had been chiefly concerned with "the national aspect of the case or what appears from time to time to be positions taken by the individual local Associations":

To one like myself on the inside, there is vastly more to encourage than discourage. To cite a few of the signs of progress there are: The Interracial Commission, the Student Department as a whole, the religious educational content of the Boys' program, hearty cooperation with the Helsingfors Conference inquiry and its implications, the refusal to let Eddy be sacrificed to reactionary demands, the almost universal acceptance of your own writings and other utterances.<sup>55</sup>

In response Fosdick acknowledged that at times he had been "a good deal downcast" by what seemed to him "reactionary tendencies especially in local associations." There had been a glaring instance since his letter to *The Christian Century*. He had been close enough to the National organization to "hear many of the echoes, both from headquarters affairs and from national conferences, which showed, even on the part of very loyal Y.M.C.A. men, a good deal of disquiet over the timidity of the Association in dealing with social issues." He was greatly encouraged by "the refusal of the Association to cashier Eddy," having had personal knowledge about "some of the individual letters written by very powerful financial magnates pleading for adverse action against him." That the Y.M.C.A. should have stood its ground in that case was "very gratifying to all of us who are hoping that it may steer a forward looking course."<sup>56</sup>

#### Y.M.C.A.-RACE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

Probably the American Associations' largest contribution to social progress in the post-World War I years was their interracial program. They had earlier taken an active interest in the Southern Sociological Congresses which began in 1912 and which were regularly attended by Hunton and others. These were in actuality the forerunners of the subsequent Southern Interracial Committee which was "one of the truly great modern contributions of the Y.M.C.A." Sensitive southern

leaders realized that the return of Negroes from the enlarging experiences of military service in the First World War would precipitate ill feeling and possible rioting if they were not welcomed back home. On the day of the Armistice, November 11, 1918, there were at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, some one hundred and fifty men being schooled for Association War work. Among the faculty was L. Wilbur Messer. W. D. Weatherford, then head of the Blue Ridge School, almost at once upon hearing of the Armistice, laid before Messer "a plan for preparing the people in the South for receiving back the soldiers, particularly the Colored soldiers." Regional Secretary S. A. Ackley gave his assent to the scheme. Weatherford, Messer, and Will W. Alexander, southern educator, religious leader, and authority on race relations, immediately went to New York where they obtained the approval of Mott, Cleveland H. Dodge, and Cyrus H. McCormick, together with an appropriation of \$75,000 from the War Work Council. This was devoted to schools for Negro leaders, held in Atlanta under Alexander, and for whites, at Blue Ridge under Weatherford's direction. Altogether eight schools were held for 509 Negro leaders and ten for 902 whites, beginning almost immediately after the Armistice and running well into the next spring.

It was soon realized that the problems were much larger than had been envisioned at first and that much more must be done. A planning group met in Atlanta late in January, 1919, to face the growing crisis in race relations. After due deliberation the Commission on Interracial Co-operation was organized with eight southern leaders as charter members. John J. Eagan, a prominent business man of Atlanta, was made chairman. Alexander was appointed executive secretary, and R. H. King, associate regional Y.M.C.A. secretary, his associate. The three Y.M.C.A. men present insisted that funds could best be secured through the War Work Council. As the result of a dramatic appeal to the Council by King, appropriations of some \$400,000 were made which enabled southern leaders to work out their own solution to the problem. State Y.M.C.A. secretaries were co-opted as executives. There were as many as eight hundred local committees at one time; they were "the essential genius of the Interracial movement," wrote Weatherford in a special memorandum prepared for this History. The Movement

brought the best of both races face to face, and made them conscious of the friction points that existed. It gave the Colored people a platform from which they could set forth both grievances and ambitions for the future.



It brought about a new day in common understanding—and was one of the most powerful means of ridding the South in particular of the menace of lynching. The Y.M.C.A. can look with just pride upon its share in this great achievement.

As a result of the net impact of these fresh impulses upon the Y.M.C.A., a distinguished commission proposed in 1920 that the Negro work of the International Committee and the work for white men should be a unity rather than two separate policies, that it should be better supported, that more Negroes be included in the membership of the International Committee, that all southern state committees have colored members, and that the Negro staff of the International Committee be increased. In 1930 interracial community work was begun by the New York City Association through its "Uptown Branch." The next year the student movement was involved in an anomalous situation when the management of the Detroit hotel, at which its faculty-student conference was being held, reversed its pledge of nonsegregation.<sup>57</sup> For the most part the usual pattern of segregation showed little change, although white and Negro student groups were moving closer together and there were several significant statements of policy issued by the National Council and by southern leaders in 1930 and 1931, there being a traveling seminar that looked at issues in the South in the latter year. The most comprehensive study of Negro Y.M.C.A.'s made during the 1930's revealed "how associations serving colored youth accomplish more with less money than other associations."<sup>58</sup>

Interracial relations were analyzed in 1936 by a commission of which Galen M. Fisher was chairman. The commission's yardstick for measuring Association practice assumed that

all men of whatever race, color, or status are declared in Christ's teaching to be of inestimable value in God's sight; accordingly the Young Men's Christian Association should be a fellowship in which all men

will enjoy mutual respect and consideration;

be given every opportunity to develop their latent capacities; and

be aided in fulfilling their duties and enjoying their rights and privileges as members of families, as workers in the economic order and as citizens in the commonwealth.

Each race has some distinctive cultural and spiritual contribution to make for the enrichment of humanity. The Association should facilitate the making of such a contribution by every racial group.

The Association professes a common obligation for the welfare of all the youth of a community, and should strive fully to discharge that obligation on behalf of men and boys of all races, not only in its own activities and in

its opportunities for membership, but also in its relation to prevailing community practices.<sup>59</sup>

The issues uncovered in applying this measure, were (1) should men and boys be admitted to full membership privileges regardless of race? (2) Should separate branches be established for the colored races? (3) How far should the Association conform to local custom and attitudes on race relations and how far should it risk opposition by defying them in loyalty to Christian ideals? Certain methods developed by the committee were realistic: Define principles and steer by them; deal with specific situations rather than generalities; have representatives of all the races involved tackle a situation jointly; plan for the years, for slow and lasting results; start with the boys but continue with the men; win pivotal personalities; advance from the specific to the general and the scientific. The editor of the *Year Book* remarked after summarizing the report: "Undoubtedly it is in the local situation where the problem exists that the only real translation of either criteria or principles can be made, the actual issues met, the solutions found." His data then showed that in comparison to city-wide Association practice, Negro branches served 147.0 per cent constituents per secretary, 180 per cent of volunteers and laymen per secretary, and 141.5 per cent of group constituency. But expenditures were only fourteen dollars per constituent as against thirty-five dollars for the whole city. Salaries of Negro secretaries were 30 to 40 per cent below the norms for all secretaries. "To put the matter briefly," wrote Weatherford in concluding the memorandum previously quoted, "the Y.M.C.A.'s of America have a very long way to go, both North and South, before they begin to live up to the resolutions of the various International Conventions . . . [and] before the colored youth of the land have equal opportunities for advancement, and for satisfying their human needs, [but] the path at least leads upward."<sup>60</sup>

#### THE GREAT DEPRESSION STRIKES THE ASSOCIATIONS

The depression of the 1930's brought the American Y.M.C.A.'s nearer to social liberalism than at any time in their first century. As community welfare agencies they naturally reflected the popular interest in social problems that stemmed from the widespread social dislocation of the times. Although the student movement was violently attacked in the spring of 1931 for a commission report entitled *Toward a New Economic Society*, the National Council that August heartily

endorsed the resolution passed earlier that month by the International Convention calling for "the maintenance of an open platform on which may be discussed all questions affecting the economic, social, political, and spiritual welfare of the community and of the world," as a fundamental Association privilege and function. This pronouncement also proposed "a program of social and Christian education with the view of helping to educate public opinion for the purpose of reconstructing our social order in the light of, and upon the basis of, the Teachings of Jesus." In conclusion it pointed to the "distinct responsibility" resting upon the Associations "to help to create public opinion founded upon justice and brotherhood to the end that happiness and an abundant life may be possible among all people." The National Councils of 1933 and 1934 reaffirmed such earlier statements as this and emphasized that the Y.M.C.A.'s ought to regard "as one of their fundamental privileges and functions the maintenance of an *open platform* on which may be discussed and studied all questions affecting the economic, social, political, and spiritual welfare of the community and the world." The 1934 Council went further, however, to affirm that "the Associations themselves should seek to apply these principles in their own practices and relations as employers." Similar statements followed in 1935 and the *National Council Bulletin* in numerous articles suggested how to put them into practice.

Efforts by local Associations to carry these recommendations into effect were not always successful, but there were some in the United States like that at Toronto, where an essentially neutral—some preferred to call it impartial—policy was maintained providing freedom for discussion comparable to that necessary in a university, whereby an open forum was available but the Association was not committed to any particular position. Discussion groups became fairly popular, the National offices publishing a *Forum Bulletin* to provide them with materials.<sup>61</sup> The National periodical, rechristened *Young Men* in its last phase which was induced by the depression, reflected this interest in a variety of ways, notably by publishing in October, 1932, pictures of Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, and Norman Thomas, together with summaries of Democratic, Republican, and Socialist Party platforms and short statements setting forth the merits of each party and candidate. The educational program services devoted a great deal of attention to *Adult Education for Social Need*, as the published papers of the Education Council meeting of 1933 were titled. That

year *Association Forum* recommended that local Y.M.C.A.'s keep *Woman's Press* in their reading rooms; it also thought *The Survey* and *Survey Graphic* useful but wished they might contain more inspirational and religious material. The Y.M.C.A. Graduate School at Nashville released a series of *Studies in Social and Religious Engineering*, and numerous other program papers were provided by National offices.

In 1936 the *National Council Bulletin* suggested that public interest in the presidential election afforded the Associations opportunity for education in citizenship. That year the Council acted upon broad public affairs recommendations, a basic statement having been prepared by the public affairs committee that had been appointed the previous year. This set forth eight "broad social objectives" but proposed special emphasis on two the next year: "preservation of democratic government and safeguarding of civil liberties" and "avoidance of war and progressive development of good international relations." During the next few years the Associations co-operated widely with the Town Meeting of the Air in establishing local discussion groups, and National program services made available fresh and stimulating resources for use by discussion groups and leaders.<sup>62</sup> Again in 1939 the General Board, aware of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Bill of Rights, issued a statement on the philosophy of democracy. That year also the editor of the *Year Book* challenged the Association leader and his fellows to

envisage for themselves some kind of society in which they will work. They must dare to define some better order toward which they will direct their efforts. They must conceive, and profoundly believe in, an ideal world of tomorrow, and strive passionately for its realization.

In 1940 Paul M. Limbert faced the secretarial leadership of the Movement, through the *Forum*, with the challenge that education for citizenship was one of the ongoing responsibilities of every member of the profession.<sup>63</sup> Earlier that year he had expressed his belief that ability to effectually put across social leadership increased with the development of a coherent Christian philosophy. Necessary components of this would be a grasp of the essentials of the historic Christian faith and its implications for social action, an understanding of the nature of religious experience, and an awareness of current trends within organized religion with regard to social action.<sup>64</sup>

Advice such as this was needed, for in 1936 when A. G. Knebel, one of the most able and well-balanced secretarial leaders the Movement



had produced in the twentieth century, wrote his memoirs, he gave a thoughtful answer to a question that had long troubled him—What kind of religious and ethical dynamic is needed by the Associations today?

... we need somehow to recapture something of the dynamic which sent the Fred Smiths, the Fred Goodmans, the David Sinclairs, and others like them, forward, blazing trails and lighting spiritual fires. In a changing world with beacon lights flashing upon the frailties and weaknesses of the present social order, exposing all kinds of pagan practices, it will be an infinitely more difficult task to do for the present generation what the earlier leaders did for theirs. Here and there I see signs which give me hope, but these can be discerned only when the Young Men's Christian Association is functioning at its best. In too many places it may be said of it as was portrayed in the Revelation in describing the work of the church in Laodicea:

"I know what you are doing, and that you are neither cold nor hot. I wish you were cold or hot! As it is, since you are tepid and neither cold nor hot, I am going to spit you out of my mouth! ... So be earnest and repent. Here I stand knocking at the door. If any one listens to my voice and opens the door, I will be his guest and dine with him and he with me."<sup>65</sup>

The nature of the problem of social liberalism in the Y.M.C.A. had been well set forth not long before Knebel wrote by a student at the Y.M.C.A. Graduate School in Nashville who had studied the attitudes of groups of secretaries and board members throughout the country and Canada. His data indicated that secretaries were consistently more liberal than their board members and that the difference was "a statistically reliable difference"; there was "an apparent tendency toward an increase of conservatism . . . with increase of age." Canada was the most liberal, the South the most conservative. According to the findings, most Associations provided for discussion of issues, but "a large proportion" indicated "do nothing" to be their policy in dealing with social problems.<sup>66</sup> By 1941 the proportion of local Y.M.C.A.'s engaging in some form of public affairs education had risen to 14 per cent, having stood at 6 per cent forty years earlier.<sup>67</sup>

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Whatever the reasons—and the reader will find some of them in Chapter 17—the Y.M.C.A.s' concern for peace and better international relations was genuine and consistent in comparison with their relative uncertainty toward other public questions. On this controversial issue they unhesitatingly took a firm stand. Although there had been some

interest evidenced earlier by the Associations their sentiment was soon expressed at the close of the First World War in favor of improved international relations. This was diffused through conferences, speeches, and resolutions of International Conventions and National Councils, articles and book reviews, but chiefly it was focused, sometimes unconsciously, around the foreign work interest.

Bishop Francis McConnell spoke to the Convention of 1919 on "the responsibility of the Christian Church and the Christian Association in furthering right international relations" and the next Convention endorsed the Federal Council's declaration for a warless world; it likewise commended Near East Relief and extended its sympathies toward the persecuted minorities of that area. The International Committee pointed out to the Convention the "absolutely unique" opportunity and obligation of the Movement to strive for right international and interracial relations because of its world-wide program that touched "more nations than any other society related to the Church . . . [blending] in its membership all the principal races of mankind." Therefore, both at home and in their foreign program, the North American Associations should "seek to promote fearless, thorough-going study and conference regarding these living and burning questions, should generate and extend an atmosphere of larger understanding, tolerance, and sympathy, and should introduce and continue to develop in all areas to which they may be responsibly related" a constructive program like that which had been evolved "in the southern states, in connection with the racial problem."

Like the liberal denominations with which it had increasing comradeship in the 1920's, the Y.M.C.A. endorsed the League of Nations and the World Court.<sup>68</sup> It was, in 1925, informally related to the founding, though not to the subsequent development, of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the idea of which was conceived by Charles F. Loomis, secretary at Honolulu. At that time the foreign division was issuing discussion outlines on such questions as "Was Japanese exclusion wise?" or "When shall we recognize Russia?" National program services also provided sources of digested material on the League of Nations and similar subjects of international interest. Data on public affairs prepared for leaders of discussion groups included international relations.<sup>69</sup> A well-conceived elaboration of the earlier boys' work program was issued in 1929 under the title, *Christian Citizenship on a World Basis*. Between 1928 and 1933, *Association Men* and its suc-

cessor, *Young Men*, published frequent and solid articles by responsible journalists on such problems as disarmament, obstacles to peace, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the London Naval Treaty. In 1931 *Association Men* conducted a prize essay contest on the theme, "When is a young man a world citizen?"

Two years later, when the Canadian National Council memorialized the government of the Dominion to exert its full weight to avert another world war, the General Board commended the move and sent a similar letter to American Associations. The willingness of Y.M.C.A.'s to commit themselves wholeheartedly on this controversial issue was significantly illustrated in 1932 when the World's Committee asked the American Movement to take a stand on disarmament, as doing so would strengthen the hands of the Geneva organization. (Tragically enough, after the next World War, the World's Committee became a tenant of the palace once occupied by the League of Nations; yet the fact itself suggested that the tragedy was not ultimate.) The depression years distracted Association attention somewhat from international affairs, though in 1936 Association Press had available a kit of materials for group discussion use that included them, and the *Year Book* listed sixteen program features in international education.

When in 1935 the Associations were criticized by the Hearst press for alleged pacifistic activities, General Secretary John E. Manley and William E. Speers, chairman of the National Board, issued a vigorous repudiation of the inferences as "inaccurate, unfair," and misrepresenting the Y.M.C.A. A local newspaper in Saginaw put the matter in a nutshell when in defending the Associations it headlined its editorial "Peace not Radical."<sup>70</sup> In 1939 John Foster Dulles addressed the National Council on "America's Role in World Affairs"; the body then considered what steps the Movement might take in supporting the Christian ideal, in admitting the responsibility of all nations, in identifying itself with the forces of religion and education, in opposing tension and bitterness, and in preparing for whatever obligation it might have in actual service among prisoners of war.<sup>71</sup>

The Second World War had begun. Peace had become an academic question. The next *Year Book* devoted nine pages to a description of Canadian Y.M.C.A. war services in 1940.

## Chapter 13 New Ideas and Approaches, 1920-1940

Secretaries must think of themselves as Christian educators instead of propagandists.

—FROM AN ADDRESS AT THE EMPLOYED  
OFFICERS' CONFERENCE, 1927

For the past two decades the interest in the importance of working with groups as over against large masses and classes has grown in the Y.M.C.A. Accompanying this switch to the smaller groupings has been a growing emphasis on the work with groups who come from the same section of the community, the same neighborhood, or the same school. . . . In every case the effort is made to focus the attention of the members upon their responsibility in their immediate surroundings. This widening social consciousness within the ranks of the Y.M.C.A. will make it an increasingly significant youth organization working, from a Christian point of view, to preserve democracy in our present generation.

—ABEL J. GREGG, *From Building to Neighborhood*, 1938<sup>1</sup>

ALTHOUGH ITS WORK in the First World War was the most significant single program venture of the Y.M.C.A. in its first hundred years, it did not lead to serious examination of fundamental principles or their application in particular programs. The reader should not expect in this Chapter detailed program summaries such as were given in Chapters 5 and 11; it is assumed that activities inherited from the pre-War era continued more or less the same unless it is expressly stated otherwise. The Convention of 1919 appointed a commission to prepare a "standard, all-round program of men's work for the guidance of the Associations" in pre-War categories. A like proposal came from the Association of Employed Officers four years later but the resultant report, made in 1924, was the first serious questioning of the rigid departmental approach to be accompanied by genuine concern to plumb the implications of the unity of personality. It suggested that local programs be developed in accordance with "the ascertained needs and capacities" of constituency. The fundamental purpose of the Association, it declared, was



. . . to discover and help satisfy the needs, and to provide outlets for the capacities of young men in all the functions of their personality, in accordance with the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ. These functions may be designated as family, civic, economic, intellectual, recreative, athletic, and religious.

Every element of the program ought to be "evaluated and devised with reference to its contribution to the promotion of Christian character in men and boys." It should be harmonized with those of the churches, the Y.W.C.A., and "other constructive forces of the community with a similar purpose." Application of these new ideas was met on every hand by "relatively fixed conceptions, equipments, and organizational patterns."<sup>2</sup> Outline studies were prepared by several leaders in an effort to popularize and interpret the new conceptions.<sup>3</sup>

#### NEW IDEAS IN BOYS' WORK AND CAMPING

The concepts of progressive education that had stemmed largely from John Dewey's philosophy had been interpreted in Association terms at Springfield College and elsewhere for twenty years, and in Super's remarkable demonstrations of the "project method" in the training of secretaries, creating in many secretaries, especially boys' workers, a mind congenial to the acceptance of new points of view. It was through the boys' workers that the Movement was exposed most directly to the new techniques and it was they who most enthusiastically embraced them. However, the fresh ideas from Teachers' College were not fully accepted in other departments of Association activity, nor did their enthusiastic welcome by national leaders indicate nationwide acceptance of either ideology or method. The Y.M.C.A. reflected the changing currents of the period in education, religion, and ethics. Mott told the Employed Officers' Conference in 1924 that the Movement, in common with all Christian and other altruistic organizations, had continued to feel "the effects of prevailing unfavorable economic conditions, and of the bafflingly difficult post-war psychology." It was, he said, a time of "much questioning, of penetrating criticism of the existing order, and of much pessimism."

In 1925 the third Assembly of Y.M.C.A. Workers with Boys met at Estes Park, Colorado, where the leadership of Professors William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College and Harrison S. Elliott of Union Theological Seminary was strategic. Many Association men were somewhat familiar with Kilpatrick's interpretation of educational psychology as

well as with Elliott's interest in the group process. At the Estes Park meeting it was apparent that the standard program was on the decline. The discussions in which Kilpatrick and Elliott shared brought to the fore the desirability of fostering boys' initiative in camping and club activity while Bible study was considered an aid to the solution of life problems rather than an end in itself. Christian decisions were said to be possible in every problem of choice, and religious values were declared to be inherent in every activity. The importance of utilizing natural social groups was stressed.<sup>4</sup> Emphasis shifted away from program as such toward the experience of the individual boy. In the five years following this epochal meeting the number of boys in Association groups increased from 75,000 to 300,000, while their leaders read Kilpatrick's *Foundations of Method* and George A. Coe's *Social Theory of Religious Education*. Traditional approaches continued through much of this period, however, for the new ideas were not congenial to the entire Movement. Work for employed boys was an important feature until that class was liquidated by the depression.

It is not possible to trace in detail how the impact of these new ideas influenced boys' work and other departments. Particularly under the aggressive leadership of Abel J. Gregg, who had joined the National staff in 1919, they were promoted widely and enthusiastically, Gregg giving them his own interpretation, especially in *Group Leaders and Boy Character*.<sup>5</sup> The Christian Citizenship Program that was adopted that year saw internal modifications that allowed larger use of the primary group ("organize the gang and you get somewhere") while Bible study, so important earlier, virtually disappeared. Elliott and Gregg collaborated in 1926 on an influential survey that outlined the various points of view and "the way such issues are being met."<sup>6</sup> The previous concept of Hi-Y leadership through the inner circle was dropped in favor of what were regarded as more natural groupings. Conference and discussion continued the exploration of stimulating new ideas. The attitude of the National organization toward the new techniques was indicated by the addition to the staff in 1926 of Professor Goodwin B. Watson of Teachers College as part-time director of research and of Professor Arthur L. Swift of Union Theological Seminary as director of surveys.<sup>7</sup> Watson's tests of moral attitudes together with the researches of Hartshorne and May (*Studies in Deceit*) were of especial influence upon the Movement.<sup>8</sup>

Camping provided boys' work enthusiasts for the new methodology

with their most effective laboratory. By 1930 the Y.M.C.A. summer camp was "setting for itself a vital educational purpose," providing environment and materials that stimulated "a desire to do things" within an atmosphere of "creative freedom."<sup>9</sup> Such surroundings, continued a layman who correctly interpreted the camping and boys' work trends of the time, meant a minimum of prescription and arbitrary authority; it assumed "all manner of encouragement to use that freedom in constructive ways." The aims were "self-discovery, self-control, and a taste for self-government."<sup>10</sup> When Roy Sorenson, boys' work secretary for the Central region, analyzed trends in 1930, he pointed to the questions being raised by camp directors concerning their goals: "What precise appreciations, attitudes, skills, and habits are sought to make up Christian character" and which of these are reasonable camping experiences? There was, he noted, growing realization that not merely the activities but "everything in the life of the camp" must be held accountable for its part in the attainment of the total aim.<sup>11</sup>

That these trends were not as yet generally accepted was shown in the findings of a student of the Y.M.C.A. Graduate School at Nashville who questioned 260 Associations in 1932. His returns showed "a great deal of confusion" in regard to the purpose of boys' work programs, the vote being almost equally divided between Associations that indicated their aims to be working with boys in building-centered programs, leader-dominated "selected" groups, or community and natural groups; the largest number of Associations said they were trying to furnish equipment and leadership for any type of boys' group but were particularly interested in community results. "Confusion of thought and terminology" was also indicated in regard to boys' membership, the majority offering it on the "annual-inclusive-fee-paying" basis.<sup>12</sup> That same year *Association Forum* summarized the trends in boys' work as "away from institutional privileges and out into the community," unanimous acceptance of group work, and the importance of close co-operative relations with churches, the home, schools, and other civic bodies concerned with boys—emphases that characterized the boys' workers conference at Blue Ridge that year and Gregg's leadership at the time.

In the 1920's the Associations experimented with the idea of group work and in the 1930's committed themselves to it. The group, of course, had been a factor in Association life almost from the beginning of the American movement, whether it was the Bible class, the Yokefellows'

band, or the gospel deputation. The basketball team and the immortal seven campers who went with Dudley in 1885 were primary groups long before the rationale of group work was explicit. In the 1930's the club and the special interest group came to be thought of by Y.M.C.A. workers as affording "surpassing opportunity for significant character formation."

This brought changes in the Association's attitude toward itself: was it still a Christian educational Movement? There was obvious revamping of staff responsibilities.<sup>13</sup> Hi-Y, county work boys' clubs, youth groups, all these augmented group activity so that the *Year Book* of 1932 could report an increase of 116 per cent over those of three years before, a continuing trend. In 1933 it was suggested that the Y.M.C.A. might be given back to youth through the group organization process: a multiplicity of special-interest clubs—small, self-governing Y.M.C.A.'s within the Y.M.C.A.—co-ordinated by an interclub council.<sup>14</sup> Smaller groups and closer supervision began to be urged. Emphasis upon the group rather than the content of its interest led to the ultimate breakdown of the older departmentalization, Gregg writing in 1938 that the boys' and young men's secretary might better be called the program secretary.<sup>15</sup> The counterpart of this tendency in the revamping of National program services has been noted in Chapter 10. In 1937 the boys' workers' assembly at Lake Geneva had been strongly influenced by the group idea; the year before many Y.M.C.A. secretaries had enrolled as charter members of the American Association for the Study of Group Work.

Mention should be made of several further evidences of both the older and newer approaches. Soon after the First World War several Associations experimented with "Grade-Y" clubs for grade school boys. In Minneapolis, university students were employed as part-time leaders for such groups. In 1924 this program was christened "Gra-Y" at New Haven where through the next two decades a significant pattern, copied across the nation, was outlined under the leadership of Tracy W. Redding. Not only grade school boys but those of junior high school and high school age were organized in the natural setting of their own school, the Y.M.C.A. clubs being recognized and functioning as part of the regular club schedule of the city schools. The effectiveness of the Association staff was greatly augmented through the use of Yale men on part-time assignments, thus giving wide coverage across the city; the regular secretaries held essentially supervisory relationships to the stu-



dent assistants who carried on in two-score or more neighborhoods.<sup>16</sup> In terms of current thought, the membership fee was dropped and boys pledged such sums as they could; no attempt was made to keep the program self-supporting.<sup>17</sup> Several variants upon the Indian craft theme appeared, fulfilling the desire of some for a ready-made program for boys as young as six. "Y-Indian Guides," beginning in St. Louis in the 1920's, shared the primary group idea in recruiting boys and their fathers from the neighborhood and included the father and son motive to emphasize intimate fellowship. All these were evidence both of the rapid decentralization of boys' work and the desire for more content in program; they were largely responsible for the phenomenal growth of Association boys' clubs between 1925 and 1930.<sup>18</sup> They were independent of the central building; the school or neighborhood-centered clubs often divided their meetings between their own locality and the downtown facilities with their varied attractions.

By 1930 boys under twelve were being counted as Association members, and serious questions were raised as to the adequacy of the name "Hi-Y," it being argued that a Hi-Y club should be "the Y.M.C.A. in and out of the high school" and ought to be so recognized.<sup>19</sup> Beginnings were made in the program that in the 1940's came to be known as "Youth and Government."<sup>20</sup> The spread of boys' work to foreign countries was a notable feature of this period, with the largest boys' department in the world claimed by the Shanghai Association in the early 1920's. The American Movement made a significant contribution to boys' work in other countries when in 1922 E. M. Robinson moved from the International boys' work secretaryship to a similar post with the World's Committee. He was succeeded by Arthur N. Cotton. The boys' work secretarial group continued throughout this period its aggressive quest for improved methods; national and international assemblies of these workers were held, and several national gatherings brought together laymen equally concerned.<sup>21</sup> All these trends had been aided and abetted by the materials provided by the National offices, particularly such series as the *Program Development Projects* that were begun in 1926. These not only increasingly cut across departmental lines—with serious undercurrents of criticism—but subjected traditional program to rigorous appraisal. The literature recommended in the National Council *Home Work Bulletin* presented the new ideas almost exclusively;<sup>22</sup> *Association Forum* also discussed them, but the *Association Boys' Work Journal* was a particularly in-

fluent medium. By 1936 twenty-four "service projects" were being carried on by the National Council; many of the older names and departmental labels were still there but the committee on program services was charged with co-ordination, redirection, and facilitation of "dependable procedures in achieving the objectives of the Movement with and for Youth." National leadership in these areas was through these formative years a "persistently pervasive" influence in the hands of Jay A. Urice and J. Edward Sproul.

#### NEW TRENDS IN ASSOCIATION EDUCATIONAL WORK

Although the new philosophy that so profoundly influenced the boys' work secretaries was essentially a fresh insight into the psychology of education, its effect upon formal Association educational endeavor was less marked, chiefly because this moved toward the college level which was scarcely touched by progressive education. Most Y.M.C.A. schools were pioneers in providing needed vocational and general educational courses and in not a few cities these were subsequently taken over by community or junior colleges. Many Association colleges continued to render a distinct service to educationally handicapped youth and often to make available unique counseling resources, especially in communities where comparable public educational facilities were lacking.

The ambitious program of the Army Educational Commission with a budget of some fifteen million dollars has been mentioned in Chapter 11. In January, 1920, ten thousand scholarships were awarded to veterans for study, either in Y.M.C.A. schools or elsewhere; the majority of the men attended Association courses. Three months later it was reported that this three-million-dollar appropriation, which became available partly because of salvage of war camps and the unexpected cessation of army work when the War Department took it over, was making possible the enrollment of twenty thousand ex-service men in regular as well as some hastily organized schools and colleges. Correspondence courses were available in 159 subjects covering agricultural, mechanical, commercial, electrical, architectural, engineering, and construction subjects. One hundred city Y.M.C.A.'s provided occupational guidance services that were said to touch four thousand veterans a month.<sup>23</sup> Ultimately the War Work Council invested six million dollars in this program which included extensive coverage by correspondence courses.

That such a resource was available in time of need was due to the continued growth of the local Association schools that were described in Chapter 11. These were now co-ordinated as the "United Y.M.C.A. Schools" and supervised by the Educational Council, of which Secretary Harry W. Stone of Portland, Oregon, was chairman, and which had been organized in the spring of 1919 at a conference to which each Association having a formal school program had sent two delegates. The Council was in actuality the sponsoring committee for the International educational department. By 1925 it had seven secretaries and twenty-six "standardizing commissions" that prepared courses, provided texts, and otherwise arranged for instructional material. The department also made surveys and carried on research, supervision, publishing, and equipment services. An example of the texts published through Association Press was one used in a popular course taught by Dale Carnegie—*Public Speaking, a Practical Course for Business Men*. In 1925 there were several Association schools that enrolled more than four thousand students each; in the 350 Y.M.C.A. institutions there were approximately one hundred thousand students.<sup>24</sup>

By 1924 the inflationary period of this development had passed and every Association school was forced to "draw life from its own soil with its own roots."<sup>25</sup> The second half of the 1920's was a time of serious study and evaluation on the part of educational secretaries and it was thought that progress was being made toward the elusive goal of "establishing the educational work on more intelligent and adequate financial bases." By 1930 the emphasis had moved toward "the improvement of processes, the broadening of curricula and the enrichment of outcomes" and concern was being felt for "the securing of approvals and accreditations." The depression forced the liquidation of the national educational office and the once strong Educational Council became moribund, reorganized on a smaller base with no plan of support. Schools were forced on their own and found that their problems were more those of the immediate community than of other Y.M.C.A. institutions, while the larger ones discovered that their difficulties were those common to size rather than affiliation. By 1936 enrollment was down to thirty-one thousand but two years later had risen to eighty-two thousand—in 309 Associations.<sup>26</sup>

The trend that was foreshadowed in 1916 when the educational department of the Boston Association became Northeastern University with the status of a separate branch of the metropolitan organization

gained considerable momentum after World War I. By 1940 there were ten metropolitan Associations that had colleges with branch status—bearing a great diversity of names—and Northeastern University of Boston was operating a branch within the Springfield Association. These educational institutions, branches of local Y.M.C.A.'s, enrolled more than 35,000 students during 1940. The Associations within which this development had taken place were Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Montreal, Portland, Ore., St. Louis, Seattle, and Youngstown. Most if not all of these institutions had won the right to grant degrees, including professional degrees. In the main the courses were of a vocational character. These institutions gave promise of a degree of permanence that hardly characterized the educational departments of most Y.M.C.A.'s.

The later 1930's saw the beginning of a definite trend toward separation from the parent Y.M.C.A. In some cases merely perfunctory incorporation was involved. In others serious cleavages in philosophy and function arose, for the boards of Y.M.C.A.'s had in many cases not been kept fully informed of the internal growth of their schools. These often found themselves almost overnight developed into colleges, with faculties, problems of academic freedom, tenure, retirement, and a code of professional ethics quite at variance with Association practices. Few Y.M.C.A. boards were in a position to understand the implications of these problems. A careful student summarized the development here described in a survey made in 1938:

It has been a history of false starts, of attempts at education by men with good intentions but often with poor preparation, of mistakes and of wrong directions, of at times second-rate work,—youth, of educational pioneers, of adaptation of education to the needs of youth, of developing education to meet the requirements of industry, of initiating and developing trade education for other schools to take over, of creating over the country an early interest in adult education. Dr. E. E. Brown, when United States Commissioner of Education, stated that, "The Young Men's Christian Association is one of the best pioneer educational agencies in America, blazing a way for public schools and others to follow." It is fair to say that the Y.M.C.A. has in its educational work performed a notable service to youth and has made a worthwhile contribution to the educational developments of the past fifty years in America.<sup>27</sup>

An important adjunct of this was in the field of counseling, to which great significance was attached by many workers.<sup>28</sup> The Y.M.C.A. was said to be in a strategic position toward this unusual opportunity which proved to be an exacting project that only the larger Associa-



tions could handle adequately. This fresh concern for the individual raised interesting questions during the heyday of "group work" and was one of the factors that led to the division of program services into those directed toward individuals and those planned for groups.<sup>29</sup> Much counseling was placement activity in connection with the vocational training that was always a very large part of the formal educational program. This, the latest aspect of the employment bureau that had been an original feature of the 1850's, was profoundly affected by the great depression, few Associations continuing it after public agencies assumed this major welfare service. A great deal of the "Americanization" and related activity of the industrial department was in the form of classes or other instructional devices.

A valid distinction could be drawn between these formal educational ventures and the more numerous informal activities of the Associations that might also be called educational—much group work, public forums, institutes, and the host of character-building activities that clustered around every Y.M.C.A. This was succinctly stated by the editor of the *Year Book* of 1936 in a pointed comment on the wisdom of obtaining academic accreditation:

... The winning of formal accreditation may be a costly recognition, however desirable. The Associations may be called upon to re-examine whether their appropriate field is to expand the informal education offerings, or to seek their recognition in a narrower field. Extension of "coöperative" education, relating school activity and field practice, experimentation with special forms of character emphasis and social education, "institutes" for the acquisition of useful social skills, and the organization of group and public forums, all represent aspects of a development full of useful possibilities. The history of Y.M.C.A. educational activity is an attempt to provide young men with training they want, when they can take it, at rates which they can afford to pay. This policy continues, embracing an ever expanding field.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF NONEQUIPMENT OR COMMUNITY WORK

Y.M.C.A. activity apart from the usual building with its varied facilities reached a high development in the two decades between the World Wars. The idea was not new. In 1892 Robert Weidensall had challenged the Movement to "go to young men where they are" in addition to expecting them to come to the Association building—with gospel services, Bible classes, prayer meetings, physical work, "mental culture," and social programs.<sup>30</sup> In 1900 Glen K. Shurtleff, general secretary at Cleveland, proposed that the "Y" should be a centrifugal force

going to men rather than a centripetal one expecting them to come into its buildings.<sup>31</sup> Almost from the beginning the county or rural work—subsequently “town and country”—was carried on without special buildings and equipment, although it was always difficult to present Association purpose and program to rural people other than in terms of the usual facilities.<sup>32</sup> By 1908 Richard C. Morse could write in his Family League letter that Y.M.C.A. activities outside of buildings were “beginning to rival those carried on within these buildings.”

The specific beginnings of nonequipment work (that is, non-Y.M.C.A. equipment) at Tulsa and other places and the addition of a community work secretary to the International staff have been mentioned in Chapter 11. It was in Minneapolis, however, that the most significant developments took place, while S. Wirt Wiley was general secretary and Frank O. Koehler was in charge of boys' work. When Wiley resigned in 1925 to become secretary of the Home Division of the National Council, Koehler succeeded him and pursued aggressively a program that by 1929 was reaching more than eleven thousand boys in 297 groups in five community districts. “Every Association must reach out,” Wiley had written in *Association Men* in 1915, explaining the new idea: “The modern Association should have as an ideal to reach regularly and systematically at their point of greatest need a number of young men and boys outside its buildings at least equal to the number enrolled inside.” Community work as he saw it, attempted “to really affect the life of the whole community and not simply isolated groups here and there scattered about the city”:

... Some Associations might wisely gather up the extension work being conducted in a certain part of the city, co-ordinate it into an organized whole, place a special secretary in charge of it, and with but little change of activities or enlargement of program, they would find themselves in possession of a good rudimentary “community work.”<sup>33</sup>

This program was being promoted in Chicago at the same time though Association buildings were stressed there. The Convention of 1916 was favorably impressed but took no action because of the amorphous state of the work. The next year the International community secretary, Frank H. T. Ritchie, prepared a useful handbook, but the budding movement was inhibited by the War. Yet more and more Associations (Pittsburgh notably) were trying the new technique especially in boys' work and finding it unusually successful when capable leadership was obtainable.<sup>34</sup>

In 1920 Wiley again set forth his conception of a "Complete Service to a City Field," pointing out first the limitations of a building-centered program. He named fourteen large cities and eight smaller ones that had been operating on the community basis with "most gratifying success." He held that an Association undertaking this new methodology ought first to make a scientific survey of its field, a device the Associations had been "strangely slow" to develop. Then an organization should be set up for co-operating with the schools, churches, industry, and municipal agencies, expecting to co-ordinate the services of these and of "such supplemental agencies as settlements and Boy Scouts on behalf of particular groups so that every available facility is mobilized to meet all their needs." Community resources—schoolhouses, church buildings, and the great outdoors—should be used. Association-type buildings might be obtained if needed and if financially practicable, but it was Wiley's judgment that a basic program of co-operative inter-agency work should precede the construction of facilities. "The Association is and should be an organization promoting the all-round welfare of young men and boys" and not simply an institution limited by the building housing it. Reviewing the development of the Minneapolis program, Wiley repeated the policy his board had adopted in 1912 of promoting "Christian character and usefulness to society in men and boys" both within the Association building "and in such places as may prove desirable throughout the community, by co-operating with other agencies engaged in similar work and by fostering needed activities in the interests of the . . . welfare of young men and boys on the part of proper public and private bodies."<sup>35</sup> As the result of a survey of Minneapolis in 1915 the city had been divided into six districts for Association purposes and subsequently each had been organized, probably the first city for which such a comprehensive plan was made.

After the War, community work was pushed vigorously by those who were convinced that it presented a significant opportunity for the Associations to meet a broader need than they had previously seen. Ritchie continued his promotion under the city Association department, a bulletin was issued, and significant conferences were held to explain essential ideas and techniques. The Convention of 1922 recommended that the community plan be utilized wherever practical; in some cities buildings did eventuate out of neighborhood developments.<sup>36</sup> In 1924 fifteen cities had sufficiently successful programs that

were featured together with elaborate maps and plans in the house organ.<sup>37</sup> Some exhibited unusually effective co-operative programs involving the Y.W.C.A., city federations of churches, playground organizations, industries, schools, and interchurch athletic leagues. The Toronto Association served more boys through the community program than it did through regular membership, a feature that came to be characteristic of successful community work; Minneapolis claimed to reach thirty-five per cent of the men of the city between the ages of twenty and thirty-four in at least five participations a year, and fifty-five per cent of the boys.<sup>38</sup> Distinguished committees sponsored the idea and sociologists gave it their blessing, but the institutional inertia of buildings and the lack of qualified secretaries proved too heavy.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the public insisted upon buildings. In 1924 Professor Eduard C. Lindeman of Columbia University and the New York School of Social Work challenged the Movement with the potentialities of the community approach which he believed might well open before it "generations of useful service" in contrast to the dangers of becoming arrested if it allowed itself to be restricted by "the narrow margins of institutionalized programs." Yet what might have fulfilled Lindeman's prophecy became an adjunct of city Association program. Like the town and country work of which it was an adaptation, community work required a home missionary vision and arduous labor to maintain it.

In 1930 Koehler reviewed the developments in Minneapolis which by that time had reached astonishingly large proportions. He indicated that Wiley's basic principles had continued to guide the program which he interpreted as an application of the methods of the earlier town and country work to the neighborhoods or outlying communities of the city. He went on to point out that much reliance had been placed on the group method, which had been "the chief program tool" as well as an administrative device. He cited statistics indicating that the community branches were shouldering an increasing share of their cost and that their growth had actually increased the membership of the downtown branch, which had become a kind of community organization in its own area. Koehler felt that the advantages greatly outweighed the hazards of the community plan.<sup>40</sup>

This was abundantly demonstrated when the depression tested to the utmost every Association in the country. Those relying upon broad constituencies and serving great numbers of individuals with relatively



low building overhead survived financial difficulties with comparative ease, the Minneapolis Association being an outstanding example.<sup>41</sup> The Chicago Association succeeded in organizing a community branch in South Shore at the very depth of the depression.<sup>42</sup> Community work methods were utilized by several Associations to develop interracial programs, such as that of the "Uptown Branch" of the New York City Association. The validity of the method was unquestionably established by 1940 when a successful boys' worker described its basic principles in *Association Forum*:

There is no absolutely fixed pattern of decentralized Boys' Work. Each community will have its variations and therefore an intelligent job can be done only by careful preliminary survey and analysis.

The democratic process must be respected and followed both within the administrative group and in the community.

Grouping should be made around those agencies which most vitally influence boy behavior.

High quality and capable leadership acceptable to the community is indispensable.

The membership policy and the privilege schedules must be readjusted to serve boys in natural group units.

Parent education and cultivation must precede and parallel the development of the group work program.

The objective of decentralization is a truly democratic movement which operates on its own power, and, in the average community, is largely self-supporting.<sup>43</sup>

If, concluded this worker, the Y.M.C.A. is to be a vital force in building a real democracy, "it must exert its influence and establish its ideals through units whose members have an opportunity to practice democracy together because they live in the same social group."

#### THE REDISCOVERY OF THE YOUNG MAN

The post-War years produced a fresh approach to young men between eighteen and twenty-one. One of the first Associations to achieve a noteworthy program with this group was that at Seattle, where the work was developed by Tracy Strong. Born during the war ship-building boom, the activity featured a special clubroom and athletic and boarding clubs and was governed by a members' council.<sup>44</sup> Conferences on "all-round program for men eighteen to twenty" were held in 1924 and afterward and large numbers of youth were interviewed in an effort to ascertain their interests and needs. Minneapolis, upon the initiative of J. W. McCandless, again set the pace with a program "with young men, for young men, and by young men." Its young

men's secretary, J. H. Eckford, prepared a manual on *The Young Men's Division* in response to the many requests for information. After seven years' work with this group the age limit was extended through twenty-four years. It was organized in clubs that had been recruited from natural gangs in the neighborhood of Central branch, around key men in the membership, from occupational groupings or special interests or of groups formed of new members and graduates from the boys' division. Eckford reminded his readers that it had been the concern for this age group that had originally created the Y.M.C.A.<sup>45</sup>

From nine Associations reporting young men's programs in 1924 the number grew in three years to more than 125 with over thirty secretaries. This was seen by the *Home Work Bulletin* in March, 1927, as "a moving picture of our Association advancing to make up this deficiency with the sweep of an army on a campaign": there was "a distinct feel in the air that we are at the beginning of something very big." A national conference on young men's work had been held in 1926 and another was being planned for the spring of 1927, while a National committee was working to bring together "the best experience in this field and preparing materials." The *Bulletin's* editor concluded that "to many of us the most significant thing about all this activity is the sound basis upon which the structure is being reared." This reinstatement of the Association's "essential and unique responsibility" led him to hope that it would be so firmly established that the Movement would never again be found lacking.<sup>46</sup>

This trend did continue, with such strength that a First World Assembly of Young Men met in Toronto in 1931 in connection with the World's Conference. The next few years saw a multiplication of young men's congresses in many states, at which issues such as jobs, religion, government, disarmament, and peace were discussed.<sup>47</sup> In 1933 a successful general secretary challenged the Movement to continue in this direction: the organization of a large number of self-governing Y.M.C.A.'s within the Y.M.C.A. was "an opportunity to give the Association back to youth," he declared.<sup>48</sup> The depression period saw an intensification of interest in social issues on the part of these groups as well as the formation of a National Young Men's Council. Further national assemblies were held. The treatment of this phase of program activity by such *Year Books* as those of 1936 and 1939 indicated that the hope of a decade earlier had apparently been realized: "In constituency and character of activities the Young Men's

Group is not only growing vigorously, but increasingly influential as well" (1936). "Clearly the volume of activities among young men and their proportion of the membership seem to make them fully comparable to any other constituency . . ." (1939). The *Year Book* editor referred to the recommendations and actions of the assembly of 1937 as important examples of "fresh thinking and ready leadership" to which the entire Movement was obligated for sympathetic study and articulation of necessary adjustments.<sup>49</sup>

### Y.M.C.A. WORK WITH WOMEN AND GIRLS

It was natural that an increased work with women and girls should accompany this rediscovery of the young man in an age of accentuated coeducational emphasis. This was most apparent in the high school field, in which the Y.M.C.A. seriously began work with girls at the close of the First World War.<sup>50</sup> In the 1920's a growing number of local Associations in communities where there were no Y.W.C.A.'s reported clubs, physical work, informal classes and varied co-ed activities. The first Tri-Hi-Y Club, the Y.M.C.A. high school club for girls, came into being in 1923 in Holyoke, Massachusetts, spreading rapidly. The next year there were reports of Y.M.C.A.-sponsored Camp Fire units, Girl Reserves, agricultural clubs, and the like. Through this period the Philadelphia Association moved ahead in such work and under the leadership of Walter Wood took the advanced position that the ideal would be a "Christian Association which would provide equal participation of both sexes in the responsibilities and control of the Association administration, as well as for equal freedom in the use of Association institutional privileges." This was done at several points in that city and a specially planned building and organization were arranged at Ardmore.<sup>51</sup> In several cities—New Haven, Hackensack, Omaha, Minneapolis, Toledo, Syracuse, Rochester (New York), Marshalltown (Iowa)—there were successful joint programs and relationships between the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the late 1920's.<sup>52</sup> Coeducational developments in student work were of signal importance; they will be treated in Chapter 16. In 1925 nine state Y.M.C.A.'s had policies of co-operation with the Y.W.C.A.<sup>53</sup>

By 1926 *Association Men* regarded the increasing work with women as one of the most critical departures in the history of the Movement. Argument ran rife but local Associations ignored theory and national inertia as they continued to develop specific programs. In 1928 the

New York City Association revised its charter statement to read "to help young people, primarily young men," from "to help young men." The details of relationships between the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. during these years cannot be treated but the situation had reached the point by 1924 that the Y.W.C.A., concerned to protect its field, requested the Y.M.C.A. to appoint a joint commission to study the possibilities of co-operative work. This resulted in the first of many studies—so many in fact that the procedure became a device for postponing commitment to a definite policy. The study carried out in 1930 by Professor Herbert N. Shenton, a sociologist, showed that Y.M.C.A.'s tended to promote work for women and girls oftener than they sought active co-operation with the Y.W.C.A. Community pressures were the main cause of this, though economic reasons often helped to account for it. The study also noted significant differences between the basic philosophies of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the latter being concerned to shape public opinion and promote the American women's movement, neither of which purposes was congenial to the Y.M.C.A.<sup>54</sup>

In 1931 the eighth annual meeting of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. was presented by a distinguished committee of eight including Cecil H. Gamble, Harry W. Stone, William E. Sweet, and Walter M. Wood as chairman, with amendments to its Constitution designed to remove "any stated or implied discrimination between the sexes and to make possible identical status, as affecting recognition, rights and responsibilities for both sexes in all the affairs of the National Council."<sup>55</sup> This was not acted upon until the Council meeting of 1933 gave local Associations control of the qualifications of their own membership, thus making it possible to include female membership in determining male representation to the Council. The matter of women members of the Council itself had not been determined at the end of the Y.M.C.A. century in 1951. In 1934 when women and girl members were first reported there were 57,458 in 275 Associations; three years later 440 Associations had 86,610, approximately 6 per cent of their total.

Further study in the mid-1930's indicated that in a given period Y.M.C.A. work among women and girls had increased 9 per cent but that activities planned with the Y.W.C.A. had declined some 6 per cent. In 1933 the Association of Secretaries recognized women secretaries and the next year the National Council did the same. In 1938 there



were fifty-three women professional Y.M.C.A. workers who were chiefly though not wholly related to programs among women and girls.<sup>56</sup> The status of women in the Y.M.C.A. at the close of the period described in this chapter was well set forth in the findings of a special study made in the summer of 1942 by the National Young Men's Council, which had been aware for some time that there had been taking place "a gradual change in the Y.M.C.A.'s policy of membership and program." They saw the Associations, originally a young men's society, gradually "but nonetheless steadily" growing into a young people's organization. Co-ed work had long since passed the picnic stage and had become "a vital part of many of our Associations." The commission found that 43 per cent of a wide sampling of Y.M.C.A.'s had a regular women's membership fee though only 23 per cent allowed them to vote. In a few places women served on boards of directors. Participation was greatest in communities where there was no Y.W.C.A.; in cities where there were both, regular membership by women was discouraged by the Y.M.C.A., though this was not a handicap when it came to co-ed work. Program secretaries were almost unqualifiedly enthusiastic over co-ed work and no less than 72 per cent of them expressed their belief that the most significant future development for the Y.M.C.A. lay at the point of increasing the participation of young women in clubs and programs as the demand appeared. Notable advances were marked in all these areas during the 1940's, as will be indicated in Chapter 18.

#### THE Y's MEN

Another adaptation of the Y.M.C.A. to the folkways of twentieth century America was the appearance in 1920 and the subsequent rapid growth of an Association luncheon club, the "Y's Men."<sup>57</sup> The first of these was organized in Toledo on the general pattern of Rotary, its predominant motive being "to increase opportunities for service to the Y and for social contacts." As the idea spread the Toledo group hit upon a phrase in *Association Men* that had been used by a popular reporter of World War Association service abroad—"Will M. Cressy, one of the Y's Men of the East." By May, 1922, there were enough clubs in Ohio to form a state federation. This body circulated pamphlets to the American Associations with the result that clubs came into being both in Canada and the United States; at the International Convention of 1922 representatives of these met and formed the

"International Association of Y's Men's Clubs." The first club overseas appeared at Shanghai in 1924. In 1940 there were 208 active clubs. They had supported virtually every type of project any Y.M.C.A. had ever undertaken.<sup>58</sup>

#### NEW EMPHASES IN INDUSTRIAL WORK

It will be recalled from Chapter 11 that the International industrial staff developed a substantial program of activities on the home front during the First World War.<sup>59</sup> It is not the purpose of this Chapter to provide a detailed program survey of the two decades following the War, but for the first few years of that period the approach was essentially what it had been previously—a standardized program of building-centered activities comparable to those described in Chapter 11. In 1920 there were 154 industrial-type buildings with 246 secretaries at work; these properties represented an investment of some six million, six hundred thousand dollars, "all of which was paid for by the industrial management and workers."<sup>60</sup>

The significant new venture in the industrial realm in this era was an attempt to meet the need for "better human relations in industry." Spurred by the widespread labor unrest of the immediate post-War era, Secretary Towson set up conferences, first at Silver Bay in 1919, to which "forward-looking executives" and a few labor leaders were invited.<sup>61</sup> "The temper of the gatherings was friendly," wrote E. C. Worman, National industrial secretary during the 1930's, "and the benefits of sharing opinions and experience were obvious." Within a few years like meetings were being held at Blue Ridge (first in 1920),<sup>62</sup> Estes Park, and Lake Geneva, where they flourished until the depression liquidated the last two. Silver Bay and Blue Ridge continued, drawing increasingly interested and influential managerial personnel through the remainder of the Y.M.C.A. century. A comparable emphasis was the continuation of the "Industrial Service" program among students. Certain metropolitan Y.M.C.A.'s, notably Chicago, developed industrial work along customary lines that reached 130 plants.

Some leaders held that the Associations should identify themselves with labor but this contention served chiefly to elicit statements of the well-established "zone of agreement" policy. In defending this position Messer endorsed his industrial secretary's position: "The Industrial work of the Chicago Y.M.C.A. is nothing more or less than an or-

ganized effort to carry the full Association message to the men and boys engaged in industrial occupations. The name by which it is designated is purely a trade term and signifies an administrative section rather than a peculiar type of work." This program aimed at three things in 1920: (1) Serving the largest possible number of these men and boys in the membership of the regular department buildings; (2) bringing them as groups into the building for occasional visits and limited privileges; (3) taking the service "out to the plants where they work or into the communities where they live."<sup>63</sup> The next year the International industrial department defined the Association as "an agency of democratic intercourse and common purpose . . . dedicated to such service in the spirit of the Master." This it regarded as "occupying and enlarging the zone of agreement on the basis of mutuality." This position was vigorously defended by Towson who insisted that the zone must be steadily expanded in order to remain vital.<sup>64</sup> Also in 1921 the first buildings for Negro industrial workers were opened at Lockland, Ohio, and at East St. Louis.<sup>65</sup> In 1925 the first annual state Y.M.C.A.-sponsored industrial conference was held in Connecticut, while the Meriden Association developed a significant program in a small industrial city.<sup>66</sup> After Towson's retirement in 1922, the International department, temporarily under the direction of Fred H. Rindge, specialized in the promotion of Americanization classes and attempted to work out educational programs for labor unions. Numbers of local Associations developed remarkably effective industrial athletic leagues.

During the late 1920's and the early depression years the industrial department was virtually dropped by the National Council, there being no staff in 1930. The following year E. C. Worman became senior secretary and at once vigorously promoted the Silver Bay conferences and their extension to the states, challenging the Movement with the "unparalleled opportunity" in a field served by few agencies at a time when the average working man was enjoying more leisure time than ever before.<sup>67</sup> A significant new departure of the 1930's was the "Foreman's Club."<sup>68</sup> In 1934 Worman published on behalf of National industrial services, which had taken the place of the older department, a résumé of the findings of several commissions entitled *Advance in Industrial Service*. Serving both as a manual and a stimulus this study reviewed the characteristics of the programs of 540 Associations that had reported "some kind of service to industry." In spite of that figure

industrial membership was small: the concern of the book was chiefly to set before city Associations the opportunities they might accept. The *Year Book* of 1936 indicated that the attitude of the Movement toward this area was virtually what it had always been: the basis of industrial work, it said, is activity designed to build Christian personality and a Christian society. That year Worman again challenged the Associations to modify their program to fit the changing scene in industrial communities.<sup>69</sup> The underlying purpose of our work is to be of service to a man or a boy as an individual regardless of his community or environment, wrote the general secretary of the Niagara Falls Association in 1939, adding that to meet the needs of industrial communities techniques must be adapted to them and obvious needs met.<sup>70</sup> Pence's résumé, in *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* (1939), of one important aspect of the period between the World Wars was a thought-provoking summary of a much-neglected aspect of Association activity:

During these years of aggressive labor organization . . . it was significant that the Associations' identification with industry failed so signally to recognize the type of concern that was at the same time being expressed in the trade-union movement. Despite this failure, however, the assumption that the Association could render an intermediary service between capital and labor was sustained by enough instances to give a degree of warrant to the claim. On the other hand, the almost complete absence of labor representatives on Association boards made it clear that this claim had no significant validity. An International Convention action in 1919 took note of this deficiency, and advocated promptly remedying it. But the situation did not greatly change in the years following the World War even until the present. The marked increases in the strength of organized labor following the great depression after 1929, and the factional warfare between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for the past two years have found the Associations largely unconcerned with the issues represented, and relatively undisturbed by the conflict that has sharply divided the industrial constituency of the nation.

. . . It is probable that the iron and steel, textile, mining, lumber, ship-building, and other industries that had contributed over 4 million dollars for buildings in smaller fields and over 200 thousand dollars for current expenses in 1918 believed they could rely upon the "zone of agreement" policy of the Y.M.C.A.; and that the Y.M.C.A. would never join the labor forces in opposition. Certainly also, despite many instances of close working relationships with workers, both organized and unorganized, as in transportation, textiles, and other fields, the Association has down to the present failed to win the complete confidence of organized labor. This failure is probably largely due to the frequent belief of labor forces, whether justified or not, that the methods and policies of the Association are tacitly if not openly identified with the forces against them. . . .<sup>71</sup>



## FROM RAILROAD TO TRANSPORTATION DEPARTMENT

The railroad Y.M.C.A.'s for the most part shared enthusiastically in the human relations in industry conferences. The *Year Book* of 1920 reported the change of title from railroad to transportation department "to make its name conform to the inclusive character of its work," which had been expanded to include a merchant marine department set up "in accordance with accepted principles" upon the authorization of the 1919 Convention. In 1921 this new departure was reported at five home ports and eight abroad, there being a greatly expanded American merchant service still on the seas. Perhaps the most successful of the small number of these specialized Y.M.C.A.'s was that at Seattle, where support by the steamship companies was the exception to the general rule. This made possible a significant program unusual features of which were services to the patients at the Marine Hospital and the development of a School of Navigation. Agencies of this type found themselves in increasing difficulties during this era, through which few survived.

The period revealed little change in the program or outlook of the railroad Associations. A railroad executive told the Convention of 1922 that the Y.M.C.A. had "come to be recognized as the official welfare agency for the railroads." Findings of a commission at that time included reaffirmation of the principle that Associations "maintain a position of strict neutrality in time of strike" and that "cleanliness shall obtain in all buildings whether palaces or shacks" even if "shack equipment has little hope of attracting large membership to R. R. Associations." Men should be expected to pay their own way when charged reasonable prices, and "a religious spirit when properly applied" would not offend patrons "but command wholesome respect"; the Golden Rule would be "the great mediator of our troubles between officials and employees." The commission's tenth point was that "the heart given over to Jesus Christ furnishes the condition that brings managers and men into full co-operation and a love that acknowledges a full equity of rights and betterments for each."

Naturally the railroad Associations played an important part in the organizational issues of this period, as was indicated in Chapter 10. A feature of their program in the 1920's was the younger men's conferences which broke away from established railroad convention programs to discuss personal and social problems,<sup>72</sup> a development that may be ascribed to the concern of younger secretaries to apply the new

approaches that were so popular with boys' workers and counselors. The railroad Associations were reduced by the depression and by changes in railroading, such as fewer division points, to almost half the number that had reported regularly during the 1920's. They maintained many of the program features that characterized city Associations, although the new ideas and techniques such as the group work emphasis, made less headway among them than in other types of Y.M.C.A.'s. When G. K. Roper, senior secretary of the transportation department, was asked by the *Forum* in 1930 for an interpretative statement he sent in this paragraph with the remark that if he wrote a dozen pages he could not say more:

The Transportation Department, under the right form of organization and leadership will be normally successful and grow as the years pass. This right form of organization would involve a better understanding and more definite working relations with Railroad Companies, a more clearly defined and uniform program of activities and an increasingly strengthened type of local Secretarial leadership.

By 1939 railroad Associations had decreased to 117 from 196 in the year of Roper's statement; they reported a membership of 87,462 with expenditures of \$3,643,600 as against \$5,567,300 in 1930 when there had been some 118,000 members. In 1930 the *Home Work Bulletin* had noted a greater solidarity among railroad Associations than characterized "hardly any other similar group, due in large part to the loyalty of men and young men to their own railroad systems and to railroading in general." The *Year Book* of 1939 said that boys and young men each constituted a tenth of the membership of these Associations while women and girls were less than 4 per cent; men thirty and over comprised fully three-fourths: "Such Association work is thus primarily a service to employed adults engaged in the operation of one of the great industries" which in large measure supported it. Significant commissions were then at work on membership, personnel relationships, budget, religious work, and "responsible citizenship." A milestone was passed when in 1940 the continental membership campaign of the department was endorsed by major labor organizations.

#### ASSOCIATION PHYSICAL WORK BETWEEN THE WARS

The tremendous physical work program of the Y.M.C.A. both at home and overseas during the First World War was mentioned in Chapter 11; it is fully described in *Service with Fighting Men*. At

the close of the War work operations the mood that led to a commission on the "conservation of war values" proposed that the physical departments "participate more largely in promoting a program of community-wide recreation." This was in tune with the trends of the time and represented a natural expansion of physical work programs before the War as well as during it. The standardized program described in the revised handbook of 1920 bore strong resemblance to that in the first edition of 1914; its section on object and principles devoted large space to Gulick's statement of 1892 and to the findings of the notable conference that had been held in 1914. Yet there was a fresh emphasis upon free play in addition to the traditional types of work.

There were, however, leaders who were not satisfied to remain in the old groove. "As an organization, we have not yet begun to realize the character-building possibilities through properly conducted physical education," wrote Martin I. Foss of the Chicago Y.M.C.A. College in 1921, at a time when that school was exerting significant leadership among midwestern Associations. Taking his lead from G. Stanley Hall, Foss recognized that "strength of character does not necessarily follow physical vigor." In fact the opposite could be the case; hence "able and Christian leadership is essential in character growing processes."<sup>73</sup> Next year Dr. John Brown, Jr., International physical work secretary, outlined the need for directors of physical education rather than instructors in physical activities; the physical department, he said, should contribute largely to the fundamentally religious objective of the Movement. The next several years saw real effort on the part of this professional group to raise their standards, increase their fellowship, and rethink their goals.<sup>74</sup> The period also marked an increase in member participation in physical activity relative to the pre-War era, there being 350,000 persons attending gymnasium classes in 1921 and 1924 as compared with 275,000 in 1919, about 175,000 in 1910, and 75,000 in 1900.<sup>75</sup>

As the result of recommendations made by a commission chaired by A. G. Studer, metropolitan general secretary of the Detroit Association and a former physical director, the National Council meeting of 1925 created a National committee on physical education that "assumed the functions" of the older physical department and the Athletic League. Proposals for improvement were for a personal interview at the time of a member's joining the Association; thorough physical

examination and regular re-examination of members; the promotion of health education, of regional and state athletic events, and the "planning, promotion and conduct of the physical program for boys" by the physical departments which should utilize "all the tried and accepted methods." It was also declared that "the preference of an increasing number of members for recreational games such as handball, volleyball, basketball, and individual exercises, should not be allowed to interfere with the continuance of that type of carefully planned body-building exercise which has characterized the organized classes, and which has demonstrated its unquestionable value in the all-round development and in retaining, over a long period of years, the sustained attendance and interest of large numbers of men and boys."<sup>76</sup>

The ideas derived from progressive education that exerted such a revolutionary effect upon boys' workers were slow to find their way into physical education. Beginning in the late 1920's occasional articles appeared in the *Journal of Physical Education* that in various ways challenged the department to make good its claims of producing "character results." We are being reminded, wrote National Council secretary C. H. McCloy in 1929, that persistent violation of the amateur code by the physical director is not really "a method of character building, and that it remains to be proven that unsanitary and unsupervised locker rooms are morally elevating." McCloy believed that such criticism was causing many directors to rethink their programs, but the periodical of the brotherhood of secretaries revealed little consistent effort to do that, the influence of educational techniques being chiefly at the point of intelligence and physical testing.

In 1936 an elaborate "reorientation study" was undertaken by a commission under the direction of John R. McCurdy of the Bronx Union Y.M.C.A., New York. Its findings were published in a 160-page volume two years later, as *The New Physical Education in the Y.M.C.A.* This statement, which represented the corporate thought of the Movement's physical work leaders, set forth general principles delineating the position of the Y.M.C.A., which it recognized as a private Christian agency deriving its functions from the communities in which it existed. It was said to be interested in "the whole personality"; it fostered "the wholeness of community life"; each Association needed to be in itself a "single, unified organization" seeking to demonstrate democratic and cooperative ideals. Within this framework the objectives of



Association physical work were classified under health and physical fitness, education for leisure, personality and social adjustment, social participation, and a philosophy of life. Constituency was said to include not only young men, workers in industry, and boys, but "mixed groups of married and unmarried young people seeking fellowship." Program philosophy took account of the current conviction with regard to group work; there was a strong statement on competitive athletics and suggestions concerning specific program emphases. Most of the volume was given to essays on various problems, including two by Hedley S. Dimock of George Williams College dealing with objectives and the place of group experience in physical education. The latter paper dealt significantly with contemporary group psychology and concluded with specific suggestions for transforming "classes" into "groups."

In 1936 the editor of the *Year Book*, asking whether physical activities dominated Y.M.C.A. programs, showed that the 23,373,300 reported attendances in physical group activities the past year were "approximately one-half of the attendances reported for all types of group activities" and the persons enrolled in these physical activities represented 43 per cent of the total enrollment in group activity. When the Physical Directors' Society met in 1939 one of its older members summarized the history of Association physical activity. Up until about 1930, he said, standardization was the continuing trend:

... Attempts were made to make the organization of Boston fit San Diego, and that of Portland, Oregon match Portland, Maine. A standard plan fitting a standard program and administered by a standard physical director.

He felt that physical work was just then entering "the educational period." Proposed changes in the standard form of organization were being experimented with in which "the former physical director now becomes the program director and helps to plan not only a physical program, but a general total personality developing program." Member-centered or member-interest programs were being tried and the literature of the most progressive educators was being "perused with great ardor by men who dare[d] to call themselves Directors of Physical Education"; furthermore, conferences interpreting the latest ideas in psychology and theories of character building were "becoming rather common"; a few were "actually venturing in the field of character tests and trying them out in their program of work":

. . . This is the period when physical directors will work with their constituency and together evolve a plan of organization that they believe will produce the desired results.

The educational period . . . will mean an ever changing plan of organization and operation, but always earnestly seeking to simplify, to decrease overhead, to perfect and make more resultful in attaining the objectives of physical education in the Association.

When Professor G. B. Affleck of Springfield College revised a standard history of physical education in 1947 he filled less than two pages in bringing up to date the events in Y.M.C.A. physical work since the book had first been issued in 1923.<sup>77</sup> First in importance was the raising of standards for admission to the secretaryship. The chief change had been the requirement of a college degree for full secretarial status, which had rendered unnecessary the older summer schools; these had become informal conferences or accredited schools offering formal courses for graduate credit; there had been twelve of them in the summer of 1941. He cited the McCurdy report of 1938 as evidence of an increasing emphasis upon the contribution of physical education "to the development of the broader personality." In the eyes of many workers, Affleck pointed out, physical and health education had now become part of the broadly diversified program of activities pointed toward all-round character growth.

Recent developments had included the articulation of a national aquatic program which had been launched in 1937; in 1939, 113,608 persons had learned to swim and almost 16,000 had passed life-saving tests—to cite but two items of an ambitious program that was being organized under eleven subcommittees. In this admittedly fragmentary description of the impact of new ideas upon physical work in the period between the first two world wars it has not been possible to deal with the large and significant athletic programs which included Olympic participation or with the widespread and effective promotion of health education that were major characteristics of the time.<sup>78</sup>

#### THE BUILDING MOVEMENT, 1920-1940

Although it was said at the Convention of 1919 that the success of the wartime "hut" confronted the Movement with the idea that "the highly specialized equipment of the past is not absolutely necessary to all types of Association work" the next ten years brought forth a building construction boom second only to that of the pre-War years.

Few if any leaders put into public utterance the misgivings one of them confided to another in 1921:

The use of \$100,000,000 worth of property theoretically designed to serve the complex all-round needs of boys and men is yet an unsolved problem in human engineering. The impulses which led to the asking for this money and the giving of it were true and noble, but the scientific administration of this material equipment for adequate social, religious, physical, and educational ends is yet among partially solved problems. The danger is that the weight of it will break down the Movement before the solution is found.

Yet the Y.M.C.A., "concentrated in the rapidly growing American cities, made great efforts to keep pace and to establish the Association in physical structures worthy of its position in the community." Campaigns that raised as much as five million dollars in one city with a single gift of \$750,000 for a specific building revealed not only the confidence of the public in the organization but the speculative trends of the times:

. . . The demand grew for buildings with more space, more varied and better facilities, and hence with a large investment per building. . . . The actual building investment after 1920 passed all previous records. In the final years before the depression of 1929, amounts annually spent exceeded 9, 11, and 12 millions of dollars. The aggregate property of the American Associations reached an investment of 250 millions in 1929.<sup>79</sup>

Included in this extension were added facilities for special groups of Associations—armed services, railroad, Negro, town and country, and student.<sup>80</sup>

Most of this tremendous expansion was done with the advice of the Building Bureau, the organization of which was described briefly in Chapter 11. In the years just before the First World War more than one Association executive became dissatisfied with the inability of local architectural firms to design adequately functional Y.M.C.A. buildings.<sup>81</sup> Architectural services were therefore added to the financial agencies of the Bureau which now became one of the first general agencies to render aid to Associations across the continent on a service basis rather than in terms of the previous pattern of departmentalism;<sup>82</sup> in the next three decades it was related to more than three hundred projects costing about sixty-five million dollars. Buildings almost at once showed improved architectural character as well as improved function; better materials were used and problems of maintenance, operation, and management were reduced.

With the coming of the depression the Bureau together with the National financial staff helped Associations to find ways of reducing operating costs. In the 1930's the Movement became especially conscious of the problem of renovating its aging properties, most of which were out of date; again the Bureau, expanded to include furnishings service, rendered signal aid; by this time, too, it had developed an expert advisory service on building management.<sup>83</sup> An active campaign was undertaken to induce local Associations to modernize their plants and scores did so with results that were almost dramatic. Dormitories were made to pay and food services established on profitable bases, while the new program trends which made unusual demands on traditional facilities were implemented with attractively converted facilities such as interesting clubrooms. There were Associations whose membership showed marked increase as a result and many were re-established on a sounder fiscal basis.<sup>84</sup>

#### WORK FOR THE ARMED SERVICES

On the first of November, 1919 the United States War Department took over the welfare and recreational work for the Army that had been carried on under the National War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A. On January 1, 1920, the Navy followed suit. This was distinctly against the wishes and the advice of the Council, but authorities in Washington were adamant.<sup>85</sup> To carry on these activities within the United States the Council offered the government some \$2,776,500 for the next fiscal year and advised Association personnel to remain in government service. Buildings recently erected on government land were included in the transfer but structures that had been put up by the Y.M.C.A. before the War and under special legislation remained in its hands as the base for the continuing peace-time program which was shortly to be expanded. It will be recalled from Chapter 11 that a large sum was given to the American Legion at this time. The great endeavor known as "overseas" work which grew largely out of War work in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Greece, Turkey, Palestine and Egypt was continued; it will be described in Chapter 17.

In view of the transfer of the largest block of the army-navy program to the government, the *Year Book* of 1920 remarked that the department had "resumed its pre-war program and policies" after having been operated practically as a part of the War Work Council. Although welfare work on military and naval reservations would be car-



ried on by the government the Association saw "real needs and large opportunities for service in the port cities and in communities adjacent to large army camps." Plans were under way to meet such needs, concluded the *Year Book*. The major item in these proposals was the allotment of large funds from the War Work Council's surplus for the construction of strategically situated buildings. In most cases the Council funds provided about three-fourths of the sum needed, local contributions being relied upon for the remainder. Most of these facilities were provided at points where a preliminary work, sometimes under the local Y.M.C.A., had demonstrated the desirability of such a program. An example of this was the experiment opened in a small way at San Diego in 1920; after about eight months the need had grown to such proportions that a hotel was leased. In 1924 the present building was constructed at a cost of over \$800,000, \$650,000 of which was provided by the army and navy department from the surplus War funds. From two to three thousand men at once crowded its splendid facilities daily; as naval installations increased attendance rose to eight thousand and during the Second World War the front doors were actually taken off to accommodate between twenty and twenty-five thousand men daily. Peace-time averages in 1949 were nearer ten thousand a day.

Policies for the promotion and administration of this program had been determined by a commission appointed by the Convention of 1919, whose recommendations were accepted by the International Committee in 1921 and were ratified by the Convention of 1922 after careful study.<sup>86</sup> Supervisory problems naturally arose in connection with the relations of army and navy Associations to government, local community and Y.M.C.A., and International agencies. The Mark Jones Report pointed out the necessity of these Associations being prepared "to organize quickly and to extend their services to soldiers and sailors when they go into action." For this, centralized control comparable to that of the fighting forces themselves would be mandatory.<sup>87</sup> New principles for the government of the work were set out by the National Council meeting of 1925. Next year the *National Council Bulletin* indicated that there were six National secretaries promoting "the Association's all-round program as adapted to service men" through a process of "checking up and putting an estimate on this program in terms of character values." Yet the job analysis that followed bore

marked resemblance to the traditional program. The activities of the department were carried on not only in continental United States but in Hawaii, at five centers in China, in the Philippines and the Canal Zone, and as "emergency work on behalf of American sailors at European ports." Helpful relations were sustained with the War and Navy Departments and the Chaplain's Corps, and two summer schools had been held for secretaries. Major accomplishments at this time were eight buildings costing about four million dollars; two were on reservations. In 1930 a three-million-dollar hostel for service men was dedicated to the memory of William Sloane, chairman of the War Work Council, by the New York City Association; the Trustees of the War Work Fund contributed \$500,000 to this magnificent hotel on West Thirty-fourth Street. In this period some army-navy workers sought to acquire the new insights of educational psychology to enrich their personal contacts with service men.

In 1931 B. C. Pond, National departmental secretary, reviewed the history and program of the army and navy work. There were then some ten million dollars' worth of facilities maintained in part by endowment of about half that sum. They reached about one-half the regular service personnel of 250,000; some 35,000 men visited the forty "widely separated strategic points" of Association work daily, at which there were "over one hundred trained secretaries promot[ing] a balanced program in which emphasis is placed on the needs and the interests of the constituency." This "compactly organized comprehensive Christian service with service men" was then emphasizing "the word *with* as opposed to any tendency to think of it as a work *for* service men."<sup>88</sup> Never before, concluded Pond, "has there been so great confidence in the Association, or such expectation from it on the part of officers and men, as is now in evidence."

The depression forced a decrease of about one-fourth in the number of army-navy Associations which by the end of the period here under consideration were commencing to mobilize for the needs of men involved in what became the Second World War. In 1939 the department committee was authorized to increase its numbers and to "secure special funds to meet as adequately as possible the enlarged needs of American youth in uniform," such funds to be invested where careful study recommended.<sup>89</sup> With the enactment of selective service by Congress this policy was expedited and by May 15, 1941, there were 135

secretaries at work in sixty-nine centers. Some indication of how this was merged with U.S.O. operations during the War will be given in Chapter 18. A characterization of the facilities utilized by armed services Associations made in 1947 was relevant in the period now under discussion: "On the whole," declared the *Year Book* "it may be said that buildings provided for Armed Services Associations appear, and in fact are, similar to those provided for civilian populations in ordinary city communities" with only minor variations. It may be inferred that as in the case of standard buildings, they reflected the activities carried on within and from them.

### WORK AMONG NEGROES

Developments in Association work among Negroes in the inter-War years were more in the areas of integration of organization and in interracial endeavor (as described in Chapter 12) than at the points of fundamental change in methodology or philosophy. In 1913 Channing H. Tobias had joined the International staff and upon Moorland's resignation in 1924 became senior secretary; it was largely due to his leadership that many of the advances of this period were carried through. By 1924 there were 160 Negro Y.M.C.A.'s with 28,000 members and buildings valued at \$2,382,880. The department was one of the first to be reduced when the depression hit; "shaken but not discouraged" the work nonetheless went on in spite of a greatly shrunken National staff. By 1938, the fiftieth anniversary of the employment of the first full-time colored secretary (Hunton's call to Norfolk), there were sixty-two city Associations with full-time leadership and 120 student Associations. This development had been indirectly stimulated by the African appointment of Max Yergan whose name became a household synonym for Association outreach to Negro peoples after 1920. The period was marked also by the addition of fourteen Rosenwald buildings (by 1934), most of the twelve in use in 1921 being already too small.<sup>90</sup>

The Convention of 1919 established a commission on colored work composed of representatives of both races and of all sections of the country, which prepared "a new and comprehensive policy" that did more "to clear the path to progress" than any step taken up to that time. In 1921 the twentieth national conference of the colored men's department met, after an interval of twelve years, inaugurating a series of stimulating and purposeful gatherings that exerted a sig-

nificant influence upon the work. In reporting to the Convention of 1922 the Negro staff pointed to their woefully restricted budget and small number in spite of the fact that their work paralleled "all the departments of the work for white men." When the National Council met in Washington in 1925 it urged "that the work for Colored men and boys . . . be listed among the priorities in any advance program entered upon by the Brotherhood." That same year the National Conference on Colored Work considered the needs of small cities the greatest problem. In 1926 when the first Harmon awards for distinguished service by Negroes were made, one went to a membership secretary of the Negro Y.M.C.A. of Indianapolis. The next year awards were made to Tobias and a lay member of the Colored Association of Washington.<sup>91</sup>

Some of the handicaps under which the Negro work struggled may be seen in the fact that while colored Associations were attempting to improve their programs and raise the standards of their professional personnel, Negro secretaries were hardly wanted at secretarial conferences and within the fellowship of at least one of the more important secretarial brotherhoods. In 1927 the secretary-treasurer of the City General Secretaries Association wrote to a brother executive: "We have not solicited them for membership." Several had joined without being asked. A few months later the executive committee of the organization passed a resolution declaring that in making arrangements for conferences "the fact that we have in our membership men of all races" be taken into account and "no conference held at any place or in any hotel where discriminations are made." Local Negro secretaries at this time were paid on an average 59.9 per cent of the salaries received by white workers for the same positions. Negroes on the National Council staff received 73.4 per cent of the average salary for all National staff members.<sup>92</sup> Yet the National Council meeting of 1929 resolved that "the challenging necessities of [the Negro race] demand affirmative action . . . looking toward the provision of a quality and quantity of service commensurate with the need. . . ." It recommended that the Movement make the Negro work the special object of concern during the Week of Prayer in November. But the stock market crash came before that; in the following two years the staff of the colored work department was almost liquidated.

The next National Council meeting passed strong resolutions on how to deal with race problems and some Association leaders joined a



"traveling seminar" to study the problem at first hand.<sup>93</sup> Secretary Tobias reported progress in race relations in 1931 at the same time the student movement was greatly vexed over the discrimination issue that arose at its student-faculty conference in Detroit.<sup>94</sup> The reorganized National general agency plan of 1932 made the colored supervisory services parallel rather than separate.<sup>95</sup> Comparable integration of the supervision of Negro student work, which had hitherto been under the colored men's department, was accomplished in 1933 after five years' agitation.<sup>96</sup> Approximately at the time of the fiftieth anniversary of Hunton's call to Norfolk, a careful survey of Association work among Negroes brought out the following facts, significant for their inferences as to program about 1938:

While the Associations serving colored youth represent 4.7 per cent of all City Associations they receive only 1.9 per cent of the total Association income received by City Associations. However, they exceed their proportion of current income in the following items of Association activities: current expenditure, young men members, Hi-Y Clubs, young men's groups, enrolled group attendance, women and girl members, male members other than young men, enrolled groups, total members, boys' groups, men members 25 to 29 years of age, group enrollments, lodgings, and committee positions.<sup>97</sup>

This fragmentary listing of some high and some low spots in two decades of work for Negroes by the American Y.M.C.A.'s is aptly concluded with an extensive quotation from the *Year Book* of 1939 which was itself a part of the historical record. Its editor, Owen E. Pence, there placed in half-century perspective certain issues with which an organization attempting to cross the color line in twentieth-century America was inevitably faced:

. . . The practice of independent or separate organization of Association work among Negroes is of long standing, and practically unquestioned, though its establishment probably grew very largely from motives unqualified by racial attitudes. At least from the time of the first Rosenwald gift, the Y.M.C.A. leadership has accepted and continued a policy of racial branches. This did not preclude a widening sense of fellowship, though it usually did imply and confirm the policy of proscribing service by white and colored branches to persons of the opposite racial group. Do such policies have a solid Christian basis? What is the prospect of their modification at some future time? What experimentation has there been among the Associations with a less absolute policy, and with what results?

These reflections have significance as the Fiftieth Anniversary year of the establishment of this work recedes into the past. It is a time for leaders to review the policies that have guided Association administration thus far and to seek norms of adjustment appropriate to the Christian conception of personality and progress.

## THE END OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS

The home missionary effort in behalf of American Indians which had elicited considerable Association interest earlier disappeared in this era. In 1920 it was decided to supervise the work in Indian schools through the student department, leaving that on the reservations to the town and country agencies. There were some efforts in the early 1920's to hold conferences for Navajo and Hopi Indians but by 1926 the number of Associations among aboriginal North Americans was too small to include further in a graph showing the relative distribution of the Movement between the types of Associations described in the last several sections of this chapter.<sup>98</sup> With the articulation of the regional organizations it was planned that Indians, rural Negroes, and Mexicans could be reached in a concentrated approach to the home missionary field. The depression dashed such hopes. In 1937 the Indians were included in a group of "pioneer fields" the National Board expected to "develop and sustain" by means of such projects as a conference of Indian youth and leaders from Arizona, California, the Dakotas, Kansas, and Oklahoma at Estes Park.<sup>99</sup> There is no record that this or anything like it was done.

## TOWN AND COUNTRY WORK

The peak of expansion of town and country work was attained between 1918 and 1920 but suffered disastrous shrinkage soon after. Of 245 counties organized after 1900, 128 were established during that short period; almost that number failed in the next five years. Such ups and downs were to characterize this Y.M.C.A. effort for the remainder of the Association century. The unbounded optimism that in 1920 had contemplated spreading the work as far as Siberia was reduced to sombre appraisal when a distinguished commission under Warren H. Wilson of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. analyzed the problem following the Convention of 1922. This group of sociologists, rural church workers, agricultural extension officers, and other authorities felt that the work had suffered from lack of a generally accepted philosophy. It had been looked upon too much as an extension of standard program rather than developing a uniqueness of its own. The commission felt that the National Council ought to relinquish its administrative relationship in favor of state or regional agencies. This report may be regarded as the turning point in National Council attitude toward the problem which was interestingly sum-

marized by a wise observer of the Movement in his personal memoirs written a bit later in this period:

As long as the state organizations were in position to supervise this unique activity closely, it thrived. Only when the money for such direct supervision was no longer forthcoming in the state or nation did county work begin to decline. The [First] World War made serious inroads on this new form of Association activity. Although there remain County Associations with their secretaries, there has been large shrinkage in a service which should have been encouraged to go forward. It is the type of work which, lacking permanent equipment or an organizational tie-in with some strong City Association, is apt to be washed out. That independent county Associations still exist is a tribute to the virility of lay and professional leadership within the county unit. . . .<sup>100</sup>

There was little concrete evidence of the impact of the Wilson report, apparently forgotten in the reorganizational excitement of setting the National Council on its feet. Whatever the philosophical or program factors involved, only 448 of the 976 Associations extant in 1900 in places of less than 25,000 population survived to 1940. Study of the longevity of these Y.M.C.A.'s indicated that "the establishment of new Associations and the closing of Associations, have been more or less continuous over this fifty-year period and not, as many supposed, concentrated in periods of crisis."<sup>101</sup> In the depression of the 1930's many of these smaller Y.M.C.A.'s, less encumbered with buildings, survived as well as did most Associations. When a new secretary, Henry Israel, had succeeded A. E. Roberts in 1928 a fresh study was made, *The Y.M.C.A. in Town and Country*, that in a sense "demonstrated rather fully both the continuing uncertainties that had attended this work from the beginning of the century and the abounding confidence that from a rather diverse experimentation, the lines of which were not too clear though tentatively laid out, the Association would ultimately find its true place and do its full work in the smaller city and rural field."

Ten years later, when Ray Johns followed Israel, it was declared that although "a relatively small proportion of the resources and leadership of the Association has been directed to life in smaller communities" a considerable body of resources did exist in some eighty county, district, and city-trade-area organizations (the latter a type of organization proposed by one dissenter in 1920)<sup>102</sup> in forty-one Associations in towns of 2,500 to 5,000 population, and in eighty-nine Associations in cities of 5,000 to 10,000 population. This perspective included "a considerable degree of organizational stability" in spite of

the high mortality rate in 1918-1921. Work in smaller places was then being successfully directed toward youth in smaller cities, towns, and suburban places rather than in rural or agricultural areas, and varied methods were being applied. Unfortunately this significant reappraisal of the problem was interrupted by the Second World War and all plans for such work left in abeyance.

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AS A COMMUNITY AGENCY

Many of the program developments described in this chapter had their obvious implications for placing the Associations in the context of urban life as social agencies sharing the welfare tasks of the total community. This was apparent in the essential principle of the community boys' work that broadened into attempts to integrate the group work of whole sections of cities.<sup>103</sup> It was inherent also in town and country work. Industrial work took the Associations into the ongoing life of their cities and concern for public recreation often led them to initiate and carry through community-wide programs that enlisted other agencies and touched hundreds if not thousands of people.<sup>104</sup> The very plans of buildings reflected these broadening interests. Participation in the great War fund drives and subsequently in community chests or other-named common funds were one of the most obvious evidences of the acceptance of the Association as a community agency by its contemporaries; the financial aspects of this will be discussed in Chapter 14.

Work among immigrants such as teaching them English or citizenship set the Associations that did this in the center of public interest and favor. Although the specifically religious aspect of Association program diminished during this period, it was a time of considerable if not enhanced service of a quite different kind to the churches through organization of interchurch clubs and teams such as the Sunday School athletic leagues. At the same time the organization of federations of churches usually relieved Associations of many tasks for which they had formerly felt responsible. There were important community relationships developed through the Inter-Racial Commission described in Chapter 12. In a real sense these spreading contacts were the twentieth-century equivalent of the interdenominationalism that the Movement had fostered in the nineteenth century. The Y's Men's clubs publicized and carried out projects that were popular in the eyes of the community as well as desirable in themselves.<sup>105</sup> The mood of



community co-operation was strongly supported by a persuasive program paper prepared in 1931 by Professor Arthur L. Swift, Jr., which pled for "more of co-operation in well-doing, addressed to those who already have done much." Co-operation, he concluded,

... must be achieved in spite of many things—in spite of jealousy for public approval and the urge to lead, in spite of the desire for publicity and the temptation to exalt the organization unduly, in spite of eagerness for material growth and a quite human hostility to actual and potential rivals. This is a plea for the fuller recognition of others' abilities, for the willingness to agree to disagree on some points in order to co-operate on others, a plea for the brotherhood of service in the interests of all. But it is more than an emotional appeal. It would make clearer the sad fact that to mean well is not enough and that hard won knowledge is the only adequate basis of effective Christian service.<sup>106</sup>

### THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The depression that followed the stock market crash of 1929 probably accomplished the most of any event in their history to bring the Associations into wider and more specific community relations. At the 1929 meeting of the National Council, President Francis Harmon "electrified the delegates" with an address that had as its keynote the effect of the stock market crash in causing men to rethink spiritual values. How much re-evaluation of religious values took place in the Y.M.C.A. during the next decade is an open question, but it is certain that program and purpose were seriously scrutinized as economic necessity forced a complete recheck of every Association idea and service. In the midst of the widespread tendency to dispense with such organizations in order to concentrate on relief, many Y.M.C.A.'s were forced to prove to their communities that character-building and welfare agencies were needed in time of stress more than under normal circumstances.<sup>107</sup>

As early as the fall of 1928 some Y.M.C.A.'s became aware of the rapidly growing unemployment and joined with other agencies in providing relief, chiefly through attempting to find jobs. By the late summer of 1930 the Movement was generally aroused and the next spring considered itself wholeheartedly identified with national, state, and local agencies. A survey made in March, 1931, indicated that although the majority of Associations were devoting their energies chiefly to the unemployment problem, many were aware of the need to build morale and had adjusted their programs to that end by making available varied educational services, special resources such as loan funds,

gym features including baths available at all hours, pep talks, entertainment, keeping secretaries on duty in the lobby for friendly counseling, vocational guidance, actual bed and food relief, and specific programs for needy neighborhoods.<sup>108</sup>

When the government took over the major portion of the burden of relief in 1933 the move was greeted by the Associations as opening the way for them to devote their full energies to their own "essential emphasis upon character." In an extensive review of the impact of the depression upon the organization, the *Year Book* of 1932 declared that:

Program policies emphasized over many years have shown definite fruitage through the depression period in marked extension of organized group work, wider use of organized classes, greater specialization in mass events, a rediscovery of the individual emphasis, and widening social understanding of trends in industrial society. Volunteer leaders are occupying prominent and vital roles. Dormitory policies have been given sharp reexamination. The extensive development of camping has been freshly scrutinized for character outcomes. Trends in program development strikingly reinforce the demand for competent workmanship.

Statistical data showed that both boys' and men's groups were increasing steadily, the latter considerably more rapidly than the former. Bible class enrollment had fallen to 60 per cent of the figure for 1929, but educational classes had risen to 115 per cent and gymnasium classes to 113 per cent of 1929. Mass events—forums, religious meetings, lectures and talks, motion pictures, socials and entertainments, and athletic meets—were being utilized on a wide scale. Vocational service by Associations had taken a sharp rise, as did religious guidance; the editor described the latter as "a service of much significance." Educational guidance and counseling had also been important. Dormitory occupancy was sharply off but tentative figures appeared to indicate an actual rise in camper-days for American Associations. "The continuing volume of camping, the increasingly more careful selection of leaders for camps, and the assumed health building and personality development aspects [bade] fair to point to a long continued stress on this feature." Railroad Y.M.C.A.'s showed a sharp decrease in membership and the closing of many industrial plants had rendered statistical data in that program area unreliable, but the *Year Book* review declared that "discussion and action upon various issues related to current and future industrial adjustments in society" were becoming "a widely recognized responsibility of the associations."

Both the International Convention of 1931 and the National Council had taken action in these areas and National services had produced program materials for forums. Associations reported 5,260 such events. In conclusion the review surveyed the resources of the Movement and laid out specific areas in which basic thinking would be needed.

In the next few years service programs emphasized the utilization of leisure time, and "everywhere men sought to maintain essential services and protect standards" although this was at times impossible—dollar cuts were as much as 50 per cent, and ten National Council staff members had to be dropped at one time. A representative activity of this kind was the "Leisure Time League" formed in the Minneapolis Association in 1932 to "unite unemployed young men who desire[d] to maintain their physical and mental vigor and wish[ed] to train themselves for greater usefulness and service to themselves and the community." They were given free educational class work in a dozen subjects. A considerable group of recreational and cultural opportunities was made available, as was special health service, nine different kinds of physical work, and medical help. The response to this program was little less than overwhelming, three thousand young men registering in the first three months. The success of this program was unquestionably a significant factor in pulling the Minneapolis Association through the worst depression year;<sup>109</sup> it spread widely throughout the Movement. When conditions improved slightly numbers of these young men went back to work or to C.C.C. camps, leaving many who were virtually unemployable; industrial training classes were formed for them in 1934. Both these efforts to meet the tremendous problems of youth in the depression were matched in many other Associations.<sup>110</sup>

As the depression deepened the Y.M.C.A. along with the general public became aware of social problems as never before. In the resultant widespread organization of councils of social agencies, the Associations took their place among the social welfare forces of their cities and towns. In 1933 the National Council listed ten national organizations with which it had maintained "representative relationships" during the previous year; these included the White House Conference on Child Health and Care, the National Social Work Council, the President's Commission on Unemployment, and the Personnel Research Federation as well as the American Country Life Association, the Federal Council of Churches, the International Council of Re-

ligious Education, and the American Olympic Association. The low years of the depression brought the Associations into the most intimate contact with government their civilian services had yet experienced.<sup>111</sup> Community financing all through this period had in nearly every city assumed the inclusion of the Association, the financial aspects of which are to be discussed in the next chapter.

Thus, by the 1930's it was true that "the Associations had come to approach the community in a many-sided and often confusing way. There were few if any distinguishing, characteristic approaches that were generally deemed essential and everywhere observed." When, then, under the stress of the depression, a multitude of other agencies entered the field there was inevitable confusion in the public mind. As the community chest movement (in many cities there had been chests much earlier) undertook to clarify the issues most Y.M.C.A.'s found it necessary to enter the resultant joint approach for the support of welfare agencies. At the depth of the depression the public supported local Y.M.C.A.'s to the extent of some thirty-five million dollars annually. At that time Arthur L. Swift, Jr., in his study of *The Y.M.C.A. and the Community*, stated the essential elements in the Associations' appeal to the communities of which they found themselves a part:

The Young Men's Christian Associations are religious educational organizations ministering to the leisure time of boys and men in ways intended to develop and strengthen in them those attitudes, appreciations and behaviors which will increase their own happiness and at the same time make their lives more serviceable to society. The extent to which the ideals, beliefs and standards of Protestant Christianity are definitely taught and the insistence of the effort to win boys and men to a confessed loyalty to Jesus Christ, differ somewhat widely. But the Association has from the beginning been committed to the belief that the attitudes, appreciations, and behaviors most likely to bring individual happiness and social usefulness are those most fully in accord with the life and teachings of Jesus.

For many Y.M.C.A.'s the turning point of the depression came in 1935. The next year a "Program of Advance" was proposed by National agencies. It included

... an activities program to match the present needs of youth and adults and the changing situation in communities; a boys' work program and membership plan built upon our best experience with groups; fresh and vigorous interest in citizenship and public affairs; grading up staffs by wise policies on replacements, salaries, and training; fair treatment and greater security for all Y.M.C.A. employees; a beginning on reduction of Association debts; putting Y.M.C.A. buildings into attractive condition; support of



inter-Association activities by appropriations of one per cent minimum of income from all Associations; better planning on activities, staff and employee policies, and national coöperation by boards of directors and managing committees.

The depression had been passed, but full recovery required several more years.

### THE DECLINE OF "RELIGIOUS WORK"

What happened to the traditional religious work program of the Movement during this period may well be inferred from what has gone before, but the poetic story of the collapse of "The Wonderful One-Hoss Shay" might better have been applied to the demise of traditional religious methodology in the Y.M.C.A. in the late 1920's than to the structure of New England Calvinism for which its author intended it. This was most vividly illustrated in the dropping of revivalism. Although Sherwood Eddy in 1920 called for "evangelism that evangelizes" and the editor of *Association Men* insisted that "we need a revival of religion" his own periodical was very soon reflecting the new Association viewpoint that emphasized "the transforming touch" of one individual's influence upon another. Sunday afternoon meetings remained popular in many local Associations for some time, Mott's tours continued to be apparently effective, conferences were for a while held on the eve of National Council meetings, but after 1929 evangelism in any traditional sense disappeared. The commission on "message and purpose" was superseded in 1938 by a committee on "Christian emphasis and method" which reminded every committee in the Movement that it had a part in carrying out the spiritual purposes of the Y.M.C.A. and that every activity held "the possibility of being carried out in a Christian way." There were, however, the committee remarked, specific tasks related to "preserving the Christian emphasis" and "devising methods of infusing it into the program."

The decline of traditional religious work was due not only to the internal factors that have been suggested. They were also the result of a lessened interest on the part of young men in these expressions of the religious life in a time of unrest. The 1920's were the era of "flaming youth." Effective Bible teachers became increasingly more difficult to find. As their clientele proved less and less responsive to older appeals, Associations turned to new methods. The change of religious climate described in this chapter and in Chapter 12 accom-

panied or perhaps produced a shift away from the fourfold concept to that of a unified program for each natural group. Religious work secretaries, as such, were among the chief casualties of the depression, but this fact must be seen as a reflection of changing concepts of program as well as of specific methodology. Men's, young men's, and boys' secretaries took over the entire program for their constituencies, directing their energies, among other concerns, to the qualitative improvement of methods of attaining religious objectives rather than fostering specific activities that had been traditionally affiliated with religion but which now appeared to be less and less effective "for the purpose of building Christian personality and a Christian society."

Perhaps even more obvious evidence of this than the disintegration of evangelism in the Associations was the decline of Bible study. Daily Bible readings last appeared in *Association Men* during the First World War, at which time there was immense stress upon this long-continued program feature; the student movement in 1920 was emphasizing Bible study and Mott told the World's Student Christian Federation conference that year that students of the United States were leading the movement in this regard. Early in the twenties Bible study was oriented toward "life problems"—conduct, life-work, social and economic questions, world problems, and personal and devotional aspects—and large Bible classes became immensely popular, reaching the unprecedented attendance figure of 250,000 in 1924, when there were 350,000 men and boys in physical class work.<sup>112</sup> In the late 1920's an elaborate plan was developed at National headquarters to revitalize the Movement through the observance of the 1900th anniversary of the public ministry of Jesus, through a re-emphasis on Bible study;<sup>113</sup> local Associations did not respond. The *Year Book* for 1931 showed an immense drop in the number of men enrolled in Bible study classes since 1925 in all types of Associations: students had fallen from 20,000 to 5,000 and railroad Association figures from 8,000 to 4,000 while boys' totals had increased from 150,000 in 1925 to 160,000. After 1931 the method of reporting such data in the *Year Book* was changed so that comparisons cannot be made, but that fact was in itself indicative that emphases had shifted to discussion and other "purposive" groups; study of the Bible or of the essential content of the Christian faith was gradually dropped.

Early in the 1920's the Associations began to probe the falling statistics of decisions for the Christian life. Although commissions were

appointed and religious emphasis campaigns held in dozens of cities, little effect was made upon these figures. They were not long afterward dropped from the *Year Book*. This dramatized the changing viewpoint toward the nature of religious experience. The *Year Book* of 1936 remarked that "all activities, publications, events that seek to build Christian personality or Christian society may rightfully claim recognition as present-day religious work," and declared that 530 Associations had reported the previous year an attendance of no less than 1,570,700 persons at "systematic Bible classes and other religious discussion groups." In 1941 these attendances totaled slightly over 900,000. Yet at that time there were indications of an awakened appreciation of specific religious values on the part of some Associations as well as National Council commissions, as will be indicated in Chapter 18. The Week of Prayer was almost forgotten in the 1930's, although it was given a new meaning when to the traditional content there was added the idea of world fellowship. The *National Council Bulletin* of September, 1933, urged both managing and member groups "who have learned or are learning to find in Christian worship and corporate prayer a way to express their deepest life concerns" to do so in a "sense of fellowship with youth in America and in all other lands."

These years saw the liquidation of the religious work secretaryship *per se*, although not without considerable searching of the reasons why this was taking place and of the Associations' religious effectiveness. The Movement found it difficult to appreciate fully what John Mackay, secretary of the Continental Committee of South America, meant when he declared in 1929 that Association secretaries were "officials of an international Christian brotherhood . . . missionaries of life's total transformation by the spirit of Christ."<sup>114</sup> On the whole, Association leaders accepted F. Ernest Johnson's statement when the *International Survey* he edited was released in 1931, in which he accepted "a broadly social interpretation of religion [and] modern educational ideals and methods."<sup>115</sup>

Johnson's remark was symbolic of the acceptance of the ideas and techniques of religious education, toward which, as was indicated in Chapter 11, the Associations had been increasingly hospitable since the turn of the century. "Learning by doing" had been stressed by President Doggett of Springfield as early as 1913; by 1925 the Movement was being counseled to consider itself "an institution of religious education."<sup>116</sup> In the next decade it looked upon itself as a group work

organization, as has been indicated above. Yet there were those who witnessed these developments with some misgivings. In 1921 an International secretary who was himself later to be general secretary of the National Council expressed to Mott his concern for the Movement because of "the absorption of a second generation of secretaries in administrative responsibilities in contrast with the first generation who conceived themselves to be primarily personal religious leaders of men."<sup>117</sup> Thirteen years later a retiring secretary of diverse experience wrote to Mott, in a letter published in the *Forum* in April, 1934:

Our Movement has only partly stood the deadening test of institutionalism. The pulsing life of a great youth movement has encountered the danger of encrustation in the hard, cold form of organization, and while we have rendered a remarkable service we are less than we might have been. To the business and financial ability of our lay control we needed to add prophetic insight and leadership in a rapidly changing situation. We needed, especially in recent years, an increasing number of secretaries who could sense the rapidly changing religious situation. We have chosen, rated and retained our secretaries primarily on the basis of their financial and business ability at whatever cost that might be to our spiritual and religious leadership. Ours is not the only flaming youth movement in religious history which has been cooled, hardened and cramped by the commercial mind, the stiffness of age and the failure to be both conservative and progressive, both stable and mobile. We have done well. We should have done much better.

Certain of those who guided the Movement's affairs during the decade and a half following this challenge regarded it as a characteristically nostalgic expression of the older generation. To them the drama of the twenty-year period described in this chapter lay in the effort toward qualitative improvement in Association work. The preceding era had been one of quantitative development, growth, expansion, and outreach. Gregg and his colleagues took up the tools provided by Kilpatrick, Elliott, Coe, and others and utilized them "for qualitative improvement of the work of the Associations." It is perhaps too early for the historian to decide between the two interpretations, if decide he must.



## Chapter 14 Financing the Associations, 1900-1940

Money is stored-up power: God uses it as a factor in accomplishing His purposes.  
—JOHN R. MOTT<sup>1</sup>

IN PRECEDING CHAPTERS there have been many references to the financing of local Associations both as to their current expenses and as to the erection of buildings. Financing has been an essential part of the story. To a lesser degree the financing of the National and state organizations has been recorded. In this chapter attention will be given primarily to the securing of contributions and particularly to methods that have been developed in the twentieth century. If space permitted, the development of policy and practice regarding dues, tuitions, fees, rentals, and miscellaneous charges might profitably be traced; for these have come to be the major sources of current income of most Associations. The story of endowments would be a minor one because they have not become a major source of income for many Associations. Attention in this chapter, however, will be confined largely to the fund-raising of local city Associations. This course is justified by the fact that as the first century of the Y.M.C.A. in America drew to a close and the total reported net assets of the Movement in the United States and Canada came to exceed three hundred million dollars, nearly 85 per cent of those assets had been secured by the city Associations. More than 80 per cent of the annual current income was received by these Associations, and they were raising more than 75 per cent of the current income from contributions.

The third North American Convention of Y.M.C.A.'s resolved in 1856 that "a thorough financial independence" must be one of the "firm and solid" bases upon which the permanent success of the Movement could be built. For the majority of local Associations and in the case of the National agencies this permanence was not attained until the twentieth century—to the extent to which it may be said that an organization such as the Y.M.C.A. achieves permanence. In earlier chapters

references have been made to the financial methods of the first half of the Association century, which were as varied as those of the churches and often as random. The notable building movement of that period evoked the largest benevolences yet directed toward the Association and provided its first substantial financial foundation. It was early realized that a permanent officer, a "competent and salaried person" as John Wanamaker advised the Convention of 1871, would stabilize the financial affairs of a local Y.M.C.A., provided these were set up on "a thoroughly business basis." Gradually techniques were evolved for enlisting the entire community in the support of the enterprise, and by the late 1880's occasional large gifts were being received. All questionable forms of financing were rejected, such as stock companies, "visionary schemes," fairs, or lecture courses. The Association came to look upon itself as "an important public improvement" in which all good citizens and Christian business men especially were "expected to take an interest." As methods were evolved for raising not only building funds but the annual budget it became accepted throughout the Movement that no plan—such as letters, subscription books, pledges—could "ever take the place of a personal presentation of the claims of the work," and that solicitors should be only those who were "in hearty accord with the objects and aims of Y.M.C.A.'s."

By 1900 the Movement was agreed that as a "public institution" it should not be self-supporting. To be so would raise membership fees above the reach of those most needing the advantages the organization should offer and would be apt to "lead to stagnation." Annual solicitation of funds would foster "the sympathetic touch with the community" which would not otherwise know about its work; the annual campaign would be the best time to cultivate an "interested and intelligent constituency." By this time numerous experiments had been tried, some with considerable success, in raising large sums in a short period of time, a technique to be perfected in the next two decades. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the most remarkable fund-raising on behalf of the Y.M.C.A. was that of the great evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, from whom John R. Mott learned the secret of "the release and use of money" which he was to apply in its most expanded form in the great financial drives that raised more than two hundred million dollars for the welfare work of World War I.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to trace in detail the development of financial methods and of the accompanying emphases upon efficient administration

which were two of the more obvious accomplishments of the American Y.M.C.A.'s in the twentieth century, but they contributed greatly to the Association's ability to secure large sums of money. In this chapter a few especially significant developments will be selected for description: the development of the intensive campaign for a large sum of money raised in what had previously been regarded as an incredibly short time; the extension of this device to a wide range of community enterprises but particularly its adoption by what came to be known as the community chest; and the problems raised for the Associations by this federated type of financing.

### THE INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN

The short-term, or intensive, financial campaign method of raising funds for Association buildings, which was later applied to annual contribution drives, was "perfected" in the decade following 1905, during which the thirty-five million dollar investment in Association buildings, equipment, and endowment was increased to ninety-five million dollars.<sup>3</sup> Although the short duration of the campaign was the most apparent characteristic of the device, the real basis of the idea was the ability of the Y.M.C.A. to enlist and hold to the task a sufficiently large force of volunteers. From the periods of several years previously required by a handful of men to raise a building fund, the time was gradually reduced to a month when a hundred volunteers concentrated on the project; with larger working forces the task was often accomplished in a week or ten days.<sup>4</sup>

Although there are records of occasional "whirlwind" campaigns as early as 1884,<sup>5</sup> and the Seattle Association raised twelve thousand dollars for a building lot in forty-eight hours in 1888,<sup>6</sup> novel methods involving large numbers of solicitors and a short period of time were first tried out in raising the current expense budget of the Association at Burlington, Iowa, in 1891,<sup>7</sup> and in Omaha during the next three years under the leadership of Frank W. Ober, who was later editor of *Association Men*, and of Lyman L. Pierce, subsequently general secretary of the Association at Washington, D. C.<sup>8</sup> In the next five years the idea of teams with captains contesting with one another in recruiting members, first tried successfully at Canton, Ohio, spread throughout the Movement.<sup>9</sup> In these drives the essentials of the intensive campaign appeared: competition, squad leaders, picked vol-

unteers, definite time limits, careful records, and good publicity. Association leaders learned that a large force of workers could be enlisted in such an effort, that frequent reporting kept up the spirit of competition, and that definite objectives and announced time limits were very helpful. Yet for a time the procedure was applied only to membership campaigns.

Scattered Associations utilized the short-term method of raising building funds at this time, but the first Association to reach its goal in thirty days was at Marietta, Ohio, in 1902.<sup>10</sup> There were numerous other small campaigns in the next several years, some of them completed in remarkably short periods of time, but the first to be highly successful in a major city and to attract wide attention was conducted in Washington, D. C., under the leadership of Pierce, in 1905, when eighty-five thousand dollars was raised in a month. For the first time in such an effort, a paid publicity agent was employed.<sup>11</sup> Pierce had also the assistance of Charles S. Ward, an International field secretary, who soon became a leader of national influence in this realm, synthesizing successfully the methods used in the Washington campaign and applying them in scores of other cities. Pierce's services were also in great demand; he devoted himself to the Associations of Australia for several years, building them up greatly; upon his return to the United States in 1909 he became general secretary at Pittsburgh and subsequently in San Francisco. A less well-known figure who contributed much to the business methodology of campaign management was Levi B. Mumma, who developed systematic procedures for the handling of the infinite details of the campaign and himself conducted many in smaller cities between 1905 and 1912.<sup>12</sup> When Mumma's career was cut short by tuberculosis, his methods and papers were given to Miner C. Williams, who had begun the use of the short-term method and who then carried these techniques forward; it is to Mr. Williams that this History is chiefly indebted for the data upon which this section is based. In his own words, Williams, building upon Mumma's foundations, "elaborated and perfected the detail" that was needed for the "continued use and permanent success" of the campaign and "largely made it the perfect instrument which it became."<sup>13</sup>

Yet "the man who had the most to do with the plan" from 1905 to 1917 was Ward. A Dartmouth graduate of 1881, Ward had been general secretary of Associations in several medium-sized cities. In 1897 he went to Minneapolis where he reorganized a Y.M.C.A. that had



recently lost its building and raised twenty-five thousand dollars that redeemed the property. Two years later he joined the International field staff with headquarters in Chicago, devoting his attention chiefly to aiding local Associations in financial difficulties. Called into the Washington campaign of 1905, Ward was deeply impressed by what he saw—none of which he had originated—and at once put the “whirlwind” methods into practice. His first effort was at Omaha, where one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars was raised in thirty days in midsummer; one hundred thousand dollars had been set as the goal. During this campaign, J. C. Pentland, physical director of the Omaha Association, designed the campaign “clock” that was subsequently used virtually all over the world as an indicator of the progress of a drive.<sup>14</sup>

This experiment set Ward on a dramatic career: in three thirty-day campaigns during the remainder of that year he raised one hundred and eighty thousand dollars at Duluth, two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars at St. Paul, ninety thousand dollars at Dallas, and thirty thousand dollars in fifteen days at Lincoln. “With team play, competition, and mass psychology and publicity,” he had argued with his fellow-secretaries following the Omaha trial run, “an entire city was made so interested and ready to give that a large number of men, many of whom were probably poor solicitors, could successfully solicit subscriptions in a short length of time.” Details were to be improved as Ward continued; in these initial drives broad plans and basic methods became fixed: in addition to the factors noted above, Ward insisted upon a carefully prepared list of prospects, a strong organization of workers with teams and captains, a dinner meeting at which the campaign was launched, and daily report meetings with effective publicity. With these devices he obtained some twenty-seven million dollars for the Y.M.C.A.’s in the next decade. The climax of his career came in 1917 when he successfully directed the American Red Cross campaign for war funds of one hundred million dollars.

In almost every city in which Ward managed a drive the event was characterized as the most remarkable campaign in the history of the community, and in most cases this was true. Records were broken year after year as ever larger sums were raised. In 1906 Detroit planned to raise four hundred thousand dollars but obtained four hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars in thirty days; during that same month similar drives throughout the country brought in two million five

hundred thousand dollars.<sup>15</sup> Depression the next year restricted the results, but by 1908 Ward's three-year total was three million dollars. In 1909, one million four hundred thousand dollars was raised but 1910 brought in four million dollars—eight hundred thousand dollars of which was gathered in Toronto in twelve days that the *Globe* declared marked “a new era” in the city's history. Three million dollars was the total for 1911 but in 1913 this “mighty power at work in the world” amassed four million dollars for the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. of New York City in an unprecedented joint campaign.<sup>16</sup> That year a new campaigner, E. L. Mogge of Evansville, Indiana, who would later head the National Council's financial services, described the essence of the short term campaign in *Association Seminar*: “A large number of men willing to give definite time to personal solicitation for a limited number of days working under assignment is the factor that brings success.”<sup>17</sup>

Association building campaigns were suspended during the First World War, but the technique was applied not only to the Red Cross drives but to the Y.M.C.A. fund-raising efforts to support its own welfare services, and to the gigantic United War Work Campaign late in 1918 that raised two hundred million dollars in a smashing drive with a goal of one hundred and seventy million dollars shortly after the armistice. This, “the largest voluntary offering in history,” was secured during a serious influenza epidemic that in one state incapacitated 40 per cent of the workers and in the face of the reversal of public interest in the War upon the termination of hostilities.<sup>18</sup> The drive was scheduled to begin on November 11, but a few days earlier the devotion of thousands of workers who had been carefully coached was vitiated by false news of an armistice. Mott stepped into this breach and with a powerful appeal based on Mazzini's prophecy that “the morrow of victory is more perilous than the eve” covered the nation with telegrams instructing speakers and solicitors to focus their appeal upon the potentialities of the peace and the dangers of demobilization. “We need not be solicitous for our soldiers and sailors when they are drilling and fighting and confronting the great adventure of life and death,” he wired to all state campaign directors, “but rather when this great incitement is withdrawn and discipline relaxed and hours of leisure multiplied and temptations are increased.” The seven co-operating organizations would be “more needed than ever to prevent the period of demobilization becoming a period of demoralization.”<sup>19</sup>

## THE FINANCIAL SERVICE BUREAU

With the resumption of construction of Y.M.C.A. buildings after the War, the state and International agencies undertook an increasing leadership in guiding the fiscal policies of local Associations and in providing financial services. Accordingly, the International Committee established in 1919 a Financial Service Bureau designed to provide to local Associations the services of competent campaign directors.<sup>20</sup> Under the senior secretaryship of M. C. Williams the Bureau provided leadership that during the following eleven years raised \$103,665,238 in 938 campaigns that ranged from small membership drives to major capital account enterprises in metropolitan cities.

In July, 1925, the largest sum ever raised at one time by a local Y.M.C.A. was obtained through a campaign for five million dollars in Detroit that brought in \$5,471,371. Contributed in twelve days by eleven thousand persons, it provided seven buildings for seven neighborhoods. Success in the effort was credited to the stimulus of the recent experience of the St. Louis Association, which had exceeded its staggering goal of three million dollars, to thorough preparation and organization, to expertly directed publicity, to the mobilization of the spiritual forces of the community, to prayer, and to the unusual leadership of the Association's general secretary, Dr. A. G. Studer.<sup>21</sup>

A graduated scale of fees, several times revised, kept the Bureau itself solvent the while it provided "measured service" and accumulated a surplus of ninety-nine thousand dollars during the 1920's. With the impact of the Great Depression its affairs were completely overhauled.<sup>22</sup> The annual "canvass"—this word had meant a revivalistic campaign to the Y.M.C.A.'s of the 1880's—took over the techniques of the capital drive during the lean years when building was at a standstill; the Bureau likewise provided a service of consultation.<sup>23</sup> By 1940 the Bureau was offering its services "regarding any proposed financial endeavor, advice in determining an adequate and practical objective, developing of good prospect lists, long-time service in counseling and directing efforts to obtain the large, challenging gifts upon which a successful campaign can be predicated, developing a strong working organization, and counsel as to all that experience has demonstrated to be the best in campaign technique." It reported that in 1939 campaigns had been carried on under its auspices in twenty-five cities and it anticipated a "very busy year" in 1940, with at least four major

building drives contemplated, in addition to several current expense canvasses and twenty membership, debt elimination, and other campaigns already booked. It was, declared a brochure, "prepared to handle Association campaigns of every description, regardless of the size."

#### THE Y.M.C.A.'S AND THE COMMUNITY CHEST

The advisability of local Associations entering community federations that affiliated "charitable, philanthropic, relief and other organizations" became an issue as early as the 1915 meeting of the metropolitan general secretaries. On this occasion it was said to be "inexpedient" for Y.M.C.A.'s to federate with "the charities of our cities" because of the Associations' "fundamentally religious nature" and in view of their "organic relation" to the churches. The tremendous success of community-wide drives for the sale of war bonds and the immense oversubscription of the United War Work campaign in 1918 kept the issue open from that time onward, as increasing numbers of cities merged their charitable fund-raising operations. From the beginning, Association leaders took opposed views toward this movement, which soon became known as the community chest.

When the metropolitan secretaries met in 1918, Secretary L. Wilbur Messer of Chicago presented the results of a survey which led the organization to again go on record as believing it "unwise for the Young Men's Christian Association to unite in local financial federations." Despite the militant efforts of Messer and others, the next few years saw the gradual adherence of scattered Y.M.C.A.'s to chests.<sup>24</sup> A few champions of the chest arose, notably Secretary Robert E. Lewis of Cleveland,<sup>25</sup> but most viewed this development that was then "sweeping the country" as a menace to the Associations. Again in 1920 Messer polled the secretarial brotherhood, obtaining overwhelming majorities against affiliation.<sup>26</sup> The primary post-War recession of 1921 brought failure to many federated drives and for a time clouded the issue, but the number of Y.M.C.A.'s related to chests steadily increased as the chest movement spread, despite emotional overtones of a debate that ranged throughout the length and breadth of the secretarial profession.

The problem of Association affiliation with federated financing was dramatized in 1923 when the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A. withdrew from the community chest. The appropriateness of a religious organization's joining with the predominantly secular agencies of the city was raised,



but the Minneapolis Association also found itself facing continuing misunderstanding of its program throughout the city, which it felt itself powerless to counteract as long as it continued in the chest. Chest emphases, it was said, were largely on relief, while the Y.M.C.A. stressed character-building. The Minneapolis Association complained that the community fund had restricted its growth and expansion not only toward a wider constituency but in the cultivation of an adequate financial base of its own.<sup>27</sup> In this particular instance, the Association raised questions concerning the policies and methods of the chest, criticisms that were often among the reasons given when Y.M.C.A.'s found it necessary to withdraw from or remain outside a local community chest. At this time—1923—the number of Associations related to chests was still negligible, but a marked increase took place in the mid-1920's. A notable example of a major Association remaining outside a federation was the Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A., which, under the presidency of Ralph W. Harbison, declined to enter the chest in 1926.

Among the reasons cited for its refusal to join, the Pittsburgh Association pointed to the necessity of freedom for it to contribute to state, national, and international Associations. Almost from its first meeting, the National Council sought to assist in clarifying the problems of Y.M.C.A. membership in chests. The earliest study under its aegis, presented in 1925 by a commission of which Harbison was chairman, revealed "a wide variety of experience" ranging from satisfaction to extreme distress growing out of local Association participation in community financing arrangements. It found that in 101 chest cities having Associations that seventy-seven Y.M.C.A.'s belonged. In view of the considerable diversity of interpretation of this relationship, the commission suggested that in considering such an affiliation, local Associations should insist that the Y.M.C.A. be regarded as "an expanding agency with an aggressive Christian character-building program" extending around the world, much of which program brought "no financial return" and was "not limited to the members of the organization." It was further declared that prior to the rise of the chest movement many Associations had their own "substantial financial constituency and had initiated and developed the intensive campaign method" that had since been made available to other agencies. Association experience at the time indicated, according to the commission, that Y.M.C.A. revenue-producing methods were such that "an average of not more than twenty-five per cent of its current budget is required

from contributions." Associations and chests were further reminded that they were responsible for the continued maintenance of state and National program services. At the same time, local Associations, governed by boards of Christian laymen, must safeguard their right of self-determination. The commission also recalled to its constituency that most chests emphasized charity and relief whereas the essential purpose of the Y.M.C.A. was preventive and educational. In conclusion this first National appraisal of the problem pointed to the fundamentally Christian character of the Association and its primary affiliation with the evangelical churches rather than with the charities of a community. If a Y.M.C.A. entered a chest, its religious and educational nature should be acknowledged; if it chose to remain independent, its need for full self-determination should be recognized, along with that of churches and colleges.<sup>28</sup>

In 1927 the Chicago Association College made a survey of Y.M.C.A.-community chest relationships which showed that affiliated Associations were receiving more money through the chests than they had raised themselves when they had been independent. In fewer than one-seventh of the 155 cities reporting was the chest said to be inhibiting the expansion of the Associations, though there was general concern about future trends. Most Associations that were enthusiastic about the chest were dominant in it. Most chests were unwilling to provide for the needs of general agencies. "Grave apprehension" was expressed "over the inferences of the Chest so far as the control of the Associations is concerned." Many Associations were dissatisfied with the chests' presentations of their programs, feeling that in the public mind they were confused with charities. The religious affiliation of the Y.M.C.A.'s was in this total context "a real problem." In cases where chest financing had been satisfactory, the consequent release of Association energy for the conduct of its own program had been a tremendous help. Associations were concerned about the future of their own constituencies; some were asking whether community financing, with increasing controls, was not akin to government support. In conclusion, this survey made the astonishing statement that "only eleven of the 155 Associations reporting advise [other] Associations to enter the Chest movement:" ten complaints, many of them indicated above, were named.<sup>29</sup> Another that would ultimately arise was the long-term effect of community support upon capital expansion.

Most of these problems were infinitely complicated by the Great

Depression, during which all character-building organizations suffered greater reduction of income than did relief agencies. In 1935, Ivan B. Rhodes, National Council secretary for Association operation and finance, remarked in summarizing the situation that there was little to add to the oft-discussed problems of chest relations, but that the score then stood about even between Associations favoring chest participation and those rejecting it. It was his belief that chests were in general "more favorable to character-building agencies" then than ever before. Rhodes warned Associations, in the words of a 1935 National Council resolution, that Y.M.C.A.'s wishing to receive adequate support from the public "must play a part in the community life." Further along in his analysis Rhodes made the significant point, not often emphasized in such discussions, that Y.M.C.A.'s had assumed that business men could render their best services in the areas of financing and of management. This premise, he declared, "puts a serious limitation upon their abilities and fails to give them the finer satisfactions and spiritual experience that come from sharing in the creative processes of program-building and operation."<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the 1930's the number of chest-affiliated Y.M.C.A.'s stood between 230 and 240. In 1934-36 the chests had provided from 25.4 to 27.0 per cent of their budgets, a proportion slightly exceeding the general "contribution" item in the budgets of nonrelated Associations. Numerous studies indicated that participation did not tend to lessen current resources under normal economic conditions but that it definitely restricted the cultivation of an independent financial constituency. According to the author of *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, local Association expenditure was chiefly determined by the character and maintenance cost of its building in relation to the program, by general economic conditions, and by the extent and quality of community organization. As we have seen in this brief chapter, the Y.M.C.A.'s had been confronted by all of these factors in the interim between the World Wars, yet, in the words of the same authority, they had as yet been unable "to find a basis upon which to forecast or control income." They were continuing to rely upon their physical plants and to a lesser extent upon interested friends. To many Associations, he concluded, "a pooled approach appears precarious, and independent access to community support is preferred."<sup>31</sup> Such was the situation of the Associations, the inventors of the intensive campaign, two decades after they had given it to their several communities.<sup>32</sup>

## Chapter 15 The Secretarial Profession in the Twentieth Century

The ideal of modern Christianity is the complete development of every man, and the perfect adjustment of his relations to every other man. . . . This ideal the Y.M.C.A. has made its own, and . . . conceives its function to be a ministry to the complete development of the masculine life and the socializing of all its relations. . . . There are still large readaptations of the Association to the changing conditions of life to be made. . . . Such development depends upon securing for the Association Secretaryship men of organizing power, of broad vision, and of inventive genius for its leadership.

—THEODORE G. SOARES and C. K. OBER, 1917<sup>1</sup>

IT WAS INEVITABLE that the tremendous expansion of plant and program that was described in Chapters 11 and 13 should make unprecedented demands upon both lay and professional leadership. Between 1900 and 1920, during which two decades the foundations were laid for the professionalization of the Association secretaryship, the number of these officers increased from approximately 1,400 to some 5,200—323 per cent, or relative to population growth, 150 per cent. It will be recalled from Chapter 4 that well before the end of the nineteenth century serious consideration was being given to the personnel problems raised by a rapidly growing Movement, that two training schools had been established upon slender and individual foundations, that several summer schools were in the operation, that the International Committee was maintaining a modest "Secretarial Bureau," and that the secretaries themselves had banded together in a general organization with several specializations for the furtherance of their mutual interests.

It has been said that the "secretarialization" of the American Y.M.C.A. took place in the years 1900-1920.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will be given to an elaboration of the implications of that remark. In 1908, a typical year during the period of greatest expansion, there were 2,687 secre-



taries. Their salaries ranged from \$480 to \$3,000 per year, with the average \$1,037. Only 28 per cent of the general secretaries had served more than ten years; 13 per cent of them received more than two thousand dollars. It was seen as "an encouraging note" that one-fifth of the men who had entered the secretaryship during the previous five years were college graduates; one-seventh of all general secretaries were college men. One general secretary in ten and one physical director in five was a graduate of either Springfield or the Chicago Y.M.C.A. training school; together those schools had 175 students. Eight hundred secretaries attended the several summer schools in 1908. By this time there were sections within the Association of Employed Officers for boys' workers, county secretaries, educational directors, employment secretaries, membership secretaries, physical directors, railroad secretaries, religious work directors, and state and provincial secretaries. At this time the death benefits paid through the Alliance, the informal insurance organization of the secretaries, amounted to some \$2,600 per individual.<sup>3</sup>

As early as 1903 Charles K. Ober, whom the reader of Chapter 7 will recall had entered the secretaryship through the student movement, called the first of what was to be a long series of conferences "in the interest of securing and training men for the Secretaryship." Representatives of the two colleges and of the International Committee met with a group of secretaries and considered the problems of recruiting and training. Shocked by the large turnover in the secretaryship, this meeting first discussed seriously the ideas that later bore fruit as systematic recruiting, standardized training, Ober's "Fellowship Plan," and even the concept of the academic requirement.<sup>4</sup> Six years later a similar group met in Chicago to face "the tremendous increase in material equipment" of the Associations which it was thought was not being matched by a comparable growth in the quality of the secretariat. "The supply of men exceeds the demand so far as numbers is concerned," it was said at that time, but the problem was "to secure more men of a higher grade of ability." The seriousness of the problem of recruiting may be seen in the fact that during the first decade of the twentieth century the number of secretaries increased 1,766 but 3,417 dropped out, making necessary the recruiting of 5,183 men.

The vast majority of these were relatively unschooled and their training for the secretaryship was largely in service. In the five years between 1904 and 1909 only 6 per cent of the recruits came through the

two Association colleges. Fifteen per cent came from other colleges, but 79 per cent were out of "practical life." Many of these "untrained and poorly educated" workers were "dragged in through the multitude of subordinate positions" with which the secretaryship was then differentiated. Studies showed that men trained in the Y.M.C.A. colleges stayed longer in the profession and tended to gravitate toward the better positions. College graduates provided the best raw material but their chances of survival in the Association were doubled and their efficiency greatly increased if they came through the training schools. It was said that two hundred such men a year would fill the needs of the rapidly growing Associations as well as the six hundred then being drawn from other sources. Special conferences for the purpose of recruiting were held, especially in the central West where the Chicago Institute and Training School took considerable initiative under the leadership of President Frank H. Burt; the colleges of the Mississippi Valley were considered fruitful sources of Association workers. Student secretaries, who had long been active at this point, assisted, and annual visitations to selected campuses were made. State committees developed programs for interesting not only college men but high school boys. Conferences on the "Christian callings" were developed; most student Y.M.C.A.'s had "life work" committees, the purpose of which was to "plan and carry out a well-rounded recruiting plan." Literature supporting the effort appeared in various forms, notably a series of pamphlets written by Charles K. Ober, in which he challenged young men with the secretaryship as "a commanding opportunity for a life investment," or described the profession as a "significant life calling." Other influential contributors were Sherwood Eddy, John R. Mott, Charles W. Gilkey, and Theodore G. Soares. In addition, the International secretarial bureau developed, in terms of current emphases, materials for "standard" interviews with prospective candidates, and blanks for obtaining personnel data. Yet not until well into the 1920's was anything resembling Movement policy developed with respect to the basic problem of recruiting.

The most successful experiment for the recruiting of Association secretaries in the years prior to the First World War was the "Fellowship Plan" devised and promoted by Charles K. Ober. Although he had made a similar proposal more than twenty-five years earlier, Ober was released from other duties in 1910 for the purpose of cruising for likely secretarial timber in the colleges.<sup>5</sup> The plan continued over a

period of almost ten years, though the majority of the 220 men who were selected were chosen between 1911 and 1916. The greater number of these were given initial employment in city Associations, some fifty-five Y.M.C.A.'s having seventy-four local branches being involved, as the essence of Ober's plan was in-service training. In Cleveland, Chicago, and Honolulu, twenty-four, twenty-two, and fifteen men were placed, respectively. Ober's intention was fourfold: (1) to provide a varied experience through exposing the Fellowship man to different departments; through this it was expected that he would discover his own aptitudes. (2) Assigned tasks would give him a detailed knowledge of Association methods and skills while aiding him to find his best abilities. (3) The Plan provided for systematic coaching by the general secretary and departmental executives. (4) It also assured promotion, if the candidate made good, in the direction of his interests and abilities. In 1938 a matched comparison was made of the careers of 182 Fellowship men with a like number of secretaries none of whom had had such selection or induction. The study concluded that the Fellowship men contributed 322 more years to the Y.M.C.A. than did the control group, that they were more stable in their professional employment, that they tended to reach higher remunerative levels and to give more services in executive and supervisory capacities.<sup>6</sup> Yet it was inevitable that this reversion to the apprenticeship method would not only suffer criticism at the hands of the training schools but reveal its intrinsic weaknesses at the points of large expense involved in selection and supervision, and in the lack of general secretaries' ability to teach and because of their preoccupation with executive duties.<sup>7</sup>

Paralleling these practical efforts there was the beginning of what has been aptly termed an unceasing quest "toward better understanding of their task by Y.M.C.A. Secretaries at Work."<sup>8</sup> At the secretarial conference of 1909, President Burt of the Association training school in Chicago proposed the appointment of a commission to study the problems of recruiting, training, and conserving of the secretarial profession. Two years later, under the chairmanship of Secretary S. Wirt Wiley of Minneapolis, the commission astonished the brotherhood when it reported that only 26 per cent of the men entering the profession from "practical life" during a period studied had remained in it; the same proportion of college graduates had stayed on, but 56 per cent of the Association training school graduates had continued. The commission prepared an outline for a course of study, recommended

that training centers be established in thirty-six cities, and so stimulated the conference that it recommended the establishment of an annual conference on professional training and related matters. This body, later known as the C.O.A.P. (Conference on the Association Profession), held its first meeting in 1912. Comprised of representatives of the two colleges, the several summer schools, the city training centers, the International Committee, and the student department, with later changes in personnel, it has met annually since that date, during which time it has exerted the primary influence upon the broad improvement of the secretarial profession. From the beginning it was charged:

. . . to use its friendly offices to standardize the requirements for admission and graduation at the Training Schools; to coordinate the training courses at the Summer Schools; to promote the recruiting of suitable men for professional study; to promote the efficiency of teaching; to safeguard the development and employment of students and graduates; to enlist the cooperation of Associations generally in professional training; and to correlate all the training work.

Being without legal authority, the C.O.A.P. tended to defer "to the established pattern of localism" and contented itself with recommendations urging improvements; nevertheless, over the years these were a major influence.

The largest transaction involving personnel in the period now under consideration was the selection of almost twenty-six thousand workers, men and women, from two hundred thousand applicants, to staff the Association welfare and canteen services in World War I, the main outlines of which were given in Chapter 11.

In 1913 the first official steps were taken toward a retirement fund, recommendations concerning which had been made by the commission at the secretaries' conference of 1911. The Convention of 1916 authorized proceedings that crystallized in 1919; the fund became operative in 1922 after a four million dollar accrued liability fund had been raised following a conditional gift of one million dollars from John D. Rockefeller; the secretaries themselves contributed three hundred thousand dollars. At the beginning of its operation under Secretary Raymond P. Kaighn, one thousand Associations and four thousand secretaries were officially related to the plan.<sup>9</sup> By 1934 the Fund was a fifteen million dollar enterprise, having successfully weathered the depression.<sup>10</sup> Women were being admitted under the newly established classification plan. The retirement age was set at sixty. As many



vigorous secretaries laid down their Association duties at that age or soon thereafter, the Movement made through the years remarkable contributions to other social and religious organizations through the transfer of the skills and knowledge acquired in the Y.M.C.A. Numerous secretaries developed another career after leaving the Association.<sup>11</sup>

By 1950 the assets of the fund were nearly \$33,000,000. Four thousand one hundred sixty-four secretaries were participants and 1,424 had already been retired on annuities. In 1937 the Retirement Fund inaugurated the Savings and Security Plan for nonprofessional employees. By 1950 approximately 5,000 were members, estimated at about 40 per cent of the eligible employees. Following amendment of the Federal Social Security Act in 1950, making employees of nonprofit organizations eligible, the National Board recommended to the Associations that they seek coverage under the Old Age and Survivors Insurance section of this act for their employees in addition to the Associations' own security provisions.

#### THE TRAINING OF SECRETARIES

Soon after the Ober Fellowship Plan was set in motion, it became necessary to provide for supervision of the interns. This was entrusted in 1912 to Paul Super, whose career will be described briefly in Chapter 17, who devoted himself to intensive examination of in-service training by large corporations, to extended North American and world travel for the purpose of learning and conferring with multitudes of secretaries, to careful study of educational theory and teaching methods, and to particular analysis of the newer trends in the training of engineers in technical colleges, the last suggested by the then popular analogy of the secretary as a social engineer.<sup>12</sup> Throughout this period Super contributed significant outline studies of Y.M.C.A. history, "some fundamental principles," teaching outlines of departmental methods, and a manual entitled *Training a Staff*, all of which were widely influential. After 1920, almost every year produced a significant contribution to the literature of professional training and Association methodology.<sup>13</sup> During the mid-1920's the Federation of Training Centers issued occasional bulletins summarizing its work, in the hope that these reports would stimulate other Associations to provide in-service opportunities. The Chicago training center, for example, carried on a twenty-four week "standard training" course that included consideration of Association history and principles, Bible

study, and methods; all subjects were taught by members of the Chicago staff. The "professional training" courses of the Brooklyn Association enrolled men in a course on "Fundamental Problems of the Y.M.C.A.," an "Inquiry into the Life of Jesus," or "The Association Program and Character Development." In the late 1920's Thorndike's research into the possibilities of adult learning encouraged many older secretaries to study.

In Chapter 4 brief accounts were given of the founding and early years of Springfield College and of the Association Training School at Chicago that later took the name of George Williams College and frequent reference has been made to these institutions in later chapters. Here it is possible to note simply that both schools have continued their independent existence and their unique contributions to the totality of the ongoing Movement. As was intimated in Chapter 12, Springfield exerted a markedly liberal influence, particularly at the point of educational and religious methodology. For many years it stood among the foremost institutions of the country for the training of physical directors; in 1905 it was granted the right to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Physical Education and Master of Physical Education by the state of Massachusetts.<sup>14</sup> Later the degrees of Bachelor of Science, Master of Science, and Master of Humanics were added. Postgraduate work in other fields than physical education was gradually introduced and became increasingly important. In 1919 the College was awarded an Olympic cup in recognition of its world-wide contributions in physical education.<sup>15</sup> Laurence L. Doggett retired from the presidency with the close of the year 1935. Ernest M. Best, an alumnus who had been giving distinguished leadership as executive secretary of the Canadian National Council, became president in 1937. Upon his retirement in 1946, he was succeeded by Paul M. Limbert. In his autobiography, *Man and a School*, Doggett has left a significant commentary upon his own forty years' presidency of an unusual and significant American educational institution.

Unfortunately no comparable history of George Williams College is available to the writer of this History. The Chicago school held a quite different place in relation to the Associations of the Midwest from that held by Springfield in relation to the Movement in the East. Virtually a child of the Chicago Y.M.C.A., it was long housed by that Association and until the depression received substantial support from it. Its staff made important contributions in physical education, reli-

gious education, group education, camping, and the study of adolescents. The integration of the Chicago program with the summer institutes at Lake Geneva opened an almost unlimited opportunity that was never restricted to Association circles. Soon after the college was reorganized in 1903-04, John W. Hansel was succeeded in the presidency by Frank H. Burt. The next year the University of Chicago recognized the school's courses; gradually entrance requirements were tightened; the physical education course was lengthened to three years. By 1915, its twenty-fifth year, the College was incorporated in Illinois, had conferred forty-two Bachelor's degrees and graduated 234 students, and was in the process of moving to its new quarters well south of the Loop district but which were unfortunately too far from the campus of the University of Chicago for ready access. That year also a graduate division was added; in 1919 the undergraduate program was expanded to a four-year course. The remainder of Burt's administration, to 1926, was a period of steady growth in resources and clientele. Edward C. Jenkins, president from 1926 to 1935, who had been John R. Mott's secretary and for several years had been the executive of the foreign work of the International Committee and the National Council, introduced curricular reconstruction in terms of current educational theory and of social need, especially as the latter was intensified by the great depression, which came near inundating the College. In order to survive it expanded its curriculum in the fall of 1933 and at once attracted an enlarged student body including women; within three years the enrollment almost doubled. This made it possible to add to the instructional staff and to enrich the course offerings but a prodigious effort was required in 1935-36 to clear off past indebtedness. In the spring of 1935 Jenkins was forced to retire because of ill health; he was succeeded by Harold Coe Coffman.<sup>16</sup>

A serious handicap to the nation-wide effectiveness of both the Springfield College and the Chicago school was reflected year after year in the small number of students attending them from the South. There were at least three reasons for this: both colleges' programs were geared to the demands of work in the larger cities, whereas much Association work in the southern states was carried on in smaller places. Distance played a large part in the problem faced by the needs of southern Associations. Most formidable was the fact that Y.M.C.A.'s in the North paid larger salaries than did those in the South, so that the best talent from the South often failed to return after obtaining

an education at one of the Association colleges. During World War I numerous regional training "schools" were set up in various parts of the country for the preparation of Association war workers. The success of those held in the South convinced certain Association leaders that training in Y.M.C.A. work could be carried on in that region, with the result that in the spring of 1919 the "Southern Y.M.C.A. College" was organized with Willis D. Weatherford as president.<sup>17</sup> This College has been less frequently mentioned in preceding chapters than Springfield and George Williams, but in the opinion of the writer of this History, Weatherford's idea for his college—which Mott once characterized as "prophetic"—was the most challenging and possessed of the greatest potentialities of the several professional educational ventures attempted by the Associations.

It was Weatherford's purpose to set this newest Y.M.C.A. college at the heart of some great educational center. That locus was found at Nashville, with Vanderbilt University, Peabody College for Teachers, and Scarritt College for Christian Workers all willing to co-operate. Under the interrelated curricula developed, students were required to take half their work in the institution in which they were originally matriculated, but were free to choose the remainder in the other colleges. Thus, Weatherford's physical education majors might study their human anatomy under medical instructors at Vanderbilt. The proximity of the four co-operating schools was such as to make the interchange of classes easy, a resource tragically denied to Chicago Y.M.C.A. College students by the mile of tangled traffic separating that institution from the University. The Southern College—the school soon became the "Y.M.C.A. Graduate School"—also had available the services of several hundred professors—specialists in all lines. "With a faculty of a dozen men the college could be run and courses could be as varied as would have been possible with half a hundred professors," wrote Weatherford in retrospect, and "credit taken in one institution was applicable to degrees in all of the co-operating institutions. The arrangement was well-nigh perfect in its advantages to the Y.M.C.A."<sup>18</sup> Another resource was one of the greatest libraries in the South, the negotiations for which were facilitated by Weatherford's good offices.

The Southern Y.M.C.A. Graduate School came to be possessed of a half-million dollar plant of its own, but found the problem of its one hundred thousand dollar annual expenses increasingly difficult, especially when the great depression curtailed the income and activity of



most southern Associations that supported it. By 1936 their contributions had fallen to approximately one-sixteenth of the annual budget, the remainder being raised by heroic work on the part of the president of the School. This was undoubtedly due in part to a lack of conviction on the part of both lay and secretarial leadership in the South that professional training, especially on the graduate level to which the School had raised it, was either necessary or desirable, although its graduates had long since vindicated this ideal. One state executive who was a member of the official board of the college made no reference whatever to it in his annual Association reports over a period of ten years! The tragic end of the School came in 1936 when Vanderbilt University, which held a \$155,000 mortgage upon the half-million dollar facilities of the Y.M.C.A. School, foreclosed. The resource thus forfeited by the Associations of the South was serious loss to the entire American Movement which was thus deprived of its first opportunity for professional training in the university surroundings envisioned by the founder of Springfield College fifty years before, but never approached outside of Nashville, unless the Yale course, chiefly for student secretaries, be excepted.<sup>19</sup>

There were several unusual training plans in operation during this period. The first attempt to meet the pressing need for adequate schooling of student secretaries was made by a leading theological seminary in 1914 when the Yale Divinity School inaugurated a special course under Professor Henry B. Wright. He and his successor, Clarence P. Shedd, doubtless trained the largest group of student workers educated at any one American center. On the Pacific Coast the regional need for qualified secretaries led the Pacific Southwest Associations to develop a co-operative plan with Whittier College whereby a well-rounded curriculum, directed for several years by J. Gustav White, was made available in 1931. During the 1920's there were various co-operative ventures of this nature at Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, and the New York School of Social Work, though these were primarily for student workers.

#### SILVER BAY AND OTHER SUMMER ASSEMBLIES

By the turn of the century the varied institutes and "schools" held annually at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, the origins of which popular conference center were described in Chapter 4, were famous throughout the Movement. It was inevitable that other regions should seek com-

parable locations for themselves. Of these, that at Silver Bay on Lake George, New York, had its Association origins in the dreams of Luther Wishard, founder of the student Y.M.C.A. movement. Finding himself one June day in 1900 at the village at the south end of the lake, Wishard, about to board a train for New York, was seized with an impulse to board the lake steamer and inspect Silver Bay, of which he had heard. It was, he wrote in his autobiography, "a day of joy and gladness, a day of visions and dreams, another day of destiny with which the Great Pathfinder had landmarked my life." As he glided across the emerald surface of one of America's loveliest lakes, Wishard could not tell whether he was "in the body or out of the body":

I only know that I saw and heard things indescribable and unutterable; I had a vision of another City of God coming down from God out of Heaven; peopled with young men and maidens . . . their lips touched with live coals from off God's altar, from which they would kindle fires which shall shine around the world.

Two hours at the hotel at Silver Bay convinced Wishard that "another great spiritual rendezvous had been discovered." He could not get back to New York fast enough. Wiring Silas Paine, the benevolent owner of the property, that he was bringing a guest to breakfast, Wishard greeted his host next morning with word that he had come from Silver Bay and added that he was there to ask him to devote it "to Christian assemblies for the study of the Bible and Missions." To Wishard's astonishment Paine replied, "You can have it; I have long wanted to convert it to such a purpose, but have never known how to go about it." Wishard knew how. He promised to make Silver Bay "one of the chief distributing points of Christian inspiration in this country."<sup>20</sup> How that prophecy was fulfilled is beyond the scope of this History, yet Wishard's vision of the thousands of youth who would kindle fires around the world has been literally fulfilled in the fifty years' development of this, one of the Movement's prime resources of its kind, as is recorded in Robert C. Beale, *The Story of Silver Bay*.<sup>21</sup>

• A special corporation was formed to acquire, hold, and manage the property; the Association of Employed Officers first met there in 1903; two years later the facilities were literally swamped by the unexpected attendance. In the summer of 1909 Richard C. Morse reported that it had become a busy educational center, to which 480 secretaries had come for training in eleven departments of the work. This, he wrote, placed the International Committee "in a very responsible relation to

this educational work and institute" in view of the fact that most of the leaders of the courses were International secretaries. A decade later Silver Bay's hospitality gave distinction to significant gatherings of industrialists who began an annual series of conferences on human relations in industry. At the golden jubilee of Wishard's first visit to this charmed spot even he would hardly have believed the extent of its offerings and the breadth of its influence.

The Canadian Associations, which had been carrying on regional summer institutes for several seasons at this time, first met at Lake Couchiching in 1905 in a "very successful" summer school planned "to give the men some recreation along with the work." This center was to become as significant in the life of the Canadian Y.M.C.A.'s as was either Silver Bay or Lake Geneva for the Associations south of the border. Its further development is described by Murray G. Ross in *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada—a Chronicle of a Century*, published concurrently with this volume. At almost the same time the grounds at Estes Park, Colorado, were first used by the Associations of that area, the original conference being held in July, 1908,<sup>22</sup> after a "discovery" comparable to Wishard's finding Silver Bay.<sup>23</sup>

For the South the primary conference center, at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, was opened in 1912, although preliminary work had been done toward finding a site by W. D. Weatherford, then regional student secretary for the International Committee during his summer vacation in 1904.<sup>24</sup> Together with A. F. Phillips of the Presbyterian (U.S.) Sunday School Board, Weatherford borrowed four thousand dollars and purchased that year "952 acres more or less" which was subsequently taken over by the Blue Ridge Association, organized in 1906. Timber was cut from the virgin forest, buildings were erected in the best style of southern colonial architecture, and the center was ready for its first Association summer school in 1912. The ambitious but rigid training program inaugurated that season with fifty teachers was maintained virtually intact for almost thirty years, during which it wielded a major influence upon the Movement throughout the South. During the life of the Southern Y.M.C.A. College and Graduate School it was the site of their summer sessions. In Weatherford's mind Blue Ridge was not merely a place where training conferences might be held. It was itself a training agency. The staff administering the grounds were the center of the training program, and for that reason the young men and women employed for the summer season



were picked with as great care as if they had been matriculating at a college: only students of exceptional scholastic achievement above the freshman level were selected. They were required to be actively at work in the Christian enterprise on their respective campuses and to take two regular courses for college credit during the three months at Blue Ridge. In spite of these rigorous standards there was always a waiting list for this summer employment for which there was no cash remuneration; over the years it demonstrated a remarkable fellowship in labor, worship, and learning. Of the 3,200 college men and women who served on the Blue Ridge staff during thirty-two years, eight hundred entered some Christian or altruistic vocation; included among them was a large share of the secretaries who now man the Associations in the southern states. Unfortunately, when the conference grounds changed management in the 1940's, this unique training program was largely abandoned. All of the other Y.M.C.A. summer conference grounds were staffed largely by carefully selected Christian college students, but none of the others had related the work of the students to such systematic and intensive training for Christian service in later life.

Other areas developed their own centers: conferences or training institutes for the professional advancement of the secretaries of given regions appeared at Hot Springs, Arkansas (1908); Hollister, Missouri and Lake Forest, Illinois (1911); Arundel-on-the-Bay, Maryland (1907) for Negro secretaries, which eventuated into the Chesapeake Summer School; Asilomar, California (1914); a summer school at Seabeck, Washington (1919). In 1916 a trend was reflected in the meeting of seven summer schools for railroad secretaries. The history of the remarkable development of Y.M.C.A. summer schools, institutes, and conferences reflects the growth of the secretaryship, the emergence of standards, the changing pattern of training needs, and the prevailing educational philosophy of the times. Originally established to provide religious study and the opportunity for sharing experiences on the everyday problems of an expanding Association work, as a means of supplementing the apprenticeship training of workers largely recruited from "practical life," the summer schools through successive stages modified their function, content, and method as training needs developed and as newer educational insights emerged. In the beginning largely inspirational in character, they later became substitutes for formal and specialized training, offering for those who could not otherwise obtain it a semblance of professional education through stand-



ardized courses and prescribed reading. As the proportion of college-trained secretaries increased and as the concept of secretarial training was broadened and more sharply defined, these supplementary training centers relinquished the more formal aspects of professional education to the colleges and took on the character of summer conferences under the auspices of the professional society.

Attendance at summer schools reached a high watermark of 2,233 in 1920.<sup>25</sup> By 1927 a lessening of interest was noted due in part, it was felt, to the "competition between Association and university summer school work."<sup>26</sup> An inquiry into educational status and activities of secretaries in 1928 revealed that more than three-quarters of the secretaries then employed had a part or full college experience with many having something in addition. It was concluded "that all training plans must be sharply revised in the direction of higher levels of work if the means of organized instruction under Association auspices are to keep pace with the trend of practice in the field."<sup>27</sup> The depression aided in bringing about serious revision of summer school objectives and methods by forcing a drastic reduction in the ambitious programs of the period.<sup>28</sup> Formal course instruction gave way to skill institutes and informal discussions but by 1937 most of the major centers were again offering opportunities for summer study and recreation.<sup>29</sup> In the autumn of 1940 it was said that the summer's study had been the best since the depression. Three types of session had been available: institutes offered by universities or theological schools, courses conducted by Y.M.C.A. colleges, and short-term conferences conducted by the professional society.<sup>30</sup> This pattern has continued, with increased attention being given to courses for college credit following the establishment in 1945 of the professional training requirements for certification.

#### THE EMERGENCE OF A PROFESSION

From the beginning of his promotion of the "Fellowship Plan," C. K. Ober called the attention of the Movement to the need to raise the secretaryship to the level of the professions, but it could hardly be said that significant steps were taken in this direction before the 1920's, when the organization of the National Council made possible a real separation of function between lay leadership there equitably represented, and the several professional societies that could then devote themselves to their own concerns. Boys' workers had met together significantly as early as 1913, but not until their assemblies of

1920 and 1925 was genuinely effective leadership radiated throughout the Movement from this body, which probably led the secretaryship. This decade brought forth considerable trenchant criticism of the profession by its own members, one of them writing in 1923 that it had not yet earned the right to be known as a profession if judged by standards of life-commitment, the spirit of service, a code of ethics, a clear-cut field of work, and adequate training.<sup>31</sup> Three years later the president of George Williams College, Edward C. Jenkins, pointed out the necessity of raising professional standards, in an address that inaugurated significant policies leading toward that end in the educational program of his school.<sup>32</sup> In 1929, Walter L. Stone, professor of boys' work at the Y.M.C.A. Graduate School in Nashville, took the position that the secretaryship could hardly be regarded as a profession in the same sense as law, medicine, or the ministry, but that it represented a collection of professions and could itself be looked upon as one only in the sense that "the standards and techniques required in its various divisions and departments are reaching an ever higher professional status."<sup>33</sup> Yet the discussions of the matter, as they appeared in periodicals such as *Association Forum*, the secretaries' own organ, were for the most part hortatory, giving reason for Owen E. Pence's conclusion in 1939 that "the emergence of a true professional attitude of mind and group spirit was overshadowed by the persistence of department and institutional influences in both structure and program." Yet there were evidences of the beginnings of appreciation of the professional function and the first steps were being taken "toward the definition of training and other standards that might in time result in an objective, competent, and yet deeply devoted professional leadership."<sup>34</sup>

The most effectual means pointed in this direction was, in the minds of many leaders, the plan for "certification," inaugurated in 1922, at a time when the number of college graduates in the secretaryship had reached the unprecedented proportion of 35 per cent. Certification, adopted on a voluntary basis, at first included simply "high school graduation or its equivalent," and required a year's successful apprenticeship.<sup>35</sup> Educational standards continued to remain low, but by 1926, 250 local Associations had adopted the certification plan and agreed to employ only such young men as could meet its standards. The next year 353 men had been certified, but 82 per cent of those eligible remained outside. In 1930 the standard for certification was raised to college graduation (for new secretaries) but remained voluntary. A

fourth of the newly employed men (and perhaps a few women) could have qualified, and it was estimated that 43 per cent of those already employed could have done so.<sup>36</sup> In 1934 the National Board approved and the National Council ratified a classification plan providing for four categories of employees; college graduation or its equivalent was now required for admission to the official roster of employed officers. This represented the culmination of "a generation of discussion about educational standards."<sup>37</sup>

The discussions of the years just preceding this action had been the most thoroughgoing of any up to that time. Spearheaded by the leaders of the Employed Officers Association, and unquestionably enhanced by the challenge given the Movement by the great depression, consideration of professional competence was regarded as "the most urgent business" before that body. A new code for the guidance of employed officers was adopted at the secretarial meeting of 1933, the full program and discussions of which were published under the title, *Advance, a Challenge to Professional Capacity*. Three years later another provocative gathering that dealt realistically with program and the then desperate needs of youth released its findings as *Men Working*; one-third of this report dealt with the problems of "becoming better workmen." At the end of this era, Lawrence K. Hall, then on the faculty of Springfield College, published the results of a careful study of the experiences of college graduates entering professional employment in the Y.M.C.A. This analysis in *Work Begun* brought to a focus much that had gone before but emphasized again the need for better recruiting and induction. Hall pled for a "revision of understanding of the relationship between the new staff member and the Movement as a whole" together with improved local personnel procedures and further development of general professional policies on the part of National bodies. He concluded, significantly enough, that "the improvement of induction must rest upon a sense of the function of the Y.M.C.A. in religious and social progress." Job-mindedness, he remarked, "becomes professional-mindedness when the young secretary discovers in his work the link between himself and social need and sees the Y.M.C.A. as the vehicle of his contribution to social and personal life. From this comes a wholeness of outlook for his life." The continuance of the Y.M.C.A. as an instrument of social and religious vitality Hall saw depending upon "its ability to demonstrate to able young college men that the

realization of their highest capacities for growth as persons" might be found in its service.<sup>38</sup>

By the mid-thirties Y.M.C.A. secretaries generally had come to regard themselves as belonging to a profession, for indeed the Y.M.C.A. secretaryship had by that time achieved many of the characteristics of a profession. It had a well-organized professional society, a code of ethical practice, and special forms of group protection. Minimum professional standards for entrance had been established with a controlled admission procedure, and an internship requirement as a basis for professional recognition. Steps had been initiated toward higher standards of selection, training, and competence. It had long since rejected the apprenticeship system and had come to recognize a clear field of specialized knowledge and skill based on an appropriate general and professional education. Emphasis upon standards in practice and efforts toward the achievement of professional competence were further indications of this emerging profession. Personnel appraisal procedures had been developed and were being put into general use. Also, a new social awareness and a new sense of professional responsibility, especially marked in the 1933 and 1936 triennial conferences, had come into play. Through these and other means the Y.M.C.A. profession was seeking to improve its status.

Not the least of the major steps taken to give status to this growing profession were the efforts made by various agencies in the Movement over a span of years to define a program of general and professional preparation, including pre-employment and on-the-job training, which would adequately equip a secretary for competent practice. The problem was clearly stated in 1933:

The Movement should face with great frankness what amounts to its present policy of drift in the matter of professional training. It has neither supported the three professional colleges, the summer schools, nor the better type of local staff training in a way that could give an impartial observer much ground for confidence. Parallel with a new definition of its field of service and social action, is the imperative need that the Associations take some more effective concerted measures for getting the type of preparation before and after employment which alone can guarantee a professional group beyond amateur practice.<sup>39</sup>

The Employed Officers Conference in 1933 gave consideration to training content and procedure in the light of the broad demands being made upon the secretaryship. This led to the adoption by the National Council in 1935 of a statement outlining "Significant Fields



of Undergraduate Preparation for the Y.M.C.A. Secretaryship" and to the approval by the 1936 AOS Conference of a "provisional formulation of broad fields of study that should be included in the professional preparation of a secretary." It was recommended that "professional training should supplement general education up to a total amount of general and professional education of at least five years, and six if possible."<sup>40</sup>

It remained for the Joint Committee on General and Professional Education, representing both AOS and the Personnel Services Committee of the National Council to work out the details of what later became the "30-hour professional training requirement for certification" which was finally approved by the AOS in 1942 and the National Council in 1943 and made effective May 1, 1945. Thus following a decade of discussions, a minimum content of specialized professional training was required of all new secretaries in six areas judged to be basically significant for successful practice in the Y.M.C.A.: religious leadership; guidance of individuals; group work; administration, including Y.M.C.A. history, philosophy, and organization; community organization; and supervised field work. While the original proposal intended that these courses should comprise at least a full year at the graduate level, the final action and subsequent liberalizations in the administration of the requirement permitted courses taken as a part of one's undergraduate training to be counted toward the thirty semester hours needed. Despite this concession to expediency, the first step toward an integrated core of specialized professional training had been taken.

Although these were unmistakable evidences of a maturing profession, there was still some doubt "that our leadership function is sufficiently basic, important, complex and demanding to warrant the social status and attributes of a profession."<sup>41</sup> Indeed latterly the increasing identification of interests and training with educators, guidance and personnel workers, recreational leaders, social workers, and other groups had served to raise the question, not yet answered, as to whether the Y.M.C.A. secretaryship was itself a profession or a part of one or more professions.<sup>42</sup> The Y.M.C.A. historically has tended to identify itself more closely with the fields of education and religion than to social work, but the status of the secretaryship by reason of its diversity of function and relationships had not yet been fully clarified with

respect to the various agencies and fields of work with which it has more or less become identified in recent years.

Although personnel services had been carried on by the International Committee for twenty years, this activity was officially recognized first in 1904. In 1915 it was reorganized as a personnel bureau and was charged with extensive and intensive recruiting, training, placement, and the "retaining and retiring" of employed officers.<sup>43</sup> Absorbed by the War Work Council it performed a colossal task during the First World War. In the 1920's its activities were widely expanded, including staff training programs abroad for the foreign work. State recruiting committees were organized, co-operation with the training schools was fostered, training and recruiting literature was prepared. Nevertheless, alarm continued to be expressed over the large turnover in the secretarial ranks, four thousand men entering the work during a three-year period in which 3,800 left it. Training conferences were held under the direction of International and later National staff members. Upon the organization of the National Council the personnel division was placed within the new organizational structure as one of five coordinate committees. This made it possible to dissolve the long-standing commission on the Association vocation, which had rendered signal service for twelve years (1913-1925). Close working relations were maintained with the C.O.A.P. and with the various professional bodies. During the depression and as a guide to recovery, statements of "good personnel practices" were issued. The depression also saw the beginnings of orderly and integrated procedures, worked out through agreements with area boards and state committees, for the recruiting, placement, and transfer of secretaries, which activities have come now to be generally recognized as being primarily the functions of field organizations. Annual Placement Review Conferences, involving personnel secretaries of the National Council and field executives, were set up for developing a pool of experienced personnel and for ensuring advancement opportunities for secretaries available for transfer and promotion. A centralized system of personnel records, carefully built up over many years, has served as an essential resource for facilitating selective placement and as a basis for accurate personnel accounting and for personnel studies.

While the Personnel Services Committee of the National Council has taken on certain administrative responsibilities in relation to professional standards, the Official Roster of Secretaries, and certification

requirements, it has progressively become a planning, facilitating, and co-ordinating body for an effective, decentralized personnel function. Today it bears little resemblance in scope of responsibilities and operations to its earliest counterpart, the Secretarial Bureau, established in 1883, but its work is still largely advisory and the decisions as to final selection and placement continue, now as then, to be made by others.<sup>44</sup>

Thus the first century of history of the American Y.M.C.A. has seen the establishment of integrated personnel processes and procedures, through National Council actions and co-operative agreements, which have contributed markedly to the growth and development of a significant, though still emergent, profession.

## Chapter 16 Fifty Years of the Student Y.M.C.A., 1890-1940

The secret of the power of the Movement is found in its sixfold purpose; to unite the Christian college men of the world; to win to Christ the students who are not His followers; to guard college men against the many temptations which assail them, not only in the body but also in the realm of the intellect; to deepen the spiritual life of the Christian men; to increase their efficiency in Christian work; and to lead them, as they go from college, to place their lives where they will count most in advancing the Kingdom of Christ.

—JOHN R. MOTT, 1894

. . . the Student Young Men's Christian Association is not an organization but an organism; not a super-imposed scheme but an indigenous fellowship. To say "The 'Y' was weak last year at Blank College" is not to criticize the Association Movement; rather it is an admission of local spiritual impoverishment. It matters not how many compulsory religious exercises a college may hold; the college is not Christian unless some kind of corporate response is induced from students. Where such a response is found, even "among two or three," there is Christ in the midst of the college. There is the Church Universal. That is what the Student Christian Movement is.

—DAVID R. PORTER, 1928

THE GREAT EXPANSION of the American Associations that characterized the first three decades of the twentieth century was anticipated in the student department during the 1890's. Every year of that eventful decade was marked by large forward strides as was forecast in Chapter 7. In the quarter century between 1890 and 1915, under the generalship of John R. Mott, the student Y.M.C.A.'s of the United States and Canada became a major influence in the educational life of the two countries. Their centrifugal force was such that the world-wide movement set on its way by Luther Wishard became in 1895 an international federation of student movements. Because of the vast ramifications of this phase of the American Y.M.C.A., this chapter can be but an outline of the more obvious developments in



what continued to be, as it had begun under Wishard's leadership in the 1880's, a movement within the Movement. Following the practice established early in this History, fewer names of individuals will appear here as the narrative describes how the pioneer generations were succeeded by ever-increasing numbers of workers; the details of program may be assumed to bear close resemblance to earlier emphases unless new trends are pointed out.

The steady growth of the student Associations was an expression of the unbounded optimism that reflected the confidence of Americans in the future of their country and its democratic institutions. All through these years the Protestant churches grew more rapidly than did the population. The remarkable growth of colleges and universities that had made the last ten years of the nineteenth century epochal was far surpassed by each succeeding decade. As the twentieth century dawned, higher education was on the threshold of great developments—the rapid rise of publicly-supported institutions, the spread of co-education, the emergence of practical vocational courses, and unprecedented increase in benefactions. The half-a-hundred student Associations of 1877 grew to 628 in 1900 with almost 32,000 members scattered through colleges, universities, preparatory schools, and professional institutions. In the great majority of these, the collegiate Y.M.C.A. had a virtual monopoly of the organized religious work, and its sixty-four full- or part-time secretaries were rapidly becoming an integral part of the Association brotherhood. Twenty student Associations were housed in their own buildings by 1900, the majority of which with their large auditoriums, classrooms for Bible and mission study, and secretarial offices, reflected the dominant program features of the time. Close ties to the International Committee and a vigorous and growing fellowship were further characteristics of the student movement at the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup>

The cohesiveness of the intercollegiate movement was due in considerable part to the effective leadership of strong personalities by whom the work had been established and built. Throughout the twenty-five years of his secretaryship of the International student department, Mott, who had accepted his first employment as a one-year commitment, made the students of the world his parish, influencing "more young men than any man living," becoming, it was said, "the most widely-known figure in the academic life of five continents."<sup>2</sup> Although he shouldered many additional responsibilities, the student work re-

mained the focal center of his concern. He not only traveled unceasingly, both in North America and several times around the world, but he was himself, as Moody's and Drummond's successor, the outstanding evangelist to students. Stepping into the great evangelist's shoes first as director of the Northfield conference of 1893, Mott was also his equal as organizer and fund-raiser. But perhaps his most unique gift was his unusual ability to sense the qualities of leadership in other men and to enlist them in the Christian cause. To this combination of able and consecrated staff supported by ever-increasing funds, was due the growth both of the student movement and the Association foreign work, the full development of which latter will be described in Chapter 17.

#### THE RELIGIOUS WORK PROGRAM, 1890-1915

The core of student Association work continued in this era, as it had been from the beginning, to be the evangelical emphasis. To win college men to Christ, with all that that implied, was the primary purpose of the college Y.M.C.A. Throughout most of the pre-World War I period, efforts in this direction represented a refinement upon the earlier techniques described in Chapter 7. As these were developed upon an "ultrascientific" basis, with hundreds of consecrated students volunteering to follow up the great mass meetings with personal appeals, the parallel to the short-term financial drive then being perfected by city Associations for fund-raising was unmistakable. Pre-eminent among the nationally known leaders in student evangelism was Mott, who brought not only tremendous spiritual uplift to every campus he visited; he also advised the Association with regard to the details of its program, and devoted large segments of his time to personal interviews with individual students.<sup>3</sup> Other leaders whose evangelism was effective among students were A. B. Williams, Jr., Ethan T. Colton, Willis D. Weatherford, George Irving, Henry B. Wright,<sup>4</sup> and A. J. "Dad" Elliott, who for three decades held powerful meetings among students from coast to coast.<sup>5</sup> E. C. "Ted" Mercer, a reclaimed gambler and drunkard, spearheaded great moral crusades on many campuses over a twenty-year span.<sup>6</sup> As the second decade of the twentieth century brought the social gospel into the perspective of the student Association movement, collegiate evangelism took on even stronger ethical tone than had characterized it since the days of Moody and S. M. Sayford.

Doubtless the vast majority of student Associations furthered the central evangelistic emphasis through deputations, not only to nearby towns and the surrounding countryside, but to neighboring colleges as well.<sup>7</sup> This was carefully developed as a method of expanding the effectiveness of the small paid staffs of the time; Mott, for example, prepared detailed suggestions for members of the teams.<sup>8</sup> Fletcher Brockman, who joined the International student staff in 1892, gave much attention to training deputation workers at state conferences. Also supporting the central evangelical purpose was the day of prayer for students. Initiated in Wishard's era, it was seriously and carefully observed throughout the collegiate Association world, becoming one of the strongest bonds uniting the various national movements after the organization of the World's Student Christian Federation.<sup>9</sup>

By 1908 the mounting interest in Bible study that had been a feature of the student department from the early 1880's reached its climax, for a time receiving the largest emphasis. Following the publication of Stevens and Burton's *Harmony of the Gospels* in the early 1890's, an ever-increasing group of study courses, most of them deservedly popular with students and most of them dealing with the life of Christ, were written for the Movement. Professor Edward I. Bosworth of Oberlin prepared in 1901 *Studies in the Teachings of Jesus and His Apostles*; more than 14,000 copies were sold the next year. In 1905 Bosworth wrote *Studies in the Life of Jesus Christ*. These were followed by like outlines and others on the Psalms, the Wisdom literature, and Old Testament biographies, written by such widely read authors as H. B. Sharman and W. W. White. The Yale Association had its own materials prepared by Professor Henry B. Wright. Between 1900 and 1917 some twenty-five texts were published by the student department: the high point of numbers studying them reached fifty thousand in 1908—a total said to represent one-fourth of the men students in the colleges and universities where there were student Y.M.C.A.'s.<sup>10</sup> Leaders for these groups were trained in summer conferences and in special institutes often held by International secretaries though usually featuring prominent religious leaders; in 1907-08 some 250 such institutes were held. After that time the movement gradually became aware of the defects in what was proving to be a quantitative emphasis, and gradually shifted to a synthesized approach that regarded Bible study as a means rather than an end in itself.

A commission chaired by Professor Wright declared in 1912 that



Bible study, mission study, and the rising social gospel interest should be integrated in a program of religious education correlated with the churches' offerings and the courses being taught in the colleges. The Associations, it should be said, had been largely instrumental in obtaining the recognition of Biblical and other religious subjects in the curricula. With the formation of the Council of North American Student Associations in 1912—a co-operative arrangement with the Student Y.W.C.A.'s—the student Y.M.C.A.'s were brought into a joint relationship in planning their study courses with the other major student organization of the time. The first production of this new venture was the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick's *The Manhood of the Master*, which, with its sequels, *The Meaning of Prayer*, *The Meaning of Faith*, and *The Meaning of Service*, established unprecedented records for the study of devotional literature among American students. But from 1908 the trend was away from the study of Biblical content, although thirty-five thousand students were enrolled in such courses in 1914. By that time, however, much of the interest that had once been concentrated upon learning the content of the Scriptures was being redirected toward the social implications of the gospel. Yet the permanent impact of this original interest may be seen in the introduction into the colleges of religious courses and the establishment at certain state universities of denominational chairs for religious instruction.<sup>11</sup>

The fire of missionary interest burned brightly throughout the quarter-century of Mott's student secretaryship. During this entire period he was also chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement, through which the intercollegiate missionary enthusiasm was channeled. On the whole, the promotion of the missionary cause followed lines laid down earlier, considerable detail of which was given in Chapter 7. Missions were studied in classes, featured in the *Intercollegian* and other literature, promoted by a wide variety of special techniques, and consequently laid upon the consciences of thousands of students. Between 1899 and 1914 more than 3,400 of the 4,500 missionaries who sailed from North America under the auspices of the S.V.M. were products of the student Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s. Those who could not go supported the cause with unprecedented generosity. One of the most effective agencies of the period was the great quadrennial conference of the S.V.M. that drew from two to three thousand students once in each student generation. A unique aspect of the missionary concern was the organization of the Committee on Friendly



Relations among Foreign Students in 1911 under the International Committee, more than twenty-three years after Wishard had first made a special point to invite foreign students to Northfield. The impact of the student missionary crusade upon the total Association Movement was a powerful factor in its expansion to foreign fields, as will be described in Chapter 17. The Student Volunteer Movement, the history of which remains to be written, was in this era a dedication to "the evangelization of the world in this generation" as its watchcry declared. For subsequent generations that was a solid foundation stone upon which hopes for "one world" could be built.

#### THE FOUNDING OF THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION

As student Christian Associations became movements in the various mission lands to which the North American Y.M.C.A.'s were spreading in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century, Wishard's dream of a world-wide student fellowship was realized with the formation of the World's Student Christian Federation in 1895.<sup>12</sup> In July of that year Mott and Wishard sailed for Europe to attend conferences in Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia, which, as Richard C. Morse wrote in his family league letter, had "grown out of ours at Northfield." These two Americans were chiefly responsible for the organization later that summer of the second world federation of Y.M.C.A.'s; they were much more influential than had been Abel Stevens or William Chauncy Langdon in the formation of the World's Alliance forty years earlier. Wishard had, as he later said, made the "excavations" for the foundations of a world-wide student movement, as was narrated in Chapters 7 and 8. Upon the sufficient maturing of national organizations, Mott supplied the creative idea that bound them in an enduring union.

It is beyond the scope of this History to review each link in the "great chain of circumstances," as Mott referred to the far-reaching contacts and implications of an early Northfield conference, that led from Hanover, Williams, Princeton, Cornell, Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Berlin, or Uppsala—all significant student centers—to an ancient castle in Sweden where the Federation was born. Ruth Rouse in her history of the first thirty years of the W.S.C.F. rightly discerns that two new ideas were at work in the events leading up to the historic meeting in the summer of 1895: the realization that world organization was necessary if individual national student move-

ments were to develop fully, and that such organizations must be truly student movements, for these possessed "a power hitherto unexplored for the Kingdom of God."<sup>13</sup> The major prophets of this ideal were Wishard, James B. Reynolds, whose pioneering work in northern Europe was mentioned in Chapter 7, and Mott. In the report of his activities in 1890, Reynolds asked whether the time was not ripe "for strengthening these movements by a more permanent, substantial union of the Christian forces in the universities of different countries that we may profit by one another's mutual experience and help one another"?<sup>14</sup> But it was Mott who saw that what was needed was a federation of strong national movements rather than simply another union of Y.M.C.A.'s. By the summer of 1895 there were, thanks to the continued promotion of Mott and countless others, five national movements ready to affiliate.

Mott and Wishard moved from the British conference at Keswick to the German meeting at Gross-Almerode, where Mott was able to persuade the conservative adult leader of the student group to allow a representative to attend the proposed organizational meeting of the Federation, held in connection with the Scandinavian conference of that summer. There, in a castle at Vadstena, Sweden, a Scandinavian Student Christian Movement was brought into being. Karl Fries was authorized to represent Sweden and Martin Eckhoff, Norway. This move, brought about in no small part by the confidence and affection felt by all toward Mott, who convinced the national leaders that the purpose of the proposed Federation would be to strengthen rather than weaken their movements, was also the result of the far-flung influence of the Japanese students who six years before had cabled around the world the watchcry of their first conference: "Make Jesus King."

With Wishard representing the movements of mission lands, the World's Student Christian Federation was formed by six men who agreed upon a working constitution to guide a provisional organization until a first meeting of the General Committee could be held in 1897. Fries was elected chairman, Johannes Siemsen, the German delegate, vice-chairman, J. Rutter Williamson of the British movement, corresponding secretary; Wishard was made treasurer, and Mott general secretary. They phrased the objects of the Federation as follows:

1. To unite student Christian movements or organizations throughout the world.



THE FOUNDERS OF THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION AT THE  
GATE OF VADSTENA CASTLE

*Reading from left to right:* J. Rutter Williamson of the British Student Christian Movement; Dr. Johannes Siemsen of the German Student Christian Movement; John R. Mott, general secretary of the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. of the United States and Canada; Pastor K. M. Eckhoff of the Norwegian Student Christian Movement; Dr. Karl Fries of the Swedish Student Christian Movement;

Luther D. Wishard of the United States, representing scattered Student Y.M.C.A.'s  
over the mission fields.

2. To collect information regarding the religious conditions of the students of all lands.
3. To promote the following lines of activity:
  - (a) To lead students to become disciples of Jesus Christ as only Saviour and as God.
  - (b) To deepen the spiritual life of students.
  - (c) To enlist students in the work of extending the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole world.

In pursuance of these goals, Wishard made his way to South Africa where he organized a sixth national movement and added it to the Federation. Mott, as will be related in Chapter 17, devoted the next two years to what was his second journey around the world. From Constantinople he wrote in retrospect of the dreams of those who had thought, prayed, and planned together at Vadstena:

This Federation is *the work of God*.

1. It makes possible for the first time a thorough and comprehensive study of the religious state of the students of the whole world.
2. It will enable us to grapple successfully with the problem of the spiritual welfare of the large numbers of foreign students in different countries.
3. It places the stronger members of the Federation where they can be more helpful to the weak members.
4. It will facilitate the introduction of organized Christian work into some of the most difficult unoccupied student fields. Though the Federation has existed but a few weeks, I have already in my work in France, Italy, Hungary and Switzerland realized the practical value of this point . . . it will prove even more helpful in certain fields in the East.
5. It will be a clearing house for the best ideas wrought out in the experience of Christian student organizations in all lands.
6. New plans and policies may be projected speedily and effectively throughout the whole student world.
7. The Federation will be a great unifying force. By its conferences, visitation and publications, it will do much to unify the plans and methods of work amongst students of different countries. More important, it will inevitably unite in spirit as never before the students of the world. And in doing this it will be achieving a yet more significant result—the hastening of the answer to our Lord's prayer, "that they may all be one." We read and hear much about Christian union. Surely there has been recently no more helpful development towards the real spiritual union of Christendom than the World's Student Christian Federation which unites in common purpose and work the coming leaders of Church and State in all lands.<sup>15</sup>

Mott devoted the next summer to intensive travel and promotion in Australia and New Zealand, and another national movement was



added to the growing membership of the Federation.<sup>16</sup> The early autumn of 1896 found him in China, where "practically all institutions of higher learning" were visited. The five college Y.M.C.A.'s were increased to twenty-seven, organized into a national movement, and this in turn admitted to the W.S.C.F.<sup>17</sup> There followed some twelve weeks in Japan, which Mott found "by far the most difficult field in which we have labored," yet "in no country [had] there been better preparation" than International Secretary Swift had effected. Many new student Associations were organized, raising the total to twenty-eight, a national intercollegiate union was formed, and it was made a constituent member of the Federation.<sup>18</sup> Home in time to present a fascinating report-address to the International Convention at Mobile, Mott told of the "Students of the World United." The Convention thought the story "the most important development in connection with our work in recent years." Mott remarked that "God himself [had] given all the increase."<sup>19</sup> The leading publisher of religious books issued this document as *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*.

The Federation more than fulfilled the promise of its founders, but this History cannot be directly concerned with that development. Its international committee meetings and conferences were "something new in the university world." Its undoubted ecumenism, like that of the Y.M.C.A., its forbear, was not only new but aggressive and its contribution to the World Council of Churches beyond measure. Well in advance of some of its constituent members, it became co-educational at its Williamstown meeting of 1897 (all of its related movements being so except in those countries where the student work was initiated by the Y.M.C.A. or where the Y.M.C.A. influence remained the controlling idea in student work, as in the United States, China, and Japan). The Federation also pioneered on the interracial front: an American Negro was present at the Williamstown meeting of 1897 and another attended its great conference in Tokyo in 1907, but there were thirteen American Negro delegates who intermingled freely with the members of the conference at the Lake Mohonk meeting of 1913. Of this William A. Hunton wrote that "the abiding spirit of brotherhood . . . ran like a golden thread through all the proceedings." Shortly after this the Federation was subjected to the test of shattered fellowship but it survived not only the First World War but the Second. These evoked from it various projects and organizations for student relief, but through its entire life the Federation insisted upon the

primacy of the religious motive in its reason for being. Concern about the nature of the university itself has characterized its more recent years, as has a renewed interest in the Church. The latter became a two-way street, for not only was the World Council of Churches deeply indebted to the Federation, but through it the Churches might well find their most vital approach to the universities.<sup>20</sup>

#### NEW PROGRAM AND ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES, 1900-1915

The most significant new emphasis in the student work during Mott's secretaryship was his introduction of the social gospel years before the parent Y.M.C.A.'s became aware of it. In 1895 Mott appended to a pamphlet he had written on missions a list of books prepared by Professor Graham Taylor, that were described as appropriate for college Association libraries. The leading social gospel works of the day were included—Richard T. Ely's *Social Aspects of Christianity*, *Modern Cities* by Samuel Lane Loomis, *How the Other Half Lives*, by Jacob Riis, *Our Country*, by Josiah Strong, together with a score of like titles. That same year in his annual report Mott asked whether or not the time had come "for more of our Associations to interest their members in the burning present-day problems in the realm of Christian sociology, and to lead them to find and take their true place in the Kingdom of God"?<sup>21</sup> Although this concern remained latent for a time, it was a natural outgrowth of the strongly ethical notes that had always characterized student evangelism, and that were brought to the fore in Mott's detailed studies of the forces affecting student life.<sup>22</sup> Social issues were often reflected in his reports to the W.S.C.F., though at first these were stronger elsewhere than among American students.<sup>23</sup> In 1909 Mott reported to the Federation that in each of the past two years some five thousand North American students had studied Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks' Bible study text, *The Social Significance of the Teachings of Jesus*. This reflected not only a popular liberal religious interest of the day but indicated the trend in Bible study—the last a further vehicle through which social concern entered the student movement.

Another method that came into great popularity in the years just prior to the First World War was called social evangelism. This probably reached its highest development under the promotion of Raymond Robins and John L. Childs who toured the country in 1915-16 holding forty-two campaigns that drew a total student audience of well over one hundred thousand.<sup>24</sup> This was but the furthest expression of an

interest that had been at work a decade or more in many student Associations, where boys' clubs, home missionary projects, employment services, social and recreational activities, industrial work, rescue missions, and various welfare programs were broadening the understanding of Christian ethics. Building upon such strong local Association foundations, the International department in 1912 allocated three secretaries to the social service emphasis. Richard H. Edwards, whose "Social Problems Group" at the University of Wisconsin had attracted national attention, headed the project.<sup>25</sup> A. M. Trawick, who for two years had promoted interracial studies in the South, and Dr. Max J. Exner, whose responsibility was sex education, completed the special staff. Social Christianity was now "a major part of the philosophy and program of the student Y.M.C.A."<sup>26</sup>

There issued from the headquarters of the student department a stream of manuals, many written or edited by Edwards, including *The Challenge of American Social Problems to College Men and Women* and *Volunteer Social Service by College Men*. This approach had been emphasized as early as 1908-09 by Edward C. Carter then home from his post in India; the *Year Book* for 1909 declared that "Industrial and social service [had] enlisted many men not actively interested in Christian activity"; several leading Associations had "gone far in constructing and carrying out definite plans for such practical service."<sup>27</sup> In 1914 Mott assembled the secretarial staff at Garden City for a conference on "The Social Needs of Today and the Colleges of North America." This meeting, perhaps the last major gathering to plan an intercollegiate program without student representation, made far-reaching recommendations to the several organizations that comprised the Council of North American Student Movements, under whose auspices the conference had been held.<sup>28</sup>

The race problem had come to the fore in the colleges only a few years before this, chiefly as the result of the publication in 1909 of *Negro Life in the South*, a small volume written by W. D. Weatherford. Probably thirty thousand students studied this text during the next five or six years; its subject became one of the major interests of students. "The most important event in the history of colored student work" took place in 1914 when the first interracial conference was held in Atlanta, attracting more than one hundred white southern students, professors, and religious leaders and a larger number of Negroes. For the next four decades the race question assumed large

import in student thinking not only in the South but throughout the nation. The program of sex education carried forward under Exner's direction was again a pioneering venture, though the reader of Chapter 5 will recall a significant effort in this direction more than two decades earlier. Exner's approach was twofold: he planned a series of books and pamphlets to answer the questions most frequently asked by students and also urged college administrations to make sex information available through courses.<sup>29</sup> In addition to these rational approaches the student Associations sponsored moral cleanup campaigns of an evangelistic nature that emphasized sexual purity, temperance, honesty, and social dedication as applications of the Christian ethic to the campus.<sup>30</sup>

One of the most effective channels through which the student work program reached great numbers of college men was the summer conference. The origins of this device at Northfield, Massachusetts, in the 1880's were described in Chapter 7. As Mott took up the promotion of the student work upon Wishard's departure for foreign lands, one of the first steps was to extend the Northfield idea to other regions. The first western summer student conference was held at Lake Geneva in 1890.<sup>31</sup> "It was so successful," wrote Clarence P. Shedd forty-four years later, "that its future was settled and from that time to the present day the term 'Geneva' has come to mean to students and church leaders in the middle western states quite as much as the term 'Northfield' has meant among the colleges of the eastern part of the country."<sup>32</sup> An effort to hold a similar meeting at Lake Chautauqua that season (1890) was a failure. That summer, also, the first of a series of deputation conferences for training students was held, one of the earliest being at Asheville, North Carolina, at which the name of Fletcher S. Brockman, later to travel for the Movement in the South and subsequently to be senior secretary in China, first appeared. In the summer of 1892 Mott held on a state basis the first special training institutes for local student Association presidents—a plan "sure to spread."<sup>33</sup> The summer of 1892 also saw the first student conference in the South, held at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville under Brockman's direction. Both Mott and C. K. Ober were on the program, which was characteristic of the summer conferences of this era: training in Bible study and Association methods was stressed; delegation meetings for the purpose of exchanging useful information were fostered.<sup>34</sup> Two conferences were held in California that year. By 1895 the attendance at



Northfield had reached five hundred and successful experiments were being tried in other parts of the continent. The California conference was held regularly at various places, beginning in 1896. In 1902 the Northfield conference was moved to Silver Bay; next year the four centers drew 1571 delegates from 383 colleges; in 1906, 650 students attended the Silver Bay meetings. Multiplication of these summer gatherings from that time on paralleled roughly the development of conference centers in Canada and in the several regions of the United States as those were reviewed in Chapter 14. The first of the permanent conferences for Negro students was held at King's Mountain, North Carolina, in 1912.

The foundations of Association work among preparatory school boys were well laid in this period, some reference to which was made in Chapter 11. In 1907 David R. Porter, who was devoting his time to the preparatory schools and the public high schools, organized separate sessions for boys who had begun to attend the Northfield conferences in considerable numbers; in 1915 the boys' conference was moved to Blirstown, New Jersey, where it met with few exceptions for twenty-five years. Headmasters and other masters began to share in planning and leading the school conferences as early as 1910 and from such concern for school boys there emerged the National Preparatory School Committee, which gradually became a major agency and eventually independent.<sup>35</sup> Association work among theological students was reaching twenty-eight schools in 1897; two years later the Inter-Seminary Alliance became the theological section of the student Y.M.C.A. in order to be able to affiliate with the W.S.C.F. The student department attempted to work with this constituency but it can hardly be said that the effort was effective, due to the peculiar circumstances involved; a similar generalization may be made concerning its serious but often frustrated efforts to reach other professional groups, chiefly medical students. The most successful attempts in this direction were those of the large city Associations. The field of the most fruitful and stable work of the Student Y.M.C.A. Movement had proven to be the liberal arts colleges and the universities. In 1915 Associations existed in nearly all such institutions, excluding women's colleges, Roman Catholic, and Mormon institutions. Negro student work until the early 1930's was administered by the colored work department. Of the supervision of student work by state committees, it may be said that this fluctuated with the health of state work in general and that it gradu-

ally diminished in favor of International or National agency supervision.

#### A NEW SENIOR SECRETARY

A few months after the Garden City conference that was concerned with the college Associations and social problems, western civilization became involved in the most tragic of all human maladjustments. The First World War subjected the student Y.M.C.A.'s to stresses and strains such as they had never before known. The Garden City meeting marked the end of an era, an era characterized by homogeneous and traditional patterns of work. The next period of student Association development would be not only a time of experimentation, but one in which the entire Y.M.C.A. would be concerned to realize democracy in organization, in program planning, and in philosophy. In the case of the student Associations, this was in part a result of the concern for social problems.<sup>36</sup>

The coming of the War expedited certain shifts in the several organizations to which Mott was related that resulted in his acceptance of the general secretaryship of the International Committee in 1915. His and the International student work committee's choice of a successor fell upon David Richard Porter (1882- ), who since 1907 had carried out an unusually successful experiment in boys' work in the high and independent schools, a sketch of which was given in Chapter 11.<sup>37</sup> The product of a warmly evangelical rural Maine home, Porter had won a Rhodes scholarship when a sophomore at Bowdoin and was graduated with honors in history from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1906. While in high school at Bangor, Maine, Porter had served as part-time secretary of the local Y.M.C.A., and had kept up his Association contacts both at Bowdoin and at Oxford, where he first met Mott. His leadership of the American student work, which continued until 1934, was illuminated by strong personal Christian conviction that carried with it both evangelical overtones and social commitment. Missionary, international, and devotional interests characterized his thought and action. The two decades of his secretaryship spanned the most difficult period the student movement had known—a time in which student life reflected not only the dynamic shifts taking place in the American college and university but also the revolutionary changes in the total cultural pattern of western civilization.

At the time of Porter's assumption of the senior secretaryship of the

student Y.M.C.A.'s in 1915, that department was beginning to feel some of the growing pains that had already given the parent Movement considerable organizational discomfort, as was described in Chapter 10. In 1913 the International student secretaries' conference asked the International Committee to appoint a representative commission for the purpose of thorough study of the student work. This group of distinguished leaders addressed itself to a wide range of problems, but doubtless the most significant finding of the commission related to the democratizing of the student department; it was to the accomplishment of this end that much of Porter's administration was directed. Significantly enough, it was the secretarial leadership rather than the students who recognized that mature student leadership was now available for general movement re-enforcement and that student-led local organizations paralleled by a secretarialized International program betrayed a serious inconsistency. The commission proposed an annual assembly of students which would carry certain responsibilities, but the outbreak of the First World War prevented setting this up until later. However, as a result of the adoption of an initiative proposal by the International Convention, the student Associations' representatives, for the first time since 1877, met separately at the Convention of 1916 for "frank and open discussion" of their problems.<sup>38</sup> Porter there exerted his influence toward greater student participation in the affairs of the International Committee and its subcommittee on college work. This was first planned to take the shape of a "committee of counsel" composed of delegates chosen from each of the regional student summer conferences; it first met in 1917 but not again until 1919 due to the War. During this interim vacancies were kept filled and Porter maintained contact with its members. Although in perspective the achievements of this period seem minor, they provided solid foundations upon which the serious problems of the 1920's could be met. Also in the first years of Porter's secretaryship the Associations were forced to face the fact that they could no longer meet the colossal challenge of the growing state universities unaided. Beginning in 1907 the denominations had begun to enter this arena with university pastors and by 1916 the Y.M.C.A.'s were meeting with their representatives to plan a combined strategy. Thus by the natural though somewhat tardy development of church work, together with the even later development of university control of campus religious agencies, the Associations were summoned to a quite different type of relationship and program.

## THE STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS AND WORLD WAR I

The student Y.M.C.A.'s suffered tremendous losses, chiefly as the result of the depletion of college populations and of their own staffs, during the First World War.<sup>39</sup> Attendance at summer conferences in 1917 was indicative, registering a drop of almost one-third; membership followed suit the next year, but nonetheless a drive for funds for student relief exceeded its one million dollar goal by more than four hundred thousand dollars. In January, 1918, a conference of 750 students and professors met at Northfield to chart the course of the movement in wartime; its resolutions were characterized by internationalism, the needs for the principles of Jesus Christ in a world at war and in "the interracial and social life of North America," the summons to missionary service, the support of missions, and war relief. During that college year the International staff held student conferences in almost every state. With the implementation of the Student Army Training Corps program in the fall of 1918 the program of the campus Y.M.C.A. might well have been overwhelmed. Virtually overnight the National War Work Council took over the student department and attempted to place a student worker on every campus where there was an S.A.T.C. unit, with the result that during most of the college year 1918-19 there were 350 employed officers of the Y.M.C.A. related to the student field—three times the normal number.<sup>40</sup> Few of them had student work experience, with the result that the general program of the War Work Council for army cantonments was imposed upon the colleges, with consequent modifying effect upon the student work for years afterward. The national staff was still in being and competent to secure from students and faculty \$2,300,000 of the \$170,000,000 in the United War Work Fund drive in 1918. Not until 1920 could it be said that organizational readjustment had been accomplished, but the movement concentrated all its energies on convincing a generation of college men that their loyalties should be rebuilt in terms of the new world assured by the victory of 1918.

The first indication of recovery and of the changed situation was the attendance at seven student summer conferences in 1919 by the pre-War total of more than three thousand students. Perhaps more significant than the number was the heterogeneous nature of this new clientele. Changes in program were forced by the restlessness of veterans, by the general postwar climate of opinion, and as a delayed effect



of the stress that had been placed upon social issues by student Association program planners well before the War. As a result, the Bible discussion group gradually supplanted the content study of the Scriptures; intense concern for social problems took the place of the earlier interest in Y.M.C.A. methods, and the problems of race, labor, and war became more absorbing to students than did actual social service projects such as had long been fostered by many strong campus and city Associations. Much of this new idealism was expressed when, as was described in Chapter 12, students and their leaders seized the initiative at the International Convention of 1919 and procured the passage of the "Social Creed of the Churches" in a form regarded by many Y.M.C.A. men as expressing an advanced social viewpoint; and for the first time the student department was attacked as "radical." Also at this Convention a commission was authorized to study the report of the committee of counsel and to propose means whereby student participation in planning their own affairs and those of the Movement might be enhanced.<sup>41</sup> This commission laid the foundations for what became the field council plan of organization of student Y.M.C.A.'s. By 1922 these councils were set up throughout the nation, with the expectation that from them a national student council would be formed.

#### NEW PROGRAM EMPHASES IN THE 1920's

The new trends accelerated by the War did not obliterate the older mainstays of the student Associations' program. Although there was increasing emphasis upon social issues, many of the dominant notes of the earlier period continued to be heard—prayer, the devotional life, missions. Yet at the S.V.M. convention of 1919-20 a program planned around the traditional themes was severely criticized by many delegates with consequent revision of program plans as leaders took stock afterward. This demonstration of the postwar temper had widespread influence henceforth on all kinds of programs and leadership. A rising interest in the social gospel led increasing numbers of students into summer projects in industry. The dynamic changes in the colleges themselves brought concern for the nature of the educational system in which students found themselves. Science and religion, the ethical standards of business, and foreign affairs claimed attention. The social significance of missions clothed that appeal in a fresh light, but current interest in comparative religions clouded it. Again students contributed

more than one million dollars to aid the students not only of Russia but of the former Central Powers.<sup>42</sup> Student Y.M.C.A.'s supported an effort started in 1925 to exert pressure upon the United States government in favor of American adherence to the World Court. Not long afterward the National student offices issued a *Manual of International Projects*. Probably the W.S.C.F. became more real to American students at this time than had been the case since its foundation. Early in the 1920's the student Y.M.C.A.'s became concerned with the problem of war. The pacifist position gradually gained considerable ground during the decade; several outstanding leaders were pacifists—Porter, Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, Harry Emerson Fosdick. Compulsory military training in public colleges came in for serious criticism.

As the 1920's moved toward the dizzy heights of prosperity, students became increasingly concerned over certain maladjustments in American life and sought to apply Christian social teachings to the problems of which they were aware—war, race, and industry. The great emphasis upon democracy during the War served to highlight the race issue which war brought to the fore by post-War lynchings and the recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan. The Inter-Racial Commission, described in Chapter 12, extended its program to the colleges; distinguished scholars of both races visited colleges of the opposite race, with positive results. Student Volunteer conventions gave attention to racial problems, but the most significant development within the life of the student Y.M.C.A. was the gradual drawing of the Negro student work into the nexus of the larger student Y.M.C.A. It became increasingly apparent that the community of interests between white and Negro student Associations was far greater than that between the Negro student work and the Negro city Associations. Negro student Y.M.C.A.'s formed state, regional, and National councils, and individual Negroes came to hold significant posts in the total student Y.M.C.A. organization. White and Negro conferences exchanged fraternal delegates. The presence of large numbers of foreign students in this country every year also tended to make American students more conscious of racial discrimination.

Student concern with industrial relations reached its fullest expression during the 1920's. Programs begun before the War were expanded and new ones appeared. Many students spent their summers in skilled and unskilled jobs, welfare work, and in various types of relief activity. These interests were agitated by the social evangelists of the period—

Eddy, Page, Norman Thomas, Harry F. Ward, J. Stitt Wilson, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Secretaries, particularly E. B. Shultz and Ben Cherrington, spoke on industrial problems. Yet in spite of widespread concern and much discussion, there is little evidence of direct social action in the economic arena.<sup>43</sup> Much attention was given to prohibition and many a college Y.M.C.A. was a strong influence for law observance.

Students were deeply concerned about the educational process in colleges and universities. Not only their leaders but the Associations themselves were asking whether students were really "getting an education," as a popular pamphlet was titled. For five years during the mid-1920's a commission studied how the student Associations might best "achieve their high spiritual purposes in the light of present day conditions in higher education." Chaired by James C. Baker, later a bishop in the Methodist Church, the commission published in 1924 a stimulating outline for discussion entitled *The College Situation and Student Responsibility*. On more than one campus, precedents were broken as thoughtful students asked their faculties and administrations for revised curricula and democratized procedures. Probably the high point of this discussion and emphasis was reached at the national student-faculty conference held in Detroit in December, 1930, which was planned around the theme, "education adequate for modern times."<sup>44</sup> The conference assumed that current educational machinery was "in need of radical reform," and that college life was too departmentalized; it seriously considered "next steps" to put its findings into operation, agreeing that the aim of the colleges ought to be student-centered education aimed at character development. Other ways in which the student Associations influenced college life in this period were by securing religious offerings in the curriculum, stimulating organizations such as international relations clubs, obtaining courses in industrial relations, in sex education, and in marriage and the family. Y.M.C.A. counseling methods in certain instances stimulated academic guidance programs.

The student Associations led the American Y.M.C.A.'s in their move away from traditional religious work methods in the 1920's. For a while the older evangelistic techniques continued, but with a strong social note. The conversion of Sherwood Eddy into a social gospel advocate made him a far more influential leader on the American campus than he had been earlier. Personal evangelism came to be looked upon,



as George Stewart and Henry B. Wright phrased it, as "the art of helping men in their quest for a complete life through the processes of friendship." Ultimately evangelism came to mean the total impact of the Association program upon the campus, including Bible and mission study, social study, and service, together with the public and personal presentation of the gospel in such a manner as to bring students face to face with their obligations to God and man. Henry P. Van Dusen, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Bruce Curry, Kirby Page, Eddy, and Reinhold Niebuhr brought such a message to the colleges; this was a far cry from the appeal of fifty years earlier, but it was equally effective. The purpose of developing a vital Christian faith had taken the place of the desire to win men to Christ, wherever the latter was narrowly interpreted. Similarly, Bible study underwent not merely a transformation, but virtually disappeared. At the beginning of the decade there were almost thirty thousand students in Bible study classes; by its end only four thousand. A program led by A. Bruce Curry in 1924-25 marked the last great effort on the part of the student Y.M.C.A.'s to promote Bible study in the inter-War era. In this trend they were somewhat in advance of the city Associations.

Conferences rose to popularity again during the 1920's, especially small conferences, each with some specific purpose, and were supplemented by officers' training institutes and presidents' schools. Freshmen became the object of interest during the decade, with some Associations providing special organizational machinery for them. Freshman camps in many colleges preceded the official orientation program and often expedited its acceptance; in 1938 the first "Green Invasion" number of the *Intercollegian* was published. Attempts to provide a program manual in the late 1920's were not very successful, due to the rapidity with which student interests shifted and to the well-accepted principles of experimentation and of student planning. Program service papers, begun at that time, were much more effective.

Up to the end of the War the local Associations in Canada had maintained a close relation with the New York headquarters and practically shared in an international student Christian enterprise. A group of remarkable Canadian veterans saw that the time was now ripe to create a national movement and, with fine understanding and fellowship on both sides of the line this was brought about in 1920.



ORGANIZATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE STUDENT  
ASSOCIATIONS, 1920-40

The student Y.M.C.A. was profoundly affected by the major trends in enrollment and organization of the American colleges during these two decades. In 1920, approximately one thousand institutions of higher education in the United States counted a total student population of slightly less than six hundred thousand. By 1930 this had increased to one million one hundred thousand in 1,400 schools and colleges. A decade later there were almost one million five hundred thousand students in 1,700 institutions. This growth was paralleled by an actual decline in the number of student Y.M.C.A.'s and their membership. Of the 731 such Y.M.C.A.'s listed in 1920, only 594 were on the roll in 1930 and only 480 existed in 1940. In other words, in 1940 Associations existed in less than 45 per cent of the institutions where they would have been expected on the basis of experience in 1915.<sup>45</sup> From its high point of almost ninety-four thousand in 1921, student Association membership declined steadily to 68,500 in 1930 and 51,350 in 1940. At the same time the growth both in numbers and size of public junior colleges and of state universities created virtually insurmountable problems for all campus religious programs. The student Y.M.C.A. now found itself one of perhaps a dozen religious agencies related to the large university, which with its enrollment of upwards of ten thousand presented to the whole group a greater challenge than had faced a single Association secretary on a typical campus in 1900. For the most part, student Y.M.C.A.'s were amenable to joining with all similar agencies in a united approach to their common problem of an effective Christian witness on the campus.

The steps toward democratization of control of the student Y.M.C.A.'s that have been mentioned above tended to weaken the cohesiveness of the intercollegiate movement. The development of field councils was approved by the International Convention of 1922 which also voted a liberalized statement of purpose and basis of membership for student Association. At this time the problem of supervision, described in Chapter 10, was being felt most seriously throughout the Movement and student Associations were deeply involved in it. An almost entirely unexpected result of the organization of the National Council, which it had been hoped would solve the supervisory issues, was the increase in the tension between state and National agencies.

Students had gone along with the advocates of a unified plan of organization at the Constitutional Convention, which they had left, as one of them said afterward, "thinking they had developed a centralized agency with distributed responsibility"—a device that would have related the students directly to the National Council. State secretaries, however, began to place a strict interpretation on the provisions of the new constitution, with the result that at a critical time in the life of the student work matters went from bad to worse and student Associations found themselves actually enjoying less freedom than before. The very continuance of effective work on the part of the National staff was jeopardized when, as one of numerous commissions reported, students were "increasingly prepared to take over their [own] work through their Councils"; instead, students found themselves faced with an organization set up along lines largely meaningless to their special interests and thinking.<sup>46</sup>

For several years every national student gathering asked for direct student responsibility and decentralized but unified supervision. Another commission reported but the student viewpoint appeared as a minority statement calling for the location of final authority in the National Council of Student Associations, which had recently come into being on their initiative, and in the student field councils; this recommendation by the students themselves made no provision for supervision under state committees, which they had found unsatisfactory. At this time the trends toward closer rapprochement with the student Y.W.C.A. and with denominational groups were greatly strengthened by the apparent rigidity of the parent Y.M.C.A. There was also a good deal of criticism of the student department within the Association brotherhood at large.

When the National Council committee charged with making specific recommendations presented a report regarded as unsatisfactory by the student group, the National student committee members, including chairman Dean Thomas W. Graham, resigned. Secretary Porter and his entire staff followed suit. In the subsequent negotiations, S. Wirt Wiley, as associate general secretary of the National Council, played a leading part. John R. Mott, still general secretary, was anxious to keep the student movement within the Y.M.C.A. and exerted his influence in the direction of compromise. Negotiations were carried on, as Porter remarked, "in a spirit of good-will," attempting to resolve "a conflict of opinion and not of personalities." The essence of the

solution finally reached, and which resulted in the withdrawal of the resignations, lay in giving the student work co-ordinate divisional status along with the home and foreign divisions of the National Council. Students achieved what was perhaps the maximum freedom possible under the General Board of the Council; in some states, however, only the retirement of "states-rights" secretaries brought relief. Serious losses to the student movement in prestige, financial support, and in appeal to students must be charged to this unfortunate controversy, the solution of which came, as it happened, at the fiftieth anniversary of the Louisville Convention of 1877. The occasion was utilized for considerable stocktaking and prophecy of better times to come.<sup>47</sup>

During this period the student field councils pioneered the area organizations that were achieved by the parent organization in the 1930's, as were described in Chapter 10.<sup>48</sup> By 1940 the area supervision plan that had been set up in New England in 1922 was in accepted use across the country: remaining state or area student secretaries were related also to the national staff and program. An unanticipated result of the establishment of the student division was the integration of Negro student work. When the student division was recognized, the colored students' councils of Georgia and North Carolina asked to be transferred to its supervision, believing that they had more in common with white students than with Negro city Associations, to which department they had been related from the beginning of Negro work. This action was taken. By 1933 it was possible to complete this integration at the National level, thus obliterating the color line from the National student organization. Regional integration followed rapidly, except in the southeast, where it was accomplished in 1937.

In 1922 the staffs of the student Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s had joined informally in what was called the "Council of Christian Associations," which replaced the Council of North American Student Movements which had been dissolved in 1918. In 1924 the National Student Councils of the two movements met together for the first time; the next year they took an identical position in recommending the entrance of the United States into the World Court and set up an organization to promote this objective. In December, 1926, the first large joint national convention of the student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. was held and the next several years saw increased activity on the part of the Council of Christian Associations, climaxed perhaps in the student-faculty conference of 1930. This period was notable for a



stronger tendency toward work with the student Y.W.C.A. than with the parent Y.M.C.A.; it was also marked by tremendous expansion of denominational programs especially at state universities. A few large Associations followed the pattern of the organization at the University of Pennsylvania in adding the denominational workers to its staff, thus attempting to present a united religious front to the campus. Other comparable plans were tried, but their implications lie outside this History.

The pioneer experiment in a unified student movement was tried in the southwestern region in 1933. Forced by the depression to consolidate, the student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. councils of that area combined their resources in order to maintain any staff; the two field councils were merged in an area council which was maintained throughout the period under discussion. In 1934, upon the successful operation of several local Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A.-denominational programs, the Student Christian Movement in New England was organized as an inclusive co-operative agency. Similar developments followed in New York state and in the middle Atlantic region. By 1941 student Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s were meeting and working together in all regions except the central. These arrangements, satisfactory on the local level, were found not to be possible on a national scale by a commission that issued a careful report in 1935 in which it was held that the conditions requisite to such a move did not as yet fully exist.<sup>40</sup>

At this juncture, David R. Porter resigned as executive secretary of the student Y.M.C.A. and was succeeded by A. Roland Elliott (1895- ), who had come up through the ranks of the movement and was widely known and respected. He was concerned to pursue policies essentially similar to those followed by Porter, who upon his resignation had called for a "fundamental and revolutionary" reorganization of the student work "in favor of a movement of both men and women, which includes a total Christian message." In the fall of 1935 the National Councils of the student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. voted to organize provisionally a National Intercollegiate Christian Council as a co-ordinating agency for the regional bodies and to pool the several field staffs. From this point on, the two organizations worked with ever-increasing co-operation in more and more ways, with the result that by 1941 it could be said that more decisions were made jointly than separately. The annual N.I.C.C. meetings held early in the fall became the strategic planning sessions of the college work for the ensuing year. The late 1930's also



witnessed strengthening of the ties between the student Y.M.C.A. and the parent Movement.

Space does not permit the description of significant developments in the student secretaryship, the standards of which it was Mott's continuing policy to raise. By 1940 the standards had reached a high level. It was a matter of considerable pride to the intercollegiate fellowship in 1941 that its staff had then been in student service an average of thirteen years, that seventy-two secretaries held 120 academic degrees including forty-six graduate degrees, and that the median salary received by these secretaries was slightly over three thousand dollars. A few colleges gave the secretary faculty status.

This discussion of the organizational aspects of the student movement between the World Wars is concluded with a résumé of certain findings of a commission appointed in 1940 to study the future of the work. Chaired by S. Wirt Wiley who had recently retired from the general secretaryship at Rochester, N. Y., the commission faced squarely the decrease in membership and numbers of Associations, but believed that there was a fertile field for a vital religious approach to the campus and that on the whole the situation was "more favorable for Student Y.M.C.A.'s than it [had] been for many years." Yet the Y.M.C.A. was found to be "not the important factor in college life that it was twenty-five years ago." As a result of its investigations the commission was convinced that the situation was essentially unsatisfactory:

Far too many Associations are ineffective. Too many have failed to keep pace with the growth of their institutions and with the changing times. Too many institutions which once had Y.M.C.A.'s are now without them. There are too few Associations in the newer institutions, especially the junior colleges. In twenty-five years, growth in service to students in professional schools has been negligible.<sup>50</sup>

In contrast to the intercollegiate staff of thirty men in 1915 there were in 1941 but seventeen. Study of the denominational student organizations indicated to the commission that many students were not served by church agencies, that few such organizations served their constituencies with as many activities as did the Y.M.C.A., and that there were "certain things that only an organization like the Y.M.C.A." could undertake satisfactorily. The commission found that effective campus Associations fulfilled four major functions: providing needed services, promoting "the practical application of the Christian faith and ethics in student life," furthering unity and co-operation among

the religious forces and strengthening the arm of the churches, and presenting students with "broad social, economical, racial, and international issues and their Christian solutions." Here the commission issued a warning:

Maintenance of balance between these four functions is essential. It is not difficult to locate the graves of the Associations which, being merely service organizations, passed away when the educational institution itself established its services. Also in the graveyard of Associations are the "societies of religious young men," pious minorities with little to appeal to abler students, and some whose secretaries were so busy helping other organizations and coordinating church work that they lost sight of the essential function of the Y.M.C.A. Still others pursued social reform so single-heartedly that they collapsed when they encountered criticism and opposition in high places. They simply did not have enough good works to their credit to see them through the storm. One of the great liabilities of Student Y.M.C.A.'s has been the secretary with a one-track mind.

The commission took note of the strengths and weaknesses in the current national organization and proposed that a major item of strategy be the devising of "a simple, clean-cut, efficient organization" that would conserve and increase the effectiveness of local Associations. To the parent Associations it pointed out that the frictions of the 1920's had practically disappeared and that the problem of the day was to work out practical steps in co-operation: "There is need for the general Movement to come to clearer understanding and recognition of the fact that the Student Y.M.C.A.'s and S.C.A.'s *are* the Y.M.C.A. at work in the colleges"; there was a converse need for the student Associations to realize their place "as an integral part of the general Movement." In conclusion the commission endorsed "present policies" as reassuring and referred to the historic inadequacies of the past two decades as "characteristic instability, failure to keep pace with the increase in the number of educational institutions, and the present large proportion of relatively ineffective Associations." To bring the Y.M.C.A.'s responsibilities in the student field up to the standards the commission set would, it proposed, involve raising the level of the 89 per cent of Associations it had found to be less than "very good"; Associations in Negro colleges were especially in need of help. The next great need was expansion to the more than 750 educational institutions in which there were no Y.M.C.A.'s. A carefully planned approach to certain of these areas of need would require a dozen additional secretaries supported by a budget increase of at least sixty thou-

sand dollars spread through the field councils, area boards, state committees, city Associations, and National Council organizations. Beyond this the commission recommended "further study of specific needs in the post war situation" involving "a degree of vision, determination, and generosity far beyond that exercised by our Movement in recent years."

#### NEW INQUIRY INTO CHRISTIAN FAITH IN THE 1930's

Although the student Associations' program continued to devote much attention to the great issues of war and peace, race, and economic problems brought into focus by the great depression, quite as these had elicited attention during the 1920's, the most important aspect of their life and activity during the thirties was their progress in the direction of a recovery by students of a vital Christian faith. In this the student Associations were far ahead of their brother Y.M.C.A.'s in the cities and elsewhere. When W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, visited the United States in 1933, he reported that he had been frequently put to shame by American students who carried discussions "into the most fundamental realm of faith" when he had presented a challenge to social action.<sup>51</sup> A. J. "Dad" Elliott's definition of a student Y.M.C.A. at this time was another significant commentary: It is, he wrote, "at least one man who is associating himself with at least one other man who through prayer, sharing their Christian experience, Bible study, and other means, are seeking to influence men within the groups where they live, play or work, to become disciples of Jesus and to pervade those groups with His ideals."<sup>52</sup> Until his retirement in 1935 Elliott traveled across the country in the interests of an evangelism of the kind he described, holding retreats, speaking before large and small groups, and counseling students concerning the Christian life.

As substitutes for the earlier campus-wide evangelistic campaigns, religious emphasis weeks and the university Christian mission were devised. The latter, organized by the Federal Council of Churches, the Church Boards of Education, the S.V.M., and the two Student Christian Associations, was first attempted in 1937 and met with such success that it was extended the next year and again in 1939-40 when 120 Protestant leaders participated. As a united approach it received the hearty co-operation of college and university administrations, much as had been the case many years earlier when Wishard, Moody, or Mott

had visited on behalf of the student Associations. By 1940 most campus Y.M.C.A.'s were sponsoring a period during each college year when the Christian message might be presented. Informal discussion groups and forums on the Christian faith, which could be regarded as substitutes for the earlier Bible or mission study and prayer meetings, came into increasing favor. In certain universities, theological discussions attracted graduate students. The commission plan of program organizations, adopted by the national student assembly in 1937, included among its suggestions a group delegated to interpret the Christian religion. A National commission was appointed to guide this process, and by the end of the decade significant numbers of students were engaged in thinking through their beliefs and bases for Christian commitment. To aid students in meeting their religious questions the Hazen booklets, written by outstanding religious leaders, were developed as "resources for religious literacy."

A new interest in Bible study appeared on some campuses in the 1930's, especially after 1937 and several summer conferences reintroduced it. The broadening concern for the world Church that characterized most Protestant circles in the second half of the 1930's extended to the college Y.M.C.A.'s, and the World's Student Christian Federation became increasingly real to American students as the international situation worsened. A dramatic illustration of the transcending fellowship of the Federation was presented on the platform of the National student assembly in 1937 when a Chinese and a Japanese stood together and pledged their loyalty to Christian brotherhood at a time when their nations were at war. The universal day of prayer for students, almost forgotten by the American movement since the mid-1920's, was by 1937 again widely observed. Various relief campaigns for students the world around brought home to the American campus the reality of the universal student fellowship and elicited real generosity. The increasing international emphasis, while it did not revive the older missionary drive, brought renewed life and interest to the S.V.M., the quadrennial conferences of which reflected the growing loyalty to a world Church quite as Association World Service was thinking of itself as an integral part of a world fellowship rather than a "sending operation"—as will be shown in Chapter 17. In the programs of local student Associations much was done during the period in the direction of interfaith co-operation. Significantly enough, too, religious deputation teams reappeared, giving their attention to the



young people of outlying communities. Conferences, now planned by students and in 1941 becoming entirely coeducational, turned increasingly to themes such as "the inescapable demand of Christianity upon us," "sources of power for realistic living," or "finding an adequate Christian faith." Worship became again an integral part of conference programs. Yet it must be said that all this possibly represented a renewed interest in religion rather than a revival in the older sense.<sup>53</sup> This fresh sense of Christian mission was one of the contributing factors that gave the commission studying the future of the student Y.M.C.A.'s at the end of the 1930's its basic optimism.

The National Intercollegiate Christian Council at its September meeting of 1940 stated its belief in the urgent necessity for clear thinking about and support of "the positive forces inherent in our Christian faith and in our democratic institutions." In such a critical hour the Council saw the particular responsibility of Christians to be "the nurture of the spiritual values and the cultivation of personal and social conscience." It believed it imperative that everyone dedicated to the defense of democracy engage in "constructive action along the broad front of improving the social well-being of all our people." To this end it called upon members of the Student Christian Movement to:

Re-establish a spiritual basis for hope and courage in our time through a recovery of Christian insights. This will involve the voluntary assumption of self-discipline to fit ourselves for the effective solution of acute personal and social problems.

Dedicate ourselves in self-discipline and self-sacrifice to constructive service and social action in harmony with the righteousness on which depends the destiny of men and nations.

The N.I.C.C. of 1941, thinking through the needs of a college year while relations between the United States and Japan reached the breaking point, declared that "Christian faith and social reconstruction" must be the watchcry:

Personal reconstruction calls for spiritual discipline. Daily periods of prayer and meditation, and group worship are essential. Intelligent Bible study and the use of religious literature . . . are indispensable to a better knowledge of our faith. . . . We must experience Christian Community, living closely bound in our common faith and purpose, yet encouraging expression of individual conscience and commitment in effective action. This emphasis demands commitment of the individual members of local Associations to the three-fold discipline of consecrated worship, study, and social action.<sup>54</sup>

## IN RETROSPECT

During the forty-five years covered by this chapter, the Student Y.M.C.A. had gone through a greater diversity of experience than any other section of the Movement. In 1915 it was an evangelistic organization confident of its message, newly enthused by the social gospel. In 1940, having encountered the challenge of a materialistic humanism on the one hand and on the other hand that of a pessimistic neo-orthodoxy, it was again a society of inquiry re-examining its basic faith, but confident still that in Jesus Christ is to be found the way, the light, and the truth.

At the beginning of the period it was aggressive in its advocacy of foreign missions; at the end its interest was in international student relief, a world council of churches, and peace among the nations. Some of its leaders had spent much energy in an attempt to convert the Associations into a movement of social action with little result except temporarily to divert some Associations from their distinctive functions.

The rapidly growing denominational work among students that was well started in 1915 had assumed such proportions by 1940 as to challenge the pre-eminence of the Christian Association and to class them as equals in the federated activity on some campuses, although the Y.M.C.A. continued to be the promoter of unity and the symbol of ecumenicity. Uncertain as to exactly their own distinctive functions, these denominational organizations had tended to copy the Christian Association program and so to create problems of relationship and energy-consuming adjustments.

Many of the miscellaneous services to students that had constituted an important part of the Associations' work during the earlier years, had been taken over by the institutions themselves, thus reducing the Associations' casual contacts (and often eliminating the attendant financial subsidies). Moreover the phenomenal increase of extracurricular activities and organizations, in the proportion of students working to cover expenses, in the number of commuting students, not only in large cities but in more isolated institutions, and the growing practice of week-end absence from the campus, all these preoccupied student time and energy, especially after World War I. In some institutions there were said to be not more than 25 per cent of the students on the campus over week ends.

In addition to taking over many of the services of the Associations, a steadily increasing number of institutions were employing deans of men, directors of religious activities, and chaplains, thus further limiting the sphere of the Associations' responsibility and activity. Many denominational and some independent institutions had thus eliminated the Associations or had filled the vacuum left by the demise of some of the two hundred that disappeared between 1920 and 1940.

While such developments were going on, especially after World War I, the Y.M.C.A.'s always largely dependent upon the leadership and supervision of traveling secretaries, suffered a steady decrease in such support, except for a period from 1927-1929, and a disastrous drop between 1930 and 1937, while the number of institutions was increasing 70 per cent and the number of students nearly 300 per cent.

At the same time the energies of the staff that remained were diverted in considerable measure from supervision by reorganization within the student Movement, reorganization of the general Movement, and the exploration of the possibility of an independent student Movement inclusive of the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., S.V.M., and some of the denominational student organizations.

In consequence, the number of Associations, instead of keeping pace with the increase of 70 per cent in institutions, had actually declined more than 20 per cent. In 1940 the Commission reckoned that there were Associations in less than half the institutions where they normally should have been, and that a fourth of those existing were "poor."

It was against such a background of difficulties endured or overcome that the Commission could say of this department still determined and undiscouraged and firmly reintegrated in the general Movement, that:

After a long period of readjusting its relationships on the campus, its program, and its intercollegiate organization, the Association is clearly gaining in influence and effectiveness. The distinctive functions of the Y.M.C.A. college administrations and the church organizations become increasingly clear. The most effective Associations in various types of institutions reveal patterns which are fairly definite and which the Commission believes may well be followed by Associations generally.

## Chapter 17 The American Y.M.C.A. and One World

We have gone out to these foreign Associations to make ourselves, not indispensable, but dispensable. Our great idea in going out to these countries is to leave them as soon as possible; to plant the Association idea in the hearts and minds of the native young men, in order that they may propagate the Movement themselves, and let us go home as soon as may be. We are putting this burden on the native shoulders. This great work of evangelization is not supremely for British or American or Continental leaders; it is primarily a Chinese, a Japanese, an Indian, a native enterprise. This is a great fact which the Association movement is not slow to recognize.<sup>1</sup>

—JOHN R. MOTT, 1909

IN JULY, 1895, John R. Mott and Luther D. Wishard sailed for Europe where they would attend student conferences in Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. The reader of Chapter 16 is familiar with the story of their part in organizing the World's Student Christian Federation that summer. Wishard went on to South Africa and Mott to Asia Minor, thence to India, Australia, China, and Japan. Although this world tour was primarily in the interests of student work it was of strategic importance for the extension of the North American Y.M.C.A. idea to new countries and the stimulation of the workers and Associations in India and Japan, the beginnings of which were described in Chapter 8. But Mott did not restrict his contacts to those directly related to Association expansion. He went almost as much an emissary of several mission boards as of the Y.M.C.A., the former sharing in the expenses of the trip. He made friendly connections on this first tour as well as on his subsequent journeys with priest, prelate, missionary, and business man, thus preparing the soil for later plantings of the Y.M.C.A. in Roman Catholic and Orthodox countries, and for interconfessional relationships that would bring rich fruitage in the ecumenical movement. It is the intention of this chapter to sketch the large developments of Association foreign work in the twentieth century in all of which the Movements in the United States and



in Canada were intimately associated. The narrative will also place in perspective the fraternal relations of the North American Y.M.C.A.'s with the World's Alliance and the World's Committee, and suggest the place and agency of the Association in Christendom's greatest venture of the twentieth century, the ecumenical movement. For the next important Association developments in mission lands following the foundation-laying described in Chapter 8 we shall in part trace Mott's first world tour of 1895-1897.

#### DEVELOPMENTS IN CEYLON AND INDIA, 1895-1915

From Vadstena Mott with his wife began a world visitation that took him far beyond the boundaries of the Portland test. In Paris, in Switzerland, in Rome, and in Bulgaria he made contacts with student leaders and held conferences that later ripened into student movements.<sup>2</sup> At Robert College in Constantinople an Association was organized on what might be called an ecumenical basis that included Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Bulgarian Christians as well as Protestants. After stopping at Beirut, Jerusalem, and Assiut, Egypt, Mott reached Ceylon, his first major stop, in December, 1895. Two conferences were held there, Robert P. Wilder having joined him at Colombo. The first meeting was held at Jaffna College where Frank K. Sanders had earlier planted the first college Association in the mission field and Wishard had gathered the first Asian student conference in 1889. Four hundred students and most of the thirty resident missionaries attended the sessions, the purpose of which was, according to Mott's outline, to win students to Christ and to guard them against temptation, to develop spirituality, to train for Christian service, and to induce students to devote their entire lives to Christian work.<sup>3</sup>

The following November (1896) Louis Hieb, a former general secretary of the metropolitan student work in Chicago, arrived in Ceylon in response to continued requests for an American secretary. He found his field in poor condition and set himself to putting it in order. There was some suspicion of his purpose to "Americanize" the Colombo Association and a minority was reluctant to include physical work in a revised statement of purpose, nor was Hieb's insistence upon the evangelical test received with too much favor.<sup>4</sup> A Ceylon edition of the *Young Men of India* began publication in February, 1897. Next year Lucien C. Warner, chairman of the International Committee, visited Ceylon in the course of world tour of missions. Also in 1898 Hieb

organized an intercollegiate branch of the Colombo Association, by which time he had succeeded in reorganizing the city Association with a board of prominent and representative directors. The developing pattern here differed slightly if at all from the methods used earlier in Japan and India.

Arriving in India in late January, 1896, Mott devoted eleven intensive weeks to evangelism and conferences in thirty colleges and universities, expanding and systematizing the technique Wishard had worked out. In the course of seven thousand miles of travel he consulted with two hundred missionaries and other leaders. Conferences were held at Bombay, Lahore, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Madras. Careful preliminary arrangements had been made by "prominent members of the American and British Volunteer Movements" who were then in the field. The objects of these gatherings were, as Mott reported them, the promotion of spiritual life and activity among Christian students, study of "the most approved methods for reaching the non-Christian students," discussion of "the important part which students must take in the evangelization of India," and waiting on God "for power from on high."<sup>5</sup> As a result of the profound interest created, a college department of the Indian National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s was set up to supervise the Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. which was organized with twelve constituent Indian student Associations and ten in Ceylon. An Indian Student Volunteer Movement was also formed. That autumn George Sherwood Eddy arrived in India at his own expense to be secretary of the last-named organization, thus beginning a career unique in Y.M.C.A. annals.<sup>6</sup>

During this time, McConaughy was in America obtaining funds for Association buildings at Madras and Calcutta. Returning to India in the fall of 1896 with sixty thousand dollars and plans made by architects in Lowell, Massachusetts, he confronted tremendous problems of reorganization and administration, the most acute of which was getting work started on the building at Madras. The chief handicap to this, two tin bazaars on the site, whose owners held out for "an exorbitant price," was overcome after the workers "gave [them]selves unto prayer, and within a few weeks the answer came in the shape of a cyclone, which knocked down the bazaars, and likewise the price."<sup>7</sup> Student work and evangelism on the one hand and a characteristically building-centered city Association program on the other obtained the major emphases in India during the next few years; by 1901 fifteen Associa-

tions owned buildings, the chief of which was that at Madras to which the principal donors had been John Wanamaker and the Madras government.<sup>8</sup>

In 1902 Edward C. Carter went out as traveling secretary for northern India, the year in which McConaughy found it necessary to return home. Carter subsequently (1904) became general secretary of the Indian National Council. With this new generation of leaders fresh ideas were introduced, among them a radically different approach by the Y.M.C.A. to the ethnic faiths. A group of distinguished scholars—notably J. N. Farquhar, K. J. Saunders, and H. A. Walter—were enlisted to write on comparative religions. They edited several series of studies that won the confidence of Hindus, Buddhists, and Moslems; Mott, who visited India again in 1902 and in 1912-13, obtained the funds that launched this venture.<sup>9</sup> When Eddy proposed giving hearty support to a newly formed “National Missionary Society of India”—which was subsequently tremendously successful in organizing an immense evangelistic campaign by native Christians—Mott cautioned him to remember the limited field of the Y.M.C.A.: “Let nothing deflect us” from work for young men only, though we may feel free to support the movement as individuals.<sup>10</sup>

In 1908 Dr. J. Henry Gray went to Calcutta from the United States to pioneer physical work, being supported by that Association, some citizens of Calcutta, and the government of Bengal, to which he acted as adviser. The program took hold slowly but by 1914 the Imperial government and those of Madras and Punjab were supporting the extension of physical work through the Y.M.C.A. In 1914 Gray became national Association physical director and his sphere as adviser to governments widened. Based on the ideology formulated chiefly by Gulick (as outlined in Chapter 6) the program resembled the standard American pattern; there were specialized training services for schools, the preparation and inspection of text materials, and the education of leaders.<sup>11</sup> About 1905 railroad work on the American pattern was introduced.<sup>12</sup> In 1913 K. T. Paul inaugurated rural work including cooperative credit societies, a development to reach significant proportions in a later period and which received but little assistance from American Associations at this time.<sup>13</sup> Under A. C. Harte the Indian movement had its “building era.” Boys’ work on the American plan had been introduced early and the first separate boys’ building was dedicated in Calcutta in 1903.<sup>14</sup> Thus, except for a few unique ap-

proaches, the program resembled closely the American standard pattern of the period which was described in Chapter 11. By 1914 the Indian movement was well organized and fully able to support workers representing the several Indian faiths who accompanied the troops to the various War fronts. The Indian Y.M.C.A. carried on work in France, the United Kingdom, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and British East Africa as well as among garrisons in India. When Carter left India for War service in 1916 he was succeeded in the national secretaryship by K. T. Paul whose distinguished career subsequently marked the highest point yet reached by indigenous leadership.<sup>15</sup>

#### NORTH AMERICANS IN AUSTRALIA

In January, 1896, there reached Mott in India a cablegram from England saying that £200 had been deposited to his credit to cover the cost of a trip to Australia. A student in Melbourne had read of Mott's plans and urged the British student movement to ask Mott to visit Australia, which he did, reaching Adelaide in April, 1896. Organizing student groups in all the colleges and universities both in Australia and New Zealand, Mott climaxed his work with a general conference at Melbourne at which the Australasian Student Christian Union was formed on June 6; it became at once a member of the World's Student Christian Federation.<sup>16</sup> The next year William H. Sallmon left the student secretaryship at Yale to become the general secretary of the Australasian body.<sup>17</sup> Mott, Richard C. Morse, and Lucien C. Warner visited Australia in 1903 when they spread "the gospel of the American work and the conditions of its success."<sup>18</sup> Morse later obtained the services on two occasions of Daniel A. Budge, general secretary at Montreal, "in successful endeavor to place the work on a better footing in the principal cities." Subsequently two years were given to supervision in Australia by Lyman L. Pierce upon his retirement from the general secretaryship at Washington, D. C. After this there was considerable interchange between the North American and the Australian Movements.<sup>19</sup>

#### BUILDING ON THE FOUNDATIONS IN JAPAN

Mott's next important visit was to China, to which attention will be given shortly. In November, 1896, he reached Japan for a ten-weeks stay. This was the field in which Wishard had labored nine months and Swift was now completing his eighth year—a pioneering episode with-



out parallel in Association annals, as was described in Chapter 8. Following careful preparation by Swift and Miller, Mott "devoted almost every hour to the young men in the schools and colleges of the Empire, visiting for that purpose . . . Nagasaki, Yamaguchi, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Kyoto, Kobe, Osaka, Okayama, Nagoya, Sendai, Tokyo, and Yokohama."<sup>20</sup> These meetings uniformly drew capacity audiences and on some occasions Mott was forced to follow one address by another and again by a third, much of the audience standing. Here Mott added to his presentations of the "unprecedented Movement towards Christ amongst Students throughout the World" and to his appeals to students to devote their lives to Christian work a new address that was to be used by him with great effect through the entire span of his evangelistic work—"The Characteristic Temptations of Students." He counseled the existing student Associations and organized new ones, bringing the total to twenty-eight. In addition to two minor conferences he held a delegated meeting with representatives of twenty-two schools which on January 18-19, 1897, formed a Union of the Student Y.M.C.A.'s of Japan, which shortly joined the World's Student Christian Federation. The Union sponsored the summer conferences which had previously given Swift cause for much anxiety. In pursuance of what was already an established policy with him, Mott met leaders of other faiths. In Japan this brought him "the never-to-be-forgotten privilege of intimate association with the great [Orthodox] Christian and apostle, Archbishop Nicolai" who attended a conference and "gave a most powerful address on how to bring the truth of Christ to the educated classes of Japan."<sup>21</sup> This friendship later led to Mott's concern for and work in behalf of students and other young men in Orthodox countries.

Upon his return to America Mott told the subcommittee on foreign work that Swift "had the confidence of the strongest missionaries in Japan . . . also of the best Japanese: 'I don't suppose there is a man in Japan who has been there twice as long as he who has the influence which he has.'"<sup>22</sup> Swift resigned his post in 1898, completing as difficult a decade of ground-laying as any individual could have been assigned. "Might not any man be proud of such a fruit of his labor in the Lord and such a crown of rejoicing?" wrote the president of the Tokyo Association to Morse. He had done "one of the grandest pieces of missionary work thus far accomplished in Japan," said J. H. DeForest, the veteran missionary who had arranged Swift's call ten years before.

Following a brief period of study at home Swift returned to Japan where for twenty-six years he lectured on the English language in Tokyo Imperial University. For a time he was correspondent for the New York *Sun* and in 1916-18 was acting chief of the Associated Press bureau in Tokyo. Thrice decorated by the Emperor, Swift held at least a dozen honorary positions at various times. "He died [in 1928] as he had wished," said the *Fifty-year Record* of his Yale Class of 1884, "in the land where the greatest part of his life was spent. It would be hard to overestimate his services to Japan."

Swift was succeeded in the Association secretaryship by Galen M. Fisher who at Mott's request left metropolitan student work in Boston in 1898 "to take over the general supervision of this student movement."<sup>23</sup> When Mott reported on his world journey in April, 1897, he expressed to the International Committee his conviction that Japan was "the largest field for the Association work of this generation except America": the crisis in Japan would be won or lost before the crisis was on in China.<sup>24</sup> When he visited Japan again in 1901 the city Associations were organized into a national union, V. W. Helm having worked among them since 1899.<sup>25</sup> In 1903 the two national organizations were amalgamated; a Japanese leader later wrote that from this occasion the organization had "found itself and was as never before prepared to play a dignified and effective part in the Christian movement of the country."<sup>26</sup> A unique welfare service was rendered the Japanese soldiers in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-06 by American and Japanese workers, which in the words of the Imperial Minister of War "proved successful beyond our expectations."<sup>27</sup> When the W.S.C.F. held its world conference attended by student leaders from forty-two nations in Tokyo in 1907 Mott pronounced the meeting "the most momentous gathering ever held in the interest of Christianity in Asia, and one of the most significant in the annals of Christianity." At the International Convention of 1916 Fisher challenged the American Movement to support the Japanese Associations at "a time of urgency" when the nation stood "at the open door of opportunity" and of "tremendous consequences, not only for her people but for all Asia":

It is a question whether we shall see Japan endowed with might and power comparable to that of the German Empire not many decades hence, without a conscience, or with a Christianized conception of duty standing there as the champion of righteousness and service and Christian regenera-

tion at the gateway of the Orient. Shall she become a destructive brigand or gird on the sword of the Lord like Sir Galahad and sally forth on His holy errand?

#### THE BEGINNINGS OF Y.M.C.A. WORK IN CHINA

When Mott arrived in China in August, 1896, his itinerary had been carefully prepared by David Willard Lyon (1870-1949) who had been at work since the previous November in Tientsin, where he had located after a hurried study of the several cities that had appealed to the International Committee for an American secretary.<sup>28</sup> The son of missionaries, Lyon was born on a Ningpo canal boat and spent most of his boyhood at Soochow. Graduating from the College of Wooster, Ohio, in 1891, Lyon attended McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago during the next two years and was ordained in the Presbyterian Church. The following year he traveled in the South and Midwest for the Student Volunteer Movement. In 1894-95 he acted as the first educational secretary of the S.V.M., edited *The Student Volunteer*, and completed his Master's degree at Wooster. During these two years he steadily resisted Wishard's consistent pressure to "pioneer the Association movement in China." Then he wrote Wishard in May, 1894, that there had been "a day and hour at which time *suddenly* without any previous warning of it God seemed by His Spirit to *reverse* my attitude towards this question. . . . If He calls, I *dare* not say 'No!' "

Lyon located in Tientsin which was then "the only city in China with a well-organized system of educational institutions for the teaching of western subjects." In five modern government colleges, he wrote later, "there were gathered approximately five hundred young men, selected by competitive examination from all parts of China." Among them he organized an Association December 8, 1895, which continued until disbanded by the Boxer uprising five years later.<sup>29</sup> Like Swift and McConaughy before him, Lyon at once envisioned the value of an Association building in Tientsin where the student response was so encouraging that within two months of his arrival the students themselves had raised a substantial share of the funds to purchase a lot. In January, 1896, he wrote to Wishard that there was no place in the Empire where "we could better build up a model Association than in Tientsin, for students come here from every one of the coast provinces who will eventually carry back to their respective cities the ideas of Association work which they gain here." Lyon was plagued at first by

the same problems of remittances and expense accounts that still vexed Swift, but was overjoyed in the spring of 1896 to have a visiting American, Mrs. J. Livingstone Taylor, give the ten thousand dollars needed for the Tientsin building, which was dedicated in June, 1897, the first Y.M.C.A. structure in China.

During his first year Lyon, whose health proved somewhat delicate, was concerned with at least three major matters of program and policy. His surveys of the field caused him to face the International Committee with the necessity of redeeming Wishard's promises of six years before. When Morse replied that economic conditions were such that this was impossible and that Wishard's pledges had been unauthorized, Lyon shifted his ground to cogent presentation of the critical needs of the young men of China at that particular moment. From the beginning he had regarded himself "rather as a pioneer and organizer than as a local worker." It seems to me, he wrote Wishard in January, 1896, "that this policy of having one of your secretaries in China a secretary at large is the only one calculated to open up the field for other workers." This characterized Lyon's entire career of over thirty-four years which after retirement he described in terms of administrative, editorial, and secretarial training services. He soon saw that mastery of the language would be imperative for him although not necessarily so for other American workers for which he continued to agitate in every letter. In May, 1896, he sent Morse a plea "for at least one man for China this fall, and at least four more within eighteen months from now." Later the same month he reported to Morse that the Shanghai people had "besieged" him to make that city his "next point of attack." So many had been the requests for information about the work that he had resolved to issue a small paper, *China's Young Men*, the first and only copy of which appeared in June, 1896. Next February he began the *Chinese Intercollegian*. Interrupted by the Boxer uprising, it was succeeded by *China's Young Men* and *Association Progress*.

Before Lyon left the United States he had corresponded with several score Student Volunteers in laying plans for Mott's visit to China.<sup>30</sup> Further preparations for this event consumed a large share of his time until Mott arrived. In a sketch of *The First Quarter-Century of the Y.M.C.A. in China* Lyon described this eventful summer and autumn:

He and I visited all the leading missionary colleges and schools then in operation. As a result of the tour there were organized, in addition to the five student Associations already existing, twenty-two other organizations. Rep-



representatives from these twenty-seven Associations met in Shanghai November 3rd to 5th, 1896 and formed "The College Young Men's Christian Association of China." This convention became, therefore, the first of the series of eight National Conventions held in China during the first quarter century of her Association history. A National Committee was chosen by the convention to carry on the activities of the organization, which included a frequent visit to each organized Association, the development of new Associations where conditions were favorable, the holding of training institutes for Association officers, and the preparation of literature adapted to the promotion of the religious life of students.

A second national convention was held in 1899 and another in 1901, Mott being present for the latter, at which Associations in Hongkong and Korea were admitted. Eleven years later Korea formed an independent national movement.

The year 1898 saw the accession of three additional workers to the American staff in China—R. R. Gailey, R. E. Lewis, and F. S. Brockman. Gailey,<sup>31</sup> a Princeton all-American football star, had been general secretary of the Princeton Philadelphian Society and a Student Volunteer secretary before replacing Lyon at Tientsin. Originally conscripted for Madras by Wishard, Gailey was supported in part by the Philadelphian Society from the beginning of his Chinese mission. Under his leadership the first practical experiment was made in attempting to reach the literati in the form of a school for their sons; in 1903 these classes became a regular department of the Tientsin Association's program and a Chinese secretary took charge.<sup>32</sup>

In 1906 the Philadelphian Society underwrote Association work in Peking, where Gailey was then transferred and joined by Dwight W. Edwards who was fully supported by the Society. Gailey and Edwards were closely identified with the development of the extensive project known as Princeton-in-Peking, which carried on an impressive program of social work that led to the Princeton-Yenching Foundation through which Y.M.C.A. men were increasingly identified with Yenching's department of sociology. Edwards later added to his Y.M.C.A. duties the executive secretaryship of the Foundation. The ecumenical implications of such Association expansion were suggested in the citation accompanying an honorary degree from his alma mater: ". . . his ready use of the Chinese language . . . allowed him to form a unity of policy and action among Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Buddhists in the commonwealth."<sup>33</sup>

Lewis, a graduate of the University of Vermont in 1892, had been

secretary of the Y.M.C.A. at St. Johnsbury, college secretary for Massachusetts-Rhode Island, and traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement.<sup>34</sup> He traveled among the colleges his first year in China, becoming general secretary at Shanghai late in 1899. There he revived the older Association of which there were 250 student members. An "Association for Chinese business men residing in that port" had been begun a few months before. In 1900 Lewis organized "a Chinese city department, composed of college graduates"—the first city Y.M.C.A. in China—started a building, and formed a department for German soldiers—reporting that the Shanghai Association was "doing work in four languages" and that its membership had reached 750.<sup>35</sup> This Association soon became a demonstration and training center for all China and its charter membership included young men destined to become national and international leaders.

Fletcher Sims Brockman (1867-1944), who has previously appeared in this narrative (Chapter 10), was a graduate of Vanderbilt University and had earlier been the principal of a boys' high school in Alabama. He was first enlisted in the Y.M.C.A. cause when he met Mott at an intercollegiate conference held at Cumberland University during Mott's first southern tour in 1889; two years later at Northfield Brockman's presentation of the needs of the southern student field caused Moody to lay his hand on Brockman's shoulder and ask "why he did not give himself to this very work." Funds were raised then and there to put Brockman on the International staff and the following September he began a seven-year term of travel chiefly among southern colleges.<sup>36</sup> His first two years in China were given to travel, staff supervision, and attendance at a unique secretarial conference of the Japanese and Chinese workers that was held in Yokohama. When Lyon was forced by his health to take a furlough in 1900 Brockman took over responsibilities that eventuated into the national general secretaryship for China, a post held until 1915 when, as was indicated in Chapter 10, he became Mott's associate in the International general secretaryship at home. "Perhaps no man in all China was better able than Brockman to illustrate the love of one's neighbor as himself and to induce others to be Good Samaritans, including every man in China, of whatever family or clan," Sherwood Eddy wrote. "Brockman himself was probably more greatly beloved than any other man in the whole Association world brotherhood . . . in a rare degree, Brockman combined the Oriental courtesy of Confucius' 'superior man' with Christian humil-

ity. His personal touch was felt all over the country. He had the rare gift of prophetic insight."<sup>37</sup>

These men had gone to China as a result of Mott's appraisal of the situation and in response to repeated requests from various groups of missionaries. The first five years in China had been "strictly a period of discovery," as Lyon characterized them, in which

the Association was trying to find its place. It had come to China in the conviction that it had a mission to the student class. It had learned by the end of 1901 that to reach the students it must develop new methods, or its activities would be limited to mission colleges. It felt a call to reach out for the influential group of literati, scattered all over the Empire and numbering about one million. It also received a vision of the possibility of an effective service in behalf of the educated young men of the port cities, and yet outside of a very limited circle of Christian Chinese, it was hardly known even by name. It was truly a period of groping for the light.<sup>38</sup>

The Boxer uprising in 1900 forced the temporary closing of the work.<sup>39</sup> The most violence occurred at Tientsin but Gailey escaped harm although several missionaries were victims of the extremists. Lyon spent the summer in Seoul, Korea, where he found the field ripe for the Y.M.C.A. with the result that in 1902 Philip L. Gillett was sent there by the International Committee; very shortly Wanamaker gave funds for a building and the Association became one of the most influential institutions in the Korean capital. Lewis left Shanghai during the Boxer affair to work among the foreign troops assembled before Peking, where he was joined by Gailey who had earlier been evacuated to Japan. American troops in Chinese ports received the attention of army and navy department workers until World War II.

The fourth Chinese national convention in 1902 eliminated the word "College" from the title of the national organization, thus expanding it to include several new city Associations recently formed. The next five years were marked by notable increases in Chinese leadership both by laymen and secretaries and foreign secretaries also multiplied. It became the policy of the national committee not to encourage the formation of Associations unless trained secretaries were available. In 1904 the first Chinese secretary was sent to the United States for a year of fellowship training, inaugurating a permanent interchange of great value to both Movements. By 1907 all members of boards of directors were Chinese, and the National Committee had markedly enlarged its functions. At its Convention of 1907 all the speakers were Chinese except Mott and Richard C. Morse.

Conferences for students had been convened by Wishard and Mott though the first regularly held meetings were in 1904. In 1906 the first Chinese student secretary, C. T. Wang, was sent to Tokyo to work among the large numbers of Chinese students there. Field meets were first held in 1902 and became very popular, aiding in obtaining access to government students. The arrival late in 1902 of C. H. Robertson, who began a special mission to literati through the medium of scientific lecture and demonstration, was a unique approach to a class otherwise almost impervious to the Christian message. (Neither Robertson nor his sponsors appear to have been aware of the similarly successful venture of the missionary Matthew Ricci, who had interested Chinese scholars three centuries earlier.)<sup>40</sup> Although Robertson's apprenticeship took seven years, when his equipment was finally assembled and the resultant lecture bureau functioning smoothly, it was not unusual to count an attendance of one hundred thousand in ten cities in that many weeks.<sup>41</sup> By 1907 the Y.M.C.A. in China was sufficiently rooted that the general missionary conference in session at Shanghai gave its hearty endorsement and called upon it "to gird up its loins for a more aggressive enterprise" in the days to follow.

The next five years saw the most rapid extension of city Associations. By the end of 1913 there were sixty-six foreign and sixty-eight Chinese secretaries, and half a million American dollars were invested in standard Association buildings on properties purchased with funds raised in China. Following the revolution of 1911-12 the leaders of the new government pushed the Y.M.C.A. enthusiastically. The first American physical director, Max J. Exner, arrived late in 1908 and soon organized work on the American pattern in addition to furthering the annual athletic contests which were by then attracting crowds of seven thousand in Tientsin and Shanghai. In 1907 and again in 1911 Sherwood Eddy, and in 1913 Eddy in company with Mott, held evangelistic campaigns the like of which there is probably no record.<sup>42</sup> An Association of employed officers was formed in 1912 at the first National secretarial conference. Public health work, conferences on boys' work, boys' camps, a Student Volunteer Movement were developed. In America a Chinese Students' Christian Association was formed and held special conferences for such students. By 1911 *China's Young Men* was the most widely circulated Christian periodical in China, with seven thousand subscribers in seventeen provinces, Manchuria, Hongkong, and Japan. The lecture department was supplemented by the magazine



*Progress* which made a special appeal to literati. By 1912, when C. T. Wang became associate general secretary, there was an organization on the North American pattern but with departments keyed to the needs in China. Chinese gradually assumed local and national directorships until there were no non-Chinese serving on boards, a policy and practice that enabled the Chinese movement to weather the depression following 1929. In 1912 the lecture department had as its new secretary David Z. T. Yui who would subsequently follow Wang in the general secretaryship. In these years of rapid expansion, wrote Lyon in retrospect, the movement largely passed "out from under the spell of suspicion" and the missions allocated many of their best men to serve in active co-operation with the Y.M.C.A.<sup>43</sup>

When Brockman was called home in 1915 to serve as Mott's assistant, Wang became general secretary of a movement that was growing intensively in membership, program features, personnel, and physical facilities. Chinese athletes won the Far-Eastern Olympic games that year and soon the city Associations would be "practically supported by the membership itself." In 1916 a standardized scheme for secretarial training was set up by the National Committee. During the First World War, Chinese donors contributed \$1,300,000 to the United War Work campaign in the United States, having been asked for \$100,000. In 1920 it seemed to Lyon that all this growth had been possible only in so far as the movement's life had been "drawn from the one great source of eternal life."

Significantly enough, we have Lyon's matured judgment on the early developments in China in a document hitherto unpublished in English, which he prepared for the Chinese Y.M.C.A. jubilee in 1935:

As I look in retrospect at the period between 1885 and 1910 I am impressed more than ever with the prominence of the student factor in the growth of the first twenty-five years. It was the student opportunity which first influenced the International Committee to act, and led to my coming out. It was the success of the early associations in developing religious self-expression among students which convinced the missionaries of the vital place of the association in the Christian colleges.

It was the eagerness of the educated classes to hold fellowship with one another in their quest for a new social order, which led the association to open up work in the great cities. It was the eagerness of students and educated people for a new type of reading-matter which impelled the association early, under the able and effective leadership of Mr. Zia Hung-lai, to launch upon its far-reaching program of literary service. It was from the ranks of students that the leadership, not alone in the association movement, but in nearly every other aspect of China's new life, sprang.<sup>44</sup>

## DEVELOPMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

Associations multiplied in Latin-American countries. The pioneering Y.M.C.A.'s in Brazil, of which Myron A. Clark was the founder, continued to grow.<sup>45</sup> In 1915 Clark was sent to Portugal where he established a work that was immediately successful although relatively small among the students of Coimbra University.<sup>46</sup> B. A. Shuman had begun Association work for the International Committee in Argentina in 1901, organizing an Association at Buenos Aires the next year. In 1908 Charles J. Ewald began specific work among the students of the University of Buenos Aires in whom he had been interested since his arrival in 1904. Five years later he told the International Convention that the new building at Rio, a result of Mott's visit in 1906, was crowded by 1,600 members, half of whom were enrolled in the gymnasium; Bible study had long since "reached the point of demonstrated feasibility."<sup>47</sup> In 1902 G. I. Babcock was sent to Mexico City to set up a railroad Association for English-speaking young men. Two years later a branch for Mexican men was re-established upon the foundations described in Chapter 8.<sup>48</sup> These were joined under Babcock's leadership in 1907 when the Portland test was adapted to local needs as was indicated in Chapter 12.

The Spanish-American War created an immense interest in Cuba but not until 1904 was J. E. Hubbard sent to Havana.<sup>49</sup> Backed by the West Side branch of New York City, Hubbard developed an active Association that occupied a \$135,000 building in 1916. The next year it had almost nine hundred members; swimming and sports were strongly emphasized, as were program features accenting "new moral viewpoints and corrected habits."<sup>50</sup> In 1909 Association work was begun upon earlier foundations in Uruguay by P. A. Conard who went to Montevideo from the secretaryship at the University of Illinois. The work grew slowly but by 1917 funds were raised for a \$250,000 building; soon afterward the Association's North American physical director was acting as adviser to the government.<sup>51</sup> The first Association secretary to Puerto Rico, George F. Tibbitts, arrived in San Juan in 1909, and a Y.M.C.A. was organized the next January. A \$125,000 building was opened in 1913, \$50,000 having been raised in Puerto Rico, and the insular government having given a lot worth \$60,000. Again, physical work was emphasized.<sup>52</sup> Although there had earlier been an Association at Concepción, Chile, the first American secretary was sent to

that country in 1910 when A. C. Hull of the Buenos Aires Association studied conditions in Santiago. In 1912 an Association was established at Valparaiso by F. C. Wurtz, its first rooms being opened upon the occasion of a visit by Charles Fermaud of the World's Committee. Due to peculiar conditions the Association asked the International Committee to be allowed to follow the Mexican pattern.<sup>53</sup>

In 1908, Charles D. Hurrey went to South America as traveling secretary. In his first report he called attention to the fact that the Y.M.C.A. was the first Protestant organization to direct its attention to students and the upper classes in the cities. As the latter became aware of the aim and scope of the Association they became enthusiastic promoters. Physical work had a tremendous appeal. When the Movement had spread to several South American countries a Continental Committee, based at Montevideo, was formed in 1914 at a Convention representative of the seven city Associations and a few student Y.M.C.A.'s. These claimed a total membership of 5,500, three buildings, and one additional site, valued together at about \$350,000 gold. There were thirty-one employed officers, half of whom were supported by the International Committee. After thorough exploration by a representative commission, this convention formulated an alternate membership basis to the Portland test. The Brazilian Associations held back from this step until 1918. It opened continental fellowship to those Associations that admitted to their membership young men who affirmed in writing:

- (1) Their faith in Jesus Christ as their divine and only Saviour, the sufficient source of moral strength for the individual and for society,
- (2) Their desire to be His disciples in doctrine and in life, and
- (3) Their purpose to unite with other Christians irrespective of their church affiliations, for extending Christ's influence among young men, especially through the promotion of the earnest study of His life, teachings and work, as revealed in history and Holy Scripture, and enlisting them in His service.<sup>54</sup>

The Committee set up an international camp and had a well-considered five-year plan for the continent when the First World War intervened. In 1922 with the help of the North American Associations, it established a college—the Instituto Tecnico—"to provide adequate preparation for South American secretaries to occupy the positions of leadership in existing Associations, and to extend Association work" throughout the continent.

## AN ASSOCIATION IN RUSSIA

When Luther Wishard visited Russia in 1891 there was no possibility of inaugurating Association work, but a beginning was made at the end of that decade. James Stokes, whose continued interest in spreading the fourfold idea is familiar to the reader of Chapter 8, first interested the Empress of Russia in 1898 but nothing came of the venture until the next year when, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Clarence J. Hicks of the railroad department went to Russia at Stokes' expense to study means of introducing welfare activities upon the railroads of that country. This did not eventuate but Hicks succeeded in winning the approval of a high Romanoff for a young men's society in St. Petersburg and secured his personal protection for the organization. Called a "mayak" or lighthouse, it was essentially a Y.M.C.A. It was housed in a \$100,000 building given by Stokes and was directed by Franklin A. Gaylord who had previously supervised Stokes' project in Paris.

Religious activities were in the hands of Orthodox priests. The program grew from modest classes in French, German, and bookkeeping through gymnasium work to popular lectures which greatly advanced the cause. A good library was in constant use and creditable drama produced. Stokes was insistent that the society should preserve its Russian character. In 1908 an American physical director was secured and what was said to be the best-equipped gymnasium in Russia was built in the courtyard of the mayak, equipped by Emanuel Nobel. An athletic field was constructed and basketball introduced. Problems created by admitting Jews and young radicals were met by limiting the number of the former and by astute leadership that prevented the latter from disrupting the organization. The success of the operation attracted the interest of the Czar who after about 1907 contributed five thousand rubles annually.

Plans were laid for the expansion of the venture to Moscow but war and revolution prevented this, though Mott held a written promise of John Wanamaker's to construct a building in Moscow if conditions would allow. In 1917 Gaylord was forced to return to America because of impaired health. That year a society was founded in Vladivostok with a nucleus of thirty members from the mayak and its assistant secretary as executive. The Kerensky revolution opened widening opportunities in Russia but before they could be seized, "the wholly disruptive Bolshevik regime," concluded Colton's account of this venture,



"dispossessed the society of its home, destroyed its social and material foundations, ruined the protectors whom it left alive, scattered the thousands of members into lonely isolation, and forced the Russian personnel into temporary hiding or prison." But the work continued, not only among the victims of war, revolt, epidemic, and famine, but throughout the period covered in this chapter it was maintained among Russians of the dispersion in Harbin and in Paris.<sup>55</sup>

#### A FOREIGN ASSOCIATION IS ANNEXED

In the course of Mott's return journey from Japan in 1897 he stopped over more than two weeks in Honolulu, where there was, as the reader of Chapter 8 knows, a remarkable Association. The next year Hawaii was annexed by the United States and the Honolulu Association soon joined the North American Movement. At this time it was a vigorous organization with all the features of most American Y.M.C.A.'s. It had taken an active part in ministering to the troops who passed through the port en route to the Philippines and in 1900 was feeling the need for a new building. The affairs of the Association sagged with the collapse of the boom following annexation and in 1906 it asked New York headquarters for a secretary. Paul Super, whose liberal theology he believed had disqualified him for Association foreign service, was sent out and in ten years built the Honolulu Association into the largest and richest in the world for a city of its size. One of the unique services developed by Super was the training of young college men for the secretaryship, an experiment that came to be regarded as a model demonstration. In 1915 Charles K. Ober secured Super for the International staff to help raise the level of local training programs. The War interrupted this plan and cast Super in a major role that will be reviewed later in this chapter.<sup>56</sup>

#### BEGINNINGS IN THE PHILIPPINES

In reporting for 1908, W. A. Tener, the pioneer American secretary at Manila, pointed to the fact that the Y.M.C.A. had come to the Philippines first with the troops in 1898, as was recounted in Chapter 11. In 1905 a city Association was organized in Manila by the army and navy department. The next year work for Filipino young men was assumed by the International Committee and Tener arrived in Manila early in 1907; J. M. Groves went out the next year. In 1907 Richard C. Morse and Mott stopped off on the way to the World's Student

Christian Federation meeting in Tokyo and a building campaign was launched. In thirty days \$40,000 gold was raised, in June the Y.M.C.A. of Manila was incorporated, and in October, 1909, the building was opened.

When in 1911 it was decided to expand with a separately incorporated Association for Filipino young men and to ask the community and the International Committee for funds for a second building, it was necessary to modify the basis so as to admit Roman Catholics to active membership. American religious leaders in Manila were consulted, especially Bishop Charles H. Brent, who took the position that the Roman Catholic Church should be considered evangelical. Brent interceded with the International Committee in behalf of broadening the basis. The authorities in New York gave their consent and the following modification of the Paris basis was formulated with the Mexican precedent as a guide:

Male members in good standing in the Roman Catholic Church or in any other Christian Church, who are eighteen years of age or over, may become active members of this Association by declaring, in accordance with the Paris Basis of membership adopted by the World's Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations, that regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, according to the Holy Scriptures, they desire to be His disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men.<sup>57</sup>

To this was added the specification that not more than one-third of the members of the board of directors could be members of "any one church or denomination."

#### AFRICA AND THE NEAR EAST

Although a South African Student Christian Movement had been organized in connection with Luther Wishard's trip there in 1896, the International Committee had decided at that time not to enter the field.<sup>58</sup> Yielding to steady pressure, Mott toured South Africa in 1906, reporting it to be "one of the most difficult and interesting" fields he had ever visited. The American Movement made a considerable contribution to it when in 1909 John S. Tichenor became traveling secretary for two years following an evangelistic tour by Fred B. Smith.<sup>59</sup> In 1913 the International Committee was asked to take over an earlier work that had been maintained in Cairo by the English National Council. William Jesop, who had three years' experience in India, was transferred to Cairo and had hardly gotten a varied and interesting

work under way when the First World War broke. He then administered the far-flung Red Triangle services to British and Indian troops in Egypt, Palestine, and the Sudan during the First World War.<sup>60</sup>

American Association interest in the Levant began with Luther Wishard's tour of 1891-92, described in Chapter 8. Further explorations by an agent of the International Committee were next made in the Turkish Empire when Lawson P. Chambers was sent to study the situation, in October, 1908. His first annual report was a comprehensive, statesmanlike appraisal based on firsthand observation acquired under tremendous hardship and personal risk.<sup>61</sup> Actual work by two American secretaries—E. O. Jacob and D. A. Davis—was begun almost simultaneously with the World's Student Christian Federation Conference held at Robert College in April, 1911. It had been urged for years by missionaries and Christian leaders. Jacob worked among students and Davis gave his attention to the founding of a city Association in Constantinople, preliminary arrangements for which were virtually impossible during the Balkan War of 1912-13. His activities in this interval included ministering to Turkish wounded in the hospitals of Constantinople, for which he was subsequently decorated by the Ottoman government. The many contacts and resultant prestige laid secure foundations for the organization that was formed in 1913. In 1915 Davis was sent to France where he was soon loaned to the World's Y.M.C.A. to direct work for prisoners of war in France, Italy, and Sardinia. When America entered the War he took charge of the International Committee's emergency work in France except that for American troops, mention of which was made in Chapter 11.<sup>62</sup>

#### A SUMMARY OF THE FOREIGN WORK IN 1916

Mott journeyed around the world in 1901-02 and 1912-13 and to South Africa and South America in 1906. This process of "securing a world outlook and co-operative, unified policy among the divided Protestant forces," as his biographer called it, was a powerful stimulus to the further growth of Y.M.C.A.'s in the lands we have described. It also resulted in the sending of American secretaries to at least nine additional places before the United States became involved in the First World War. When the Messer commission made its recommendations to the Convention of 1916, it counted 157 North American and seventeen European secretaries supported by the International Committee in fifty-five centers. Of these, 140 men were in Asia, twenty-three

in Latin America, two in Egypt, one in Portugal, and eight in the Near East. Of those in Asia, seventy-five were in China, forty-four in India, and ten in Japan.<sup>63</sup> "One by one," reported the International Committee to the Convention of 1916, "doors across the seas have been opened to the North American Brotherhood, until it has transplanted its vital principles and helpful activities to nineteen countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

#### BUILDINGS FOR THE FOREIGN WORK

The first major addition to the facilities of foreign Associations after the construction of the buildings at Osaka, Tokyo, Tientsin, Rio de Janeiro, Madras, Calcutta, and St. Petersburg was a further gift of one hundred thousand dollars by John Wanamaker in 1905 for buildings in Kyoto, Seoul, and Peking. In 1907 it was reported that the debt on the Rio building had been liquidated, ten thousand dollars of the amount coming "from a Brazilian friend of the Association, the largest single gift to Protestant missions by a resident in South America."<sup>64</sup> The same year a total of a half-million dollars was given for facilities in Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Manila. "The opening of each new building," said the *Year Book* of 1908-09, "pushes back the barriers and gives actual entrance into circles that before could be claimed by faith alone." That the work was winning "the approval and support of government officials and other influential men" was indicated by gifts of land for buildings and funds such as a \$2,400 donation toward the Seoul project by a Korean nobleman. Local supporters raised substantial sums to provide facilities in Shanghai, and Buenos Aires, Shanghai, Calcutta, and Mexico City by 1909 were providing for current expenses "from two to five and a half times as much" as they received from North America.<sup>65</sup> The financial panic of 1907 effectively put a stop to American gifts for buildings abroad for a time.

The high point of financing Y.M.C.A. buildings in foreign countries prior to the First World War was reached in 1910 when as a result of Mott's asking President William Howard Taft to speak at a promotion meeting of the International Committee at a Washington hotel, the President proposed holding the affair at the White House. Taft's interest in the Y.M.C.A. had been aroused by the work he had observed while Governor-General of the Philippines. In 1907 he had participated in the dedication of a modern building in Shanghai. Taft delivered to the two hundred officials, secretaries, and "masters of com-



merce, industry and finance" assembled in the East Room an address that it was forecast might become "a classic on stewardship."<sup>66</sup> Although the plan proposed to the Conference called for the construction of forty-nine buildings at a cost of \$1,515,000 and the addition of fifty men to the International Committee's foreign staff, in actuality more than two million dollars eventuated from this affair which Morse described in his Family League letter as "the Whitest Day in our Association History." There were substantial contributions by Wanamaker, contingent pledges by Rockefeller, and numerous other large gifts. Various cities underwrote specific projects.<sup>67</sup> The investment of these funds in buildings was matched by the continued increase of indigenous resources. In 1913 it was reported that a group of small buildings was rising in India "toward which the gifts in North America are met dollar for dollar by local givers and government grants."<sup>68</sup> In 1916 the Messer commission on foreign work recommended that at least five hundred thousand dollars be expended annually for foreign buildings. Interrupted by the War, this ambitious program was resumed again in 1922.

As a return upon this investment, pointed out the *Year Book* for 1912-13, the various foreign Associations were "more than ever ministering to national welfare" in their respective countries, in such strategic ways as establishing pioneer playgrounds, through leadership in physical education that extended "beyond the building and foreign constituency to the government civil servants, the constabulary, the educational system, the entire athletic life" of a country, culminating in the first Far Eastern Olympic games held at Manila with worthy competing teams from Japan, China, and the Philippines. Health lectures had been given "with great acceptability and timeliness by the representatives of this department in Mexico and China." No previous period, continued the *Year Book*, had witnessed such a turning "to inquiry and discipleship," those so influenced being numbered by thousands. From the student hostels "little processions of converts" had moved steadily toward the Church. In Seoul two church congregations had been created "largely from Association converts." Student work abroad was obtaining the support of several governments and in both China and Japan the converts were "real assets to the Christian forces." In 1912 Eddy's evangelism "reaped the harvest of the years" from Canton to Peking; so impressed was the annual conference of mission boards in China that year that they proposed allocating twenty

men to work with as many Y.M.C.A. secretaries "to overtake for Christ and the Church the great opportunity presented by the rapid extension of the student population." Educational work in 1910 was receiving attention next to the religious work, as Robertson's activities and widespread classwork indicated.<sup>69</sup> Boys' work, rural work, and even some railroad welfare activity had potential significance before the First World War absorbed most Y.M.C.A. energies. After that there would be sweeping developments in many a unique program area.

#### ADMINISTRATION AND PROMOTION OF THE FOREIGN WORK, 1900-1916

The tremendous expansion of the foreign work that has been suggested in the foregoing pages was largely the result of Mott's promotion under the subcommittee chairmanship of William D. Murray (1858-1939), a New York corporation lawyer who like Cephas Brainerd made his lay Y.M.C.A. service a second career for thirty years following 1895. Wishard left the foreign secretaryship in 1898, Murray taking much of the responsibility temporarily. From this time on Mott gave an increasing share of his time to the foreign venture though still identified primarily with the student department. The Jubilee Convention of 1901 made him associate general secretary "with special reference to the supervision of the foreign work." While yet attached to the field department, Charles K. Ober devoted one-third of his time from 1898 to 1902 to the home cultivation of the foreign work, during which period the number of secretaries was increased from twelve to thirty and the budget from twenty-eight thousand dollars to seventy thousand dollars.<sup>70</sup> Upon Ober's assuming full responsibility for the field department in 1902, others were co-opted to administer the foreign work, the first of whom was E. C. Jenkins, Mott's secretary since 1900. In 1903 Hans P. Andersen and Ethan T. Colton came from student work, the latter building slowly but surely an adequate home base for the support of the foreign venture during the next decade.<sup>71</sup> Mott continued as general secretary of the foreign division until 1915 when, as was reviewed in Chapter 10, he became general secretary for the entire International Committee program. In 1903 the foreign work committee had been enlarged and organized with five working subcommittees. From time to time it was increased, numbering seventy-two in 1916.

In 1911 Sherwood Eddy (1871- ), upon Mott's invitation, became "secretary for Asia" to divide his time equally between America and

the Orient, with responsibility for both interpretation and fund raising.<sup>72</sup> Eddy, whose service as an International Committee employee had begun in India in 1896 and was maintained throughout his thirty-five years' uninterrupted secretaryship without salary (he had received "a small inheritance" from his father), was remarkably qualified to interpret oriental problems to Americans and to effectually evangelize in Asia, particularly in China. In 1916 Eddy was an associate general secretary of the International Committee, co-ordinate with Jenkins and Colton, in the foreign department, and was responsible for "securing of the larger individual subscriptions" and similar cultivation. He then felt that the several phases of the work lacked co-ordination, close co-operation, and clear assignment of responsibility, the activity of the staff being "too individual, scattered and haphazard to have reached the highest efficiency."<sup>73</sup> Thus it will be seen that the administration of the foreign work was plagued by the same difficulties that characterized the home division, as will be recalled from Chapter 10.

Foreign Associations differed slightly if at all in organization, though markedly in program, from those in North America, the only modifications prior to the First World War being at the point of a broader basis of membership for those in Roman Catholic countries.<sup>74</sup> The principles for the conduct of foreign work as laid down by the International subcommittee in 1889 (they were set forth in Chapter 8) underwent no serious change, but naturally entailed considerable interpretation and amplification as the work expanded. On the occasions of Mott's tours, International secretaries were convened in Japan, China, and India and detailed job-analyses worked out, covering especially the relationships between the secretaries, their national committees, and the International Committee.<sup>75</sup> These clearly reflected the growing autonomy of national movements. By 1916 it could be reported that there were national committees "composed chiefly of Christian citizens of these foreign countries" established in Japan, China, India, South America, and the Turkish Empire. The detailed statement made to the Convention that year spoke not only of expansion and program but emphasized the growth of "the native secretariat" from 163 to 296 in the previous three years, the beginning of secretarial training in India and China, the development of strong native lay leadership, and the growth of self-support to more than one hundred thousand dollars above the aggregate maintenance funds supplied from North America.<sup>76</sup>



Promotion of the foreign venture continued for the most part along lines similar to those described in Chapter 8. In addition to Mott's world tours and his report letters widely circulated among the friends and supporters of the work, other responsible leaders inspected the foreign stations and similarly reported. Secretaries on furlough traveled widely in the United States and Canada, speaking and raising funds. In 1898 Ober organized an "Association Volunteer League" of men "called to stay at home" which proved helpful "in the promotion of an intelligent and prayerful interest."<sup>77</sup> E. M. Robinson worked out a program for the support of the foreign project by boys' groups.<sup>78</sup> Stereopticon lectures were made available to local Associations. The stimulus to the work accruing from the Spanish War was reflected in a marked increase in contributions and the rise of *Foreign Mail* subscribers to 3,500 by 1903. "World Wide Work" became a topic for summer conferences and secretarial institutes, and mission study continued to be emphasized in local Associations. In 1906, J. Campbell White, Mott's brother-in-law, back from Association service in India, was instrumental in developing the Laymen's Missionary Movement which was to contribute largely to the missionary support of Y.M.C.A. as well as denominational foreign ventures. Later William B. Millar, former senior secretary of the army and navy department, became general secretary of this organization and prominent Association laymen held office in it. Yet withal the basic problem of financing was the relatively small sums contributed by individual Y.M.C.A.'s, half of which were tardy in remitting and three-fourths of which refused to "put their support on a guaranteed basis," as Colton told a private conference in 1915. A few large city Associations that did so pledge were "grand in their isolation." Financial management on the basis thus enforced upon the department by the Associations, said Colton, could "never rise above devout guess-work."<sup>79</sup>

Problems such as these led the Employed Officers' Conference of 1914 to appoint a commission to study the relation of the foreign work to the total Movement enterprise. Chaired by L. Wilbur Messer, metropolitan general secretary of the Chicago Association who, previous to a recent world tour, had held aloof from the foreign work, it presented to the Convention of 1916 the most thoroughgoing and challenging analysis and proposals yet set forth. Messer was now "the world's leading local general secretary" and was in great demand for addresses on the foreign work, his influence being probably the greatest of any indi-



vidual city secretary. The Commission, after a careful survey of the world field, proposed a permanent foreign staff of two hundred men whose maintenance would cost five hundred thousand dollars a year. An equal sum was seen to be needed annually for buildings. Together with extras for staff and the cost of home administration a total annual budget of \$1,150,000 was submitted. Proposals were made for collaboration with mission boards in obtaining well-trained candidates for the field and a plan described whereby experienced executives could be released for training. A method was also outlined for the training in North America of foreign national secretaries as well as a scheme to utilize the furloughs of foreign secretaries both for recuperation and to promote training. The continued intellectual growth of the foreign secretary on the field was considered, as was the cultivation of the spiritual life. Administrative and promotional proposals included the appointment of a commission to "determine ways and means of achieving this large objective."<sup>80</sup> So effective were the methods used then and earlier that the foreign work budget grew 1414 per cent between 1901 and 1919.<sup>81</sup>

Because the first foreign secretaries were recruited by the Student Volunteer Movement, it was natural that they would be concerned with extension of student work. This was a large factor in Wishard's world visitation. Mott devoted full attention to students during his tour of 1895-97 and a large share of it on the next trip in 1901-02. Swift was largely concerned with student work in Japan, as was McConaughy in India, but it was in China that the idea of a national movement radiating from student centers was first tried out. Mott realized on his first tour that a broader base was necessary though it was 1901 before this fact had borne itself into the conscience of Lyon and the China staff. Lewis' feeling for the necessity of a city Association was a step toward widening influence. With the development of strong city Associations there came increasing demands for secretarial specialists. The Messer commission was insistent that regardless of academic preparation a foreign candidate should not assume his position without city Association experience, and it urged local North American Y.M.C.A.'s "to take upon their staff men whom they [were] deliberately training for such appointment." As increasing calls for specialization were answered not only was the American standard program in these specific lines more or less duplicated in many foreign Associations, but the secretaries who went out to promote them were able to

take advantage of the astonishing opportunities created by the insatiable interest in physical work, boys' work, railroad, and later rural programs. In exploiting these the Associations continued as in the pioneer years before 1900 in full harmony with the mission boards, having had representation at the founding of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. The Y.M.C.A. co-operated with it in 1912 in a plan to send twenty specialists to China to work among students, an example of widespread joint planning on the highest level of mutuality.<sup>82</sup>

#### THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE "OVERSEAS" EXPANSION OF AMERICAN Y.M.C.A. WORK

It was inevitable that the vast extension of the American Movement on behalf of the millions of men under arms in the First World War would profoundly affect the program and structure of the foreign work and that tremendous dislocations would result from the direct effects of the catastrophe itself. Some of these were noticeable as early as 1915, which was said to have been the "best year in the history of the Movement" in spite of the fact that already the War had everywhere checked whatever advance had been dependent upon new funds. Where retrenchments were necessary they had been accomplished "without sacrificing anything vital," yet the tremendous funds raised for War work were afterward to effect the greatest expansion of the foreign work to be attempted at any one time. Mott had already inaugurated the prisoner of war work that was to become almost limitless by the end of the War. In the summer of 1916 he again went to Europe in its behalf but even in 1917 it was possible for the *Year Book* to report the foreign program moving "literally from strength to strength" with large additions to staff and budget. At the same time the calling of American foreign secretaries to War service opened unprecedented opportunities for nationals.

The entrance of the United States into the War "profoundly changed the attitude of Latin America toward this country" and in Japan likewise the Association's opportunity was enhanced. The revolution in China, remarked the *Year Book* of 1918, had not interfered with Y.M.C.A. work except to hamper finances. India also was said to be "distinctly more friendly." Soaring prices made the foreign enterprise increasingly costly, yet on the whole the Associations of the United States and Canada were said to be "more responsive than ever before to the appeal of the Foreign Work." This was reflected in Convention

action the next year authorizing one million dollars for current expenses—twice the recommendation of the Messer commission three years before. In actuality this marked the beginning of a period of fresh expansion, though the primary post-War depression of 1921 was a temporary setback. The net effect of the War upon the venture as a whole was summarized by the *Year Book* of 1920 when it declared that the past year had been the best in the history of the work (a remark made each of the previous thirty years) and that in every field the Association's position had been "strengthened, its prestige increased and more than ever it [had] been recognized as an indispensable factor in meeting the needs" of the then "plastic nations."

The development of major import that stemmed from prisoner of war, relief, and welfare services was the growth of new national Y.M.C.A. movements in a dozen countries, chiefly in eastern Europe. More than any other factor, this expansion into Christian lands dramatized the emerging concept now becoming overt, in the light of which the North American Movement was viewing its foreign work as a co-operative, mutual endeavor rather than a sending operation aimed at inferior peoples. Many now saw the entire enterprise in a new light. Known as "overseas" work this welfare service received a major share of the surplus War funds in 1920 when there were still half a million prisoners of war and millions of men under arms. At that time emergency services were being carried out in France, Greece, Roumania, Italy, Portugal, Czechoslovakia, Poland, for Russians and Chinese in France, and for American forces in Germany. Administered by a continuing organization of the War Work Council this was headed by D. A. Davis who acted in "the double capacity of Senior Secretary for Europe of the International Committee and Associate General Secretary of the World's Committee, thus keeping these two movements in touch with each other." This work was amalgamated with the foreign division in 1923.

When the United States entered the War in 1917 American secretaries were of necessity withdrawn from the camps of the Central Powers. At the same time the fortunes of war transformed Czech and Polish prisoners into Allies. Secretaries continued to work with the men they had known in the prison camps who were now in the newly formed Czech and Polish legions. The result was as a witness wrote:

When after the Armistice the Legionnaires returned to their liberated or newly organized homelands they literally took the Y.M.C.A. with them.

The Y.M.C.A. was born with the countries. It suffered similar experiences and growing pains. It worked with the troops while the new frontiers were being established and then worked with the civilian population. It became a part of the nations.<sup>83</sup>

The *Year Book* of 1921 described an example: "During the summer and autumn of 1920 the Czechoslovakia troops, 66,000 of them, were coming back from Siberia after their six years of wandering and with them the 'American Uncles' who had worked with them in Siberia." During the past year there had been little military or political disturbance in the country, and Walter Gethman, the senior secretary, a mid-westerner who would later be general secretary of the World's Committee, could say of the firm foundations being laid and the training of Czech secretaries: "It is a clean, balanced, aggressive, true type of Association movement, with a domestic personnel surprisingly well trained and merged into a real brotherhood."

Similar accounts could be given of the manner in which the roots of new national movements were planted in the several eastern European countries in which relief and welfare services had been or were being carried on.<sup>84</sup> Of these, that in Poland was one of the more significant and will be taken as an example. In 1920 there had been forty huts and buildings and eight mobile canteens manned by forty-six American secretaries in Poland when the newly born nation became involved in war with Russia. This American organization gave itself to serving the soldiers, the wounded, and refugees. Upon the withdrawal of the Bolsheviks regular Association work started again, utilizing the services of a large number of Polish men and women, the latter having filled from the beginning "the same place as did our American women with the A.E.F." Special centers were opened in Warsaw and several other cities and efforts were made to deal with the desperate plight of thousands of Russian prisoners-of-war.

As the North American movement looked at the colossal problems of this war-blighted area it realized that it was in a transition period between "one process and the beginning of a new one." In the *Year Book* of 1922 Mott wrote that large areas overseas were yet under war conditions and "millions of men and boys" were "still torn by the effects of war." Yet these were "the only hope of the new Europe"; it was to such men, "tired, discouraged, with moral fibre loosened, and with faith in God shaken," that the North American Associations were "seeking to bring hope, vigor, reawakened moral sense, and a basis of



vital and reasonable faith." Before withdrawing from these fields, continued Mott, "we aim to leave a vital deposit of American Association ideas and ideals, of principles and methods, of goodwill and friendship, of the example of unselfish and heroic service." Not only hundreds of workers who had "continued patiently for years their responsible task" but also recognized specialists had been sent for shorter periods. In order to support this the Convention of 1922 instructed the International Committee to incorporate future appeals in the foreign division budget when War Work funds were exhausted. That Convention heard reports from all the fronts where such work went on, some of which it was hoped would ripen into national movements. As D. A. Davis, senior American secretary in Europe, formulated the principles underlying the American contribution in developing Associations in Europe in 1923, these stood out:

The American leaders should create, or aid in the development of self-propagating, self-directing, and self-supporting Associations with the four-fold program, operating on a community-wide basis; such Associations to be both a movement and an institution.

As soon as possible, consistent with the proper discharge to the American constituency of any financial trust, the American secretaries should yield executive responsibility to their associates and assume an advisory role. "Get the backing of the ablest native leaders and formulate all policies in consultation with them; make them represent the movement before their own people."

The American leaders should seek to bring about a combination of the best in the European and American movements, and to utilize the richest experience of all countries; not striving to promote the American Association program as such, not to supplant the old, but to develop a growing, efficient movement, perfectly adapted to its field.

The Convention of 1922 was happily surprised to receive on its second day a cablegram from Paul Super (1880-1949), general secretary of the Polish Associations, describing those Y.M.C.A.'s as "the most recently organized national movement" and sending greetings to the International Convention, their "parent body." Super's several interpretations of Association ideology and history were widely influential during the 1920's.<sup>85</sup> At the outset of his Polish commission, Super felt the uncertainty underlying projects financed with dwindling War-work funds:

We secretaries had no definite assurance that the Foreign Work Department of the International Committee of Y.M.C.A.'s, concerned with Asia, South America, and the Middle East, would take on the added burden of work in Europe. It very obviously did not want to. This uncertainty . . . haunted

us. Our colleagues had gone to Asia and other countries to establish strong Y.M.C.A. movements no matter how long it took; we . . . felt back of us the constant pressure to liquidate our stocks and obligations, demobilize personnel, slap together some sort of Y.M.C.A., and hurry home.<sup>86</sup>

But this was not Mott's conception of the task and the very Convention to which Super had cabled greetings did place the continuing responsibility upon the foreign division.

The welfare and relief work done among the Poles by American units in 1919-21, referred to above, led to a strong desire on the part of leading Polish citizens to have a Y.M.C.A. of their own. A committee had presented the American Movement with a request for a secretary to recruit and train Polish personnel. Super, with six years' experience at that task in America, was given the assignment which he accepted reluctantly:

But in the New York office, man proposed and John R. Mott disposed. I read books about Poland, interviewed a few persons who had been there, and accepted the assignment. I made one condition. Learning that almost all Poles are Catholics I said to Dr. Mott and Mr. Hibbard, head of the Overseas Division of the National War Work Council of the American Y.M.C.A.'s under whose auspices and with whose money the work in Europe was being done, "I will go to Poland, but the Polish Y.M.C.A. which I shall help develop will be a Catholic Y.M.C.A." That was at that time a very radical, even revolutionary stand. But Mott rose to the idea, and agreed.<sup>87</sup>

Shortly after Super arrived in Poland early in 1922, he witnessed an Easter eve service in the Warsaw cathedral. This gave him a vision of the potentialities of "the resurrection of a nation which had been in its tomb almost a hundred and fifty years, and [was] now living and free!" Setting himself at once to organizing Associations in Warsaw, Lodz, and Krakow, Super fostered a national organization. Its first convention in December, 1923, witnessed the full transfer of the Y.M.C.A. in Poland to the Poles, who had wanted . . . "a centralized national organization" holding all property and "exercising a good deal of authority when necessary." The National council was composed entirely of local leaders, elected at a convention composed of locally elected delegates.<sup>88</sup> At their insistence, Super was re-elected general director, which title he held until he retired in 1947 as an officer of the Polish Y.M.C.A. in exile. In the seventeen years before Poland was overrun by the Nazis the Association had acquired three large buildings costing about \$1,850,000 (about half of which came from North America), 19,000 members, forty-one Polish secretaries, "a typical Y.M.C.A. pro-

gram adapted to a Catholic environment," increasing indigenous support, and a "big program of group work."

Super's interpretation in 1930 of current American educational thought as relevant to the Polish program was instructive: considering the Polish Y.M.C.A. as a character-building agency he prepared outlines on "growth through educative activity" together with program papers supporting them. These might have been taken directly from the thought of American boys' work leaders at the time. Super wrote in his autobiography that he had

... prepared three outlines for the training of our leaders, one to explain Dewey's "problem-solution-action" formula, one to explain Kilpatrick's "purpose-plan-execute-judge" formula, and one on Thorndike's three laws of learning. We also drew on the work of Coe, Charters, Bowers, Rugg, Chave, and Harrison Elliott. . . .

These new theories offered concrete help to the Y.M.C.A. in a Catholic environment in which all religious worship and instruction was in the hands of the Church, for with this rationale Super believed his program could be based on creative activity rather than indoctrination. The Polish government asked Super to undertake Y.M.C.A. work for its beleaguered army when the Germans attacked in 1939. Upon the fall of Poland he directed an extensive relief program for Poles from a base in Roumania, returning in 1940 to the United States and administering Polish relief at numerous points during the Second World War.

Equally significant with the development of the Polish Associations was the organization of the work in Czechoslovakia under W. W. Gethman. The Czechoslovak movement was essentially a federation of national student, city, and denominational Y.M.C.A.'s. Local secretaries were paid equally by their local Associations and the national committee. Buildings were financed by government subsidy with a plan for annual amortization. In the estimation of E. T. Colton, long associate general secretary of World Service, the movement in Esthonia was the most completely rounded out Association program with which North America was identified on the continent. Although it was never helped by American building funds it developed great indigenous secretarial strength, with fruitful religious activities at the center of a four-fold program. These are examples of the new Association roots that had been sunk in Europe during the interwar years.

## THE EXPANSION OF WORLD SERVICES, 1920-29

During these years a dozen national Y.M.C.A. movements were launched in Europe almost overnight, all of them asked for by the countries concerned, as had been the case with every such move since Swift first went to Japan. This unprecedented expansion for a time tended to center Association attention upon the numerous European ventures perhaps to the temporary detriment of the older work and it created serious financial problems that would almost engulf the entire foreign enterprise a decade later. Mott took the risk involved in expending greater subsidy than previous policy had allowed at the critical moment when every door was open to the Y.M.C.A. and the political upheavals of the 1930's were unforeseen. This was one of the most effectual demonstrations to Europe during the heyday of American isolationism that the American people were concerned with what happened abroad. In spite of American largesse, the European movements progressed significantly toward the goals of self-direction, self-support, and self-propagation. By the mid-1930's several no longer needed outside help and others were rapidly becoming self-sufficient.

Only highlights on the rise and subsequent retrenchment of World Service between 1920 and 1940 can be considered in this chapter. In the 1920's the Associations carried out the recommendation of the Messer commission to send two hundred secretaries to the field, and expended slightly over two million dollars on the enterprise in 1927, the peak year that exceeded the 1925-29 average by slightly over 9 per cent. Significant advances into new territory were the dispatching of Wilbert B. Smith to Egypt to domesticate the work that had grown large under War pressure and was now to be engrafted upon national life, and of Max Yergan to South Africa. A veteran of War service in East Africa, whence he had gone in response to Carter's ringing appeal at the Convention of 1916, Yergan had previously served the International Committee as traveling secretary among the Negro colleges of the American Southwest. Although his South African mission was at first complicated because of suspicion of an American, Yergan won his way against immense odds and by the end of five years had organized twenty-six Associations among students in colleges and universities and had initiated discussion groups that were opening better understanding of the complex racial issues of the area. He accomplished a significant work, yet after fifteen years came to the belief that the only effective



means for dealing with the basic problems affecting Africans was political, and therefore resigned from the Committee's staff.<sup>89</sup>

The foreign building program was resumed in 1922 when plans were activated for the expenditure of five millions in a three-year period. The yearnings for a better world but also the building-centered limitations of much Association program were dramatically illustrated in the construction of the magnificent building in Jerusalem, dedicated in April, 1933. Inspired by A. C. Harte, an International secretary called from India to Jerusalem in 1920, the building was chiefly the gift of James N. Jarvie of Montclair, New Jersey. "The International Committee," wrote general secretary F. W. Ramsey in extending an invitation to the dedication, "desires this work at Jerusalem to stand as an expression of the friendly outreach of all the Christian forces of the world toward the youth of our Lord's own land, and the dedication of this beautiful property and equipment will be in these terms." An architectural and artistic triumph the structure housed the facilities for the characteristic program of the period including a swimming tank, extensive library, chapel and prayer rooms, and a replica of the room in London in which the parent Association was formed. In his dedicatory address Lord Allenby referred to the project as "a gesture of friendship by British and American citizens towards Moslems, Jews, and their own Palestinian co-religionists." Its work would be interracial, interfaith, "without any distinction of country or creed; in the interests and for the benefit of both sexes" and would "focus the attention of the world on the beneficent energies of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations; whose activities reach[ed] to more than fifty lands." The building would provide "a spot whose atmosphere is peace; where political and religious jealousies can be forgotten, and international unity be fostered and developed."<sup>90</sup>

#### THE CONTRACTION OF WORLD SERVICES, 1930-1940

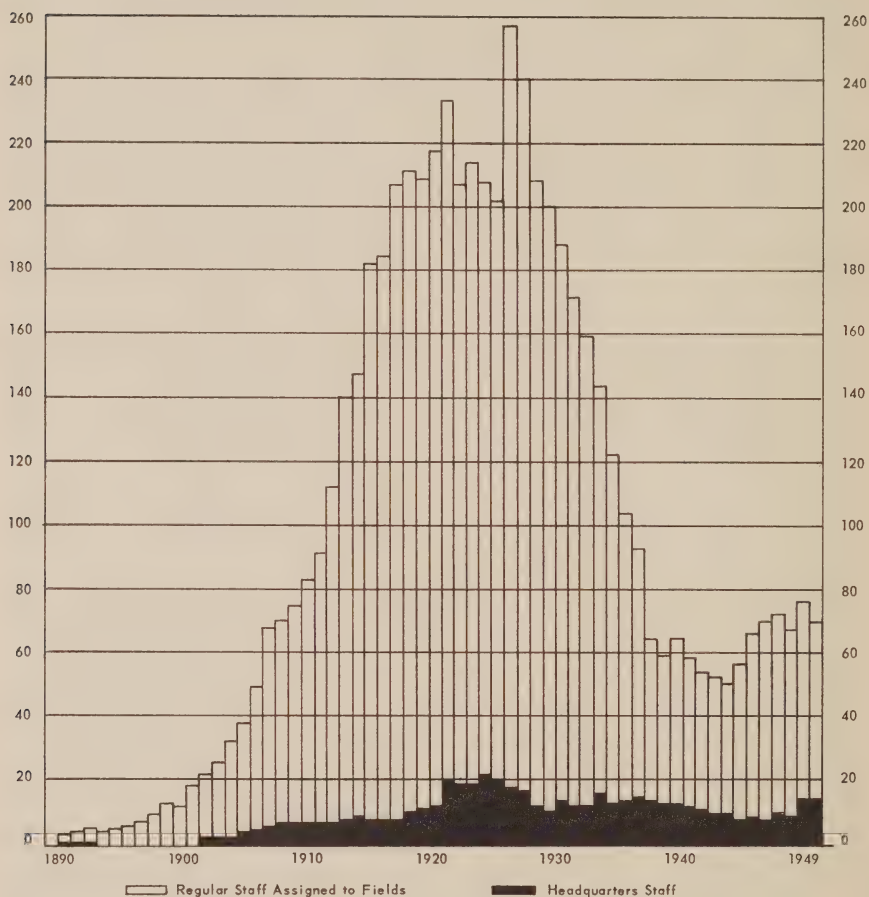
After 1927 a combination of forces reduced both budget and staff. By 1930 the budget had fallen to 73 per cent of the 1925-1929 average and at the bottom of the depression, 1933, reached 22.4 per cent, remaining below 30 per cent throughout the decade. Yet in 1931 thirty-two countries were being served, the maximum reached. At this critical juncture the administration of the foreign venture was returned to the International Committee, which, it will be recalled from

Chapter 10, had for legal reasons continued on after the organization of the National Council in 1924. In the eyes of a minority this was a reactionary move that tended to increase the distance between the administration of the foreign work and the local Associations' control of it. John E. Manley was virtually the sole vocal dissenter on the floor of the National Council meeting of 1931 that upon less than twenty-four hours' notice voted almost unanimously in favor of a policy that was then regarded by most delegates as the only apparent alternative to financial catastrophe. One delegate remarked that the foreign work was a crusade but that crusades were "not mobilized through an electoral system" such as the National Council's system of representation.

The transfer was made as of January 1, 1932, and under the general secretaryship of Francis Harmon an effective but drastic retrenchment—particularly as experienced by the lower ranks of secretaries on the field—was carried out that enabled World Service to continue within the limitations of available income. The staff stood at slightly less than fifty through the rest of the decade. The eighty-one North American secretaries in China in 1925 were reduced to eight by 1934, yet not a single Y.M.C.A. in that country closed because of this. Not until the 1940's was the accumulated debt inherited from ten years before wiped out, although administration of World Service was returned to the National Council in 1936. In 1937, Eugene E. Barnett succeeded Harmon. As the Movement began to show signs of recovery from the depression, insistent appeals came from many parts of the world to return to the earlier volume of American support. A "program of rehabilitation" was authorized but the methods used to secure the necessary funds were mostly the old techniques of personal pledge, though some Associations genuinely supported the program. It could hardly be said that World Service was enthusiastically underwritten by the rank and file of American Association membership when this period ended in 1940.

The entire World Service enterprise was brought under fresh examination by a costly independent survey completed in 1931. Reviewing the forty years' history of the foreign work the International Survey (which included the Y.W.C.A. as well as the Y.M.C.A.) saw three distinct phases in its development:

... the period before assistance was sent by foreign divisions of other countries; the earlier period of foreign help lasting approximately until the



WORLD SERVICE STAFF, 1890 TO 1949 INCLUSIVE

[First] World War, characterized by missionary enthusiasm, organizational consolidation, and a dominant interest in the Far East; and the period of post-war readjustment, in which internationalism has been a dominant interest, the original sense of evangelical mission has been less strong, the independence of national leaders has made itself felt, the world-outlook of the Associations has been considerably widened and rendered more complex, and restlessness has been evident both within Association circles and in their environment.

As they had been studied in the three years preceding the publication of the report, the Associations abroad were seen to constitute "essentially a united movement" in spite of "great variety of program, environment, stage of development, and national and racial temper." No reason was apparent why they could not be developed "on an increasing scale as units of world movements" of which the North American Associations would be integral parts. The Christian Associations studied were said to be "essentially and irreducibly, fellowships for the development of personality in young men and young women, boys and girls, in accord with a Christian character ideal, central in which is that presented in the personality of Jesus."

Qualifications for admission to these Associations the commission thought ought to be in terms of fellowship rather than such arbitrary standards as the older Protestant tests. National leaders in China and India, as examples, were hardly willing to go as far as the commission in admitting non-Christians to voting membership. Yet, continued the report, if the essential nature of the North American Associations was that of character-building fellowships they were responsible for extending such on an international and interreligious basis. In the process of actualizing this ideal nationals should take over increasing responsibility and the importation of alien concepts and practices should be discouraged. The fellowship interpretation, it was said, epitomized the genius of the Movement as a whole, and was summarized in the phrase "the Y.M.C.A. belongs to the world." When F. Ernest Johnson, the director of the study, set forth his position it was a significant synthesis of the new viewpoints in religion and education that have been described in Chapters 12 and 13 of this History as representative of the currents of thought that swept through the Y.M.C.A. from the liberal churches and the universities at that time:

What I have to say about the World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations will be characterized by a broadly social interpretation of religion, by acceptance of modern educational ideals and methods, by a conception of world brotherhood as inherent in Christianity, and by a con-



viction that Christianity itself gains rather than loses by intimate, friendly reciprocal relationships with other great religions of the world.

If such a point of view is accepted, it follows that the so-called Foreign Work of the North American Y.M.C.A. is not merely the outward thrust of a movement that has its home [base] on this continent. It is the visible expression of the international character of the Association movement itself, which is in essence a world fellowship, having national centers in various countries throughout the world. The Association movement can no more be domesticated in any one country than can the Christian religion. Its genius is international.<sup>91</sup>

This was a far cry from the motivation of successive waves of student volunteers who had contemplated "the evangelization of the world in this generation." It was a wider perspective than the "general tendency" which Richard C. Morse had seen in 1891 "throughout the world toward the adoption of American ideas in Association work." Yet it had been latent in the principles upon which the venture was undertaken in 1889.

#### HIGHLIGHTS OF WORLD SERVICE PROGRAM, 1920-1940

The development of the internal affairs and programs of the thirty or more national movements which the North American Y.M.C.A.'s had been instrumental in founding lies outside this History. In this section some unusually significant developments in which the North American Movement had a share will be highlighted. A prime focus of attention during the inter-War era was upon the European work where emergency services were ripening into indigenous, permanent organizations. As D. A. Davis reviewed the emphases of these years, they fell into seven categories, the first of which was the continued stress upon training youth in contrast to the traditional values attributed in most eastern European countries to age, wisdom, and seniority. Some of the strongest of the political youth movements of the period, he pointed out, took their first programs from the pages of Y.M.C.A. handbooks, but ignored the Christian emphasis—"the only thing that makes the Y.M.C.A. service distinctive."<sup>92</sup>

The introduction of team games into the Baltic countries, Turkey, and the Balkan states, "helped to create new standards of play and sportsmanship." Closely related was the group method, reported to have had "widespread influence in schools, universities and business in many countries." Furthermore, group work and team games had provided an atmosphere in which splendid leadership had developed. The third of Davis' points was that of camping with program:

It was the Y.M.C.A. that brought this type of service to youth in Eastern Europe. Government youth organizations and other youth groups soon imitated the Y.M.C.A. method, but in general the spirit and techniques of the Y.M.C.A. have kept the association in a place of leadership in this phase of youth work. Possibly no single Y.M.C.A. activity has [exerted] a greater influence on youth than the camping program in Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Greece and the Baltic States.

International emphasis in Christian work had been stimulated in numerous countries. Most of the Association buildings in Czechoslovakia, wrote Davis, had been located in consultation with national leaders in order to insure minority groups being well served. The same idea was emphasized by different activities such as international camps, conferences, sports festivals and in many other ways. Likewise inter-confessional understanding and co-operation were furthered, "the Y.M.C.A.'s of eastern Europe [becoming] a sort of laboratory for the development of Christian character building programs congenial to youth of Orthodox and Roman Catholic background." This effort, "long and at times painful" and not as yet entirely successful, Davis thought had been sufficient "to point the way to the importance of Christians of various confessions doing things together."

. . . The honest attempt to develop a type of Association which would help to meet the spiritual and social needs of Roman Catholic and Orthodox youth has forced Protestant youth and their leaders to re-evaluate their own methods and techniques. . . . It has been found possible for boys and young men fully to co-operate in what are considered the secular and character building activities of the Y.M.C.A.

The Y.M.C.A. had also put a fresh emphasis in Roman Catholic and in Orthodox countries upon the place of the layman, stressing the "vital importance of Christian principles becoming a determining factor in every day life of the "man in the street" and of the "man in the pew." Lastly, these Associations, like virtually all Y.M.C.A.'s fostered by the North American Movement, had stressed community service. Citing the unique process used in starting the Y.M.C.A.'s of Czechoslovakia, Davis described how after six months' study of each community an Association program centered on the needs of youth was worked out.

On the other side of the globe the Y.M.C.A. of India developed further after the First World War the remarkable program of rural reconstruction that had been pioneered by K. T. Paul, who was now general secretary. In 1921 the Indian National Council asked the Inter-

national Committee to send a secretary to expand the program, in which Paul continued his own interest. In response, D. Spencer Hatch, a graduate of the agricultural department at Cornell University, where he later returned on leave for specialized training and the Ph.D. in rural sociology, co-ordinated the earlier reconstruction methods of Paul and his associates in remarkably successful rural demonstration centers. As co-operatives and improved methods of agriculture began to catch on, students came from far and near and Hatch was called upon by Indian potentates to establish comparable centers. To a myriad of helpful devices directed chiefly toward increasing the incomes of Indian villagers, Hatch added night schools and Association centers for extension work. Most of these, he wrote in *Up from Poverty*, were "without buildings and equipment" and their committee members "young men and boys *imbued with the spirit of service, above the mean of the village in education and enlightenment, trained in service.*" The activities were not stereotyped but touched the religious, educational, physical, social, and economic. Largely nonequipment and activity-centered, few of the village Associations possessed buildings. Those that were put up by the members' own hands were "veritable lighthouses, not only to the villages in which they [stood] but to the other villages around. . . ." Religious work might include a Hindu's leading a class in the Bhagavad Gita, libraries served the few literates of the village who read aloud to the others, and physical work was chiefly in the direction of health education in a country where the life-expectancy ratio was the lowest in the world. Perhaps most significantly, the village Association served Hatch's purpose as the "basic machinery for spreading any new teaching or help" so that many people might "adopt it and enjoy its benefits."<sup>83</sup>

In China, torn in the mid-1920's by revolution, Y. C. James ("Jimmie") Yen's work in mass education was perhaps the most remarkable single Y.M.C.A.-inspired event among many in public health, education, and athletics. On the basis of his World War experience, where he had been educational secretary among two hundred thousand Chinese laborers in France, Yen, by study and experimentation in China and abroad after the war "as a part of the activities of the Educational Committee of the National Committee, Y.M.C.A.," developed the "foundation character system" of one thousand most-used Chinese characters, which became the basis of what was described by its sponsors as "the mass education movement."<sup>84</sup> Hardly less significant was

the shifting of Association-trained leaders to responsible positions in the new government. In the regular program of the Chinese Associations, boys' work, industrial service, and greatly expanded physical work marked the inter-War years. The last, in fact, might almost be said to constitute the largest program emphasis in the newer movements. So great were the demands for physical work that in 1919 the foreign department added Elwood S. Brown to head this specialty.

In 1932 a remarkable institution, the Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, in Madras, established in 1920 by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of India, Burma, and Ceylon, occupied new buildings and a sixty-three acre campus given by the government. At that time its principal and guiding spirit, H. C. Buck, spoke of his hope that his students would go out "as emissaries of a new conception of life for the youth of India"—the removal of physical illiteracy. He interpreted the goal of . . . physical education as "education of the whole man through the medium of physical activities." These emphases carried the Indian Y.M.C.A. so far afield by the early 1930's that the International Survey concluded that social service, especially through physical education and rural reconstruction, had so dominated the movement that its own Associations had been distinctly weakened.<sup>95</sup> In South America the Instituto Tecnico continued its unique service to the several movements of that continent.

Boys' work spread far beyond the conventional American standard pattern and it could be truly said that the Associations were in the 1920's "teaching the world to camp" for in that decade Y.M.C.A. camping spread not only into the eastern European countries mentioned above but appeared in Cuba, Mexico, the Philippines, South America, and Asia. The significance of boys' work was demonstrated by the attendance and deep concerns of workers from fifty-four countries at the second world conference of Y.M.C.A. workers with boys at Pörtlach, Austria, in 1923, the program and general arrangements for which were prepared by E. M. Robinson, then of the World's Committee. This emphasis was seen in a differing perspective when in 1926 the nineteenth World Conference of Y.M.C.A.'s met at Helsingfors to discuss "Youth Faces Life." As an outgrowth of the Pörtlach conference, its executive, J. A. Van Dis, organized the next year the first "World Y Tour" as a means of "giving American boys, especially from well-to-do families, a chance to see the work of the Y.M.C.A. abroad and to meet young people of the various countries in an informal and



friendly way under Association auspices." When the depression brought reduced steamship fares the tours became popular; by 1941, 1,500 persons had traveled abroad under World Y Tours.

The *Year Book* of 1920 could say without undue exaggeration that the foreign work was . . . a vital Movement "extending on every hand" and "rapidly and truly becoming indigenous"—so much so that if the Association were to die out in Europe and America, it "would inevitably spread back from the Oriental, African and Latin-American countries to the lands of its birth." This sentiment, often expressed by ecumenical leaders with regard to the younger churches in what had once been mission lands, was echoed by a veteran American secretary who saw the Y.M.C.A. in India in 1925 a movement rather than an organization—an indigenous thrust of "dynamic power."<sup>96</sup> Five years later another retired secretary who had witnessed the inauguration of the foreign work in 1889, traveled around the world, finding the missionary enterprise "the finest contribution America has made in extending a friendly and co-operative hand."<sup>97</sup> In 1934 a World Service worker at the point of retirement wrote an open letter to Mott in which he summarized widely held judgments concerning the larger policies upon which the North American outreach had been based:

The new missionary policy of our Foreign Work was one of the major facts in the history of Christianity in our day. . . . It was a sharp turn upward in the history of missions. You chose a new, untried type of missionary, sent us out with a different attitude toward other cultures and a different program, and asked the home base to support an unproven experiment. It was a daring experiment which has greatly advanced the Kingdom.<sup>98</sup>

The Mysore Conference of the World's Alliance in 1937 impressed Channing H. Tobias strongly. He wrote that "the Y.M.C.A. occupies a place of central importance in the countries that it serves." He was convinced that the Association more fully than any other religious organization had carried out its principle of making national and local units indigenous. He also found that although control of oriental Associations was in the hands of professing Christians the actual program included "people of other faiths and of no faith." Tobias hoped that the World Service enterprise might be judged "not by mere membership statistics, but by a great sweep of values, the most important of which do not yield to finite measurement."<sup>99</sup>

Upon the fiftieth anniversary of World Service, 1939, the *Year Book*, after reviewing the effects of the depression in reducing the funds

available from more than two million dollars to less than five hundred thousand dollars annually, presented a recent and what is regarded as a realistic study of policy by the International Board. In answer to three questions:

What are we attempting to do in the world?

Where can we most hopefully and effectively do it?

How can the full spiritual and financial strength of the North American movements be brought adequately to the support of this program?

the Board had proposed these objectives "at the end of fifty years of World Service, based on the central truths of the universal Kingdom of God":

1. We are helping to develop *self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating* Y.M.C.A.'s in other lands.
2. We are seeking to make these Y.M.C.A.'s *fellowships for the development of personality* after the pattern of Jesus Christ, and centers of expression in life and service of the Christian Gospel in all areas of concern to youth.
3. As a chief means of carrying out the above aims we are helping to develop indigenous lay and staff *leadership* in these countries.
4. We are giving assistance, moreover, in the development in each country of a *National Alliance* through which our own relationships with that country are maintained. These Alliances become, in due time, constituent members of the World's Alliance.
5. We are building *channels of intercommunication* through which men and boys of our own and other lands are sharing convictions, aspirations, and experience back and forth with one another.
6. We are developing a *network of world-wide relationships*, which transcend existing social, religious, and cultural barriers and conflicts, and out of which a world Christian community is emerging.<sup>100</sup>

In 1939 the International Board, in a series of lay-staff meetings held across Canada and the United States, raised such questions and set goals for the period ahead, drawing into the process of study and planning unprecedented numbers of Association workers.

#### AMERICAN Y.M.C.A. RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD'S COMMITTEE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The network of world-wide relationships that bound the American Movement to more than thirty countries in which it had been influential in forming national Associations was only one aspect of the universal character of inter-Association relationships. Increasingly close ties to the World's Committee have been mentioned frequently in this

chapter. As modern means of communication and transportation shrank the world in travel and conversation time the gains in human fellowship and intercultural exchange were compromised if not devastated by a shattering War. These centrifugal social forces actually tended to draw the average American Y.M.C.A. closer to its brother Associations around the world and gradually to teach it that it was itself a member of a world community and a unit among equals rather than a sending station as it had earlier conceived itself.

This position was set forth concisely in 1937 by Frank V. Slack of the World Service staff, following his attendance at the Mysore conference, which was the first such to be held in the Orient. Slack's remarks placed in perspective the evolution of attitude upon the part of the North American Associations toward their world brotherhood. We need to make sure, he declared, that both our "constituent" and our "sending" relationships are each carried on with due regard to the implications of the other:

This is all the more important for us because in terms of responsible action the "direct contact" relationship is much older than the "constituent" function. When the world service work of the North American movements was begun in 1889 and 1890, the World's Alliance did indeed exist, but to all intents and purposes it was then and continued for long afterward to be a dominantly European body. Not until after the [First] Great War did the Alliance really begin to reach out effectively into other parts of the world, take on enlarged staff, and address itself to becoming effectively aware of and serviceable to the entire Association world. Meanwhile these North American movements had gone ahead vigorously and impressively in planting and developing a series of movements in various parts of the world, many of which are now in the front rank of Association significance.

... During the past fifteen years, and resulting from a variety of causes both from within and outside the Association world, this "constituent" function has largely developed. The Mysore Conference, especially because of its epoch-making proportion of delegates from other than northern European and North American countries, offered a fresh demonstration of the potentialities of a truly world-wide Alliance, and of the degree to which these younger movements are mature enough to take an unquestioned and an enlarging place of influence in the Association's world counsels.<sup>101</sup>

In the prisoner-of-war work in World War I it was imperative that the American movement work through the World's Committee. The foreign committee—the very title indicated that this was still a time of transition—had recommended to the National Council in 1931 among a group of "points for departure" in policy, "fuller collaboration with the World's Committee and the other member Movements

in the interest of fulfilling the world task of the Y.M.C.A., both with respect to the entrance of neglected countries and the co-ordination of effort to serve them." To this end a conference of lay and secretarial leaders was invited jointly by the World's Committee and the National Council's foreign committee to discuss mutual problems for a week at Cornell University that summer. The holding of this meeting was the tacit recognition of the transition herein described. It was likewise the logical fruition of the conferences that Mott had held on his world tours, first in 1901-02 when only International secretaries had attended. At Yokohama in 1907 both American and foreign national secretaries gathered to discuss policy with him, and again at Basle in 1910, Williamstown in 1913, Princeton in 1916, New York in 1919, and Lake Placid in 1924. To the last meeting Mott invited not only the general secretary of the World's Committee but the general secretaries of the English and Scottish National Councils as well as the secretaries of several European national movements.

It was significant that the Cornell (Ithaca) conference in 1931 fixed upon the World's Committee the responsibility for initiating surveys of unoccupied fields and of determining the order of priority in which new countries were to be entered. It was further to "act as a clearing-house for the initiative and intentions" of national movements. The developing mutuality of the time was indicated by the conference's analysis of the place and functions of the foreign secretary, the phraseology of which statement was similar to that prepared by the Lake Placid conference in 1924:

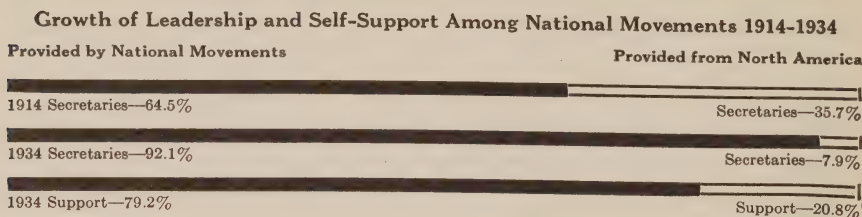
Even when the Movement has become so well established as to be under indigenous leadership and control, the place of the foreign secretary still remains, though his functions may be different. His training, experience, discipline and heritage are of permanent value. Any indigenous movement would lose greatly if it barred the contribution of Christianity as it has developed in other lands. Indeed, there should be a far wider interchange among all countries: each should send as well as receive, and receive as well as send.

Especially in this stage of co-operation the foreign secretary will be a fellow-laborer and fellow-student with his indigenous colleagues, helping to do away with all distinctions between foreign and indigenous secretaries as such, identifying himself with the life and culture of the country and entering into its fellowship.<sup>102</sup>

The conference further considered and set forth suggestions on the contribution of younger to older movements and stressed values that should be reciprocally shared. This was graphically illustrated by the *Year Book*



of 1934 where in relating the story of American participation in the world movement the decreasing share of costs carried by the North American Associations in the previous two decades was shown:



The editor regarded this trend as “the fulfilment of the spirit of this forty-five-year project in international understanding.”

In the twentieth century the North American Movements participated with increasing concern in World's Conferences—from Christiania (Oslo) in 1902 to Nyborg-Strand, Denmark, in 1950. It was partly to the reaffirmation of the Paris Basis by the Conference of 1905 and rejoiced in the “added emphasis upon the evangelical, interdenominational and lay character of this world-wide work for young men” at that time—an occasion upon which Richard C. Morse had dined alone with Sir George Williams. At the concurrent World's Committee meetings serious differences that had arisen since 1902 were adjusted, Morse again playing the role of pacificator, this time between German- and English-speaking workers.<sup>103</sup> At Elberfeld in 1909 Morse rejoiced in the presence of delegates from new movements planted by the International Committee in Latin America, Russia, and Asia. At the Edinburgh World's Conference of 1913 American specialists made a deep impression—Fisher speaking on physical work and Goodman on his religious work department. Following the prisoner-of-war and other welfare activities numerous American secretaries stayed on in Europe with increasingly intimate relations to the World's Committee after 1918. E. M. Robinson went to its boys' work secretaryship and was instrumental in the planning of the Pörtschach conference of 1923, from which the enhanced appreciation of the World's Alliance that has since characterized American co-operation with it may be dated. In 1925 the National Councils of Canada and of the United States became separately members of the World's Alliance, a recognition of the implications of the Canadian move toward autonomy in 1912.

At the Helsingfors World's Conference of 1926, the first since the War,

Mott was elected president of the world organization, a position held until 1946, at which time he was made honorary life president. Also at Helsingfors another American, W. W. Gethman, was appointed general secretary of the Alliance. The American Movements were greatly stimulated and seriously impressed by the world-wide fellowship when the Conference of 1931 met in Cleveland following the third World Assembly of Y.M.C.A. Workers With Boys and the first World Assembly of Young Men in Toronto that brought seven hundred delegates from abroad. Under the influence of this visitation the American International Convention adopted, as was described in Chapter 12, a new statement of purpose that referred to the Association as a "world-wide fellowship."<sup>104</sup> The American Y.M.C.A.'s responded in this period to the urgent plea of the World's Alliance to take a stand on disarmament.<sup>105</sup>

In 1937, Tracy Strong (1887- ) who had begun his Association career in boys' work at Seattle, became general secretary of the World's Committee, the boys' work staff of which he had joined in 1925. The *Year Book* of 1938 printed a succinct statement from his pen of the work and relationships of the World's Alliance and World's Committee:

The World's Alliance is the second oldest international organization, and has observed an unbroken fellowship since 1855, through wars, revolutions, and long periods of distrust and misunderstanding. The glory and significance of the Alliance is that God has enabled men of conflicting beliefs and practices, religious, political and educational, to enter into a vital living transcending community.

It forges links across national and racial barriers. It has pioneered in the ecumenical spirit, and today faces a new opportunity in helping Christian laymen take seriously their membership in a worldwide Christian Community. May it not be that, in days when mankind is losing heart and faith in the political and economic means of creating and maintaining the right relationships between Nations, the Christian community is called upon to summon men to a faith in God and in man as a neighbor, and in the possibility of peace and good will amongst men. These inherent tenets of the Christian faith become obligations to members of the Christian Community.

The Alliance is not something apart nor beyond nor above the National Alliances, the local Associations or the individual members; but is being expressed wherever a member seeks to live conscious of the obligations of membership in a worldwide Christian Fellowship.

#### THE Y.M.C.A. AND THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

In introducing Strong's statement, quoted above, the editor of the *Year Book* declared that a characteristic of the Christian gospel is "that

it can bear witness in any kind of social situation. The recognition of this fact forms the basis for a second recognition: namely, of the Christian's need for an 'ecumenical' outlook." The Y.M.C.A. was not a Church, but if there has been one theme that has reappeared more often than any other in the century of which this History is a record, it is that the Associations were from their beginning essentially ecumenical in outlook. This word is to be taken in its general sense of interdenominational and interconfessional unity; it also refers specifically to the movements that were joined in 1949 to organize the World Council of Churches. The Y.M.C.A. gave substantially to both, although more obviously to the former. This concern paralleled Association interest in improved international relations during the two decades between the World Wars, which latter the reader will recall from Chapter 12.

Beyond the interdenominational phase the Y.M.C.A. contributed significantly toward finding common ground upon which Christians of differing theological or liturgical background could work together. One of its major services was the bringing together in the United States of Protestants and Catholics in common Association character-building endeavors and co-operation by the Y.M.C.A.'s with local and national Catholic agencies. In foreign Associations the Y.M.C.A. often provided a platform "on which otherwise disunited Christians [could] meet in programs of vital religious work." In 1915 Mott wrote personally to a young secretary about to sail to a Roman Catholic country:

I urge that you cultivate a spirit of generous and appreciative recognition of all that is good in the great past and present of the Church. You ought to be familiar with the lives of their saintly men, their contribution to scholarship, their hymns, their devotional literature and their methods of recruiting and training priests. You ought to read very carefully the best Church histories and other books. . . . Furthermore, we are anxious that our work be confined to cultivating personal and not ecclesiastical relations and that above all things we avoid controversy.<sup>106</sup>

Both at home and abroad the student movement was a signal factor in producing generations of religiously minded men who had earlier realized their "oneness in Jesus Christ." As Mott told the World's Student Christian Federation at the end of its first quarter-century, it had "emphasized that, high above all differences between Christians, stands their common Lord"; the Federation had, he said, "recovered for multitudes of the future leaders of the Christian Church the sense of the unity of Christendom." The reader need but be reminded of

the example of Nathan Söderblom, then a high official of the Church of Sweden, who first sensed that unity at a Northfield conference.

This History cannot be the biography of any one man, for a Movement is the sweep of an idea across many minds and groups. Yet in a real sense the most obvious contribution of the Y.M.C.A. to the world-wide movement that eventuated in the World Council of Churches was the person and influence of John R. Mott whose ecumenical mind showed itself as early as his childhood friendship with Roman Catholic youngsters who worked in his father's lumberyard and whose Church "cast a spell" over him as a youth. He brought the Catholic student society at Cornell into the Christian Association in a body. In 1895 at Constantinople he formed a student Y.M.C.A. composed of Greek, Armenian, and Bulgarian Christians as well as Protestants. Further along that first world journey he met and was profoundly influenced by a Russian Orthodox missionary in Tokyo. These contacts, followed by extended conferences in the 1920's, led ultimately not only to Y.M.C.A. work in Russia and in other Orthodox countries but they soon brought Mott himself to the forefront of the growing world Church movement and greatly enhanced the cordiality of the Orthodox churches toward the World Council of Churches.<sup>107</sup>

With much of his own part in the movements that stemmed directly from the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 documented in the several volumes of Mott's *Addresses and Papers*, as well as traced in Basil Mathews' biography of him, it is appropriate here to point out simply that from 1910 on, Mott, who always considered himself and was so regarded by the public as essentially a Y.M.C.A. man, was increasingly identified with world Church interests. Devoting a large share of his time to the chairmanship of the continuation committee of the Edinburgh meeting, he was fully involved with the world missionary venture. When in 1927 he looked over the delegates who had come to Lausanne to consider the issues of Faith and Order that had ripened since Edinburgh, he was impressed by the numbers of those who had entered the ecumenical fellowship from the world-wide student Christian brotherhood and he realized as never before the gift of that Association-sponsored movement "to ecumenical Christianity on all continents."<sup>108</sup> Not only at Lausanne, but later at Oxford and at Amsterdam, the connections were direct between the Associations and the emerging World Council of Churches. Mott's judgment, often repeated by others, was echoed by the Archbishop of Canterbury



when he said in the mid-1940's that the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. had "achieved a reality of world-wide fellowship while others knew that it was wanted but could not find it. . . . Since then, this fellowship has become a living reality in the experience of the Christian Church in all lands."

*Part IV*

THE TENTH DECADE IN THE  
AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS, 1941-1951



## Introduction:

### The 1940's

FROM PEARL HARBOR to the thirty-eighth parallel in Korea was a far journey for the American people. The decade of the Second World War and its undeclared continuation not only ushered in the atomic age but compressed within its short span the most momentous events of modern history. The complete disruption of the traditional balance of power among European nations was matched by the rise of the United States to the summit of military power and leadership of the western world. Not only did these precedent-shattering events bring unheard of devastation to nations and whole populations the world around, but the disruption of normal life was felt throughout the length and breadth of America. The turmoil following World War II, prolonged by the cold war, was marked by economic readjustment, moral laxity, political corruption, spy hunting, religious uncertainty, and the rise of militarism.

The Associations were not exempt from these effects of catastrophe. Their World Service outreach made significant contributions to the healing of the wounds of war, while on the domestic front they were subject to the dominant influences that characterized this "aspirin age." They endeavored to help youth find security and satisfaction at a time when the colleges were crowded by veterans mostly anxious to obtain vocational training for an uncertain future. They found their own religious position awkward while great segments of the population continued to be spiritually undernourished and the tension between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism rose. New heights of prosperity returned them to balanced budgets and capital advances not matched



in twenty years. Local churches also grew and built new edifices, while in 1950 the denominations federated into the National Council of the Churches of Christ. The continuing conflicts among liberalism, neo-orthodoxy, fundamentalism, and the main currents of an evangelicalism attempting to reassert itself, left young people unsatisfied and dissipated the attack upon the central spiritual malady of the times. In the midst of all this the Associations, influenced on the one hand by their environment of the common life and on the other by the Protestant churches, felt increasing community pressures because of the continued growth of community chest financing and by the churches' shift of interest toward their own federations.

In the necessarily short concluding chapter covering this most eventful decade it is obviously impossible to review more than a few of the facets of a great ongoing Movement during a period of unprecedented economic, social, political, moral, religious, and military change. Emphasis will be placed on general trends rather than on specific developments or the contributions, however important, of individuals. To this brief consideration of selected aspects of the life of the American Associations in their tenth decade there will be added the author's observations.

## Chapter 18 A Decade Becomes a Century

The Y.M.C.A. in any community can and should become the crossroads for all phases of its community life, representing every neighborhood, every social stratum, every faith, or lack of faith, intermingling so as to be wholesomely influenced. . . . We as Y.M.C.A. members are part of a great movement committed to help make Christian conduct effective in our community; by way of group life at various levels; through activities which release energy and develop personality; expressing itself in every activity physically, mentally, socially and spiritually; always and all in keeping with the teachings of Jesus. Membership is on a cooperative basis, each member contributing leadership at some specific point to energize the total movement. Each local unit is affiliated with other Y.M.C.A. units for similar purposes throughout the nation (and the whole world) toward the development of progressively stronger Christian character, at work, in everyday living situations. . . .

—CLARENCE ANGEL<sup>1</sup>

### THE Y.M.C.A.'S AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

UPON THE OUTBREAK of World War II the Canadian Associations, under the leadership of their National Y.M.C.A. War Service Committee, began an effective and steadily expanding service to the Canadian Armed Forces. This service was similar to that in World War I, but with many innovations. The Y.M.C.A. was with the men and women in uniform from their enlistment until their demobilization, in training camp and at the front.

In World War I the several agencies with the United States Armed Forces operated independently. In World War II six of them, including the Y.M.C.A., served co-operatively as members of the United Service Organizations. It will be recalled from Chapter 13 that at the close of the First World War general welfare work for soldiers and sailors had been taken over by the armed forces themselves, except those established by the Y.M.C.A. before that war. The success of the great United War Work financial campaign of 1918 remained as an example of the possibilities of nation-wide interagency co-operation.

For this and other reasons the needs of the armed services of the Second World War, supplementary to those provided by the military establishments, were faced jointly by six agencies—Y.W.C.A., National Catholic Community Service, Jewish Welfare Board, Salvation Army, Travelers' Aid, Y.M.C.A.—during the "preparedness" period before the United States formally entered the war. The U.S.O. was incorporated to serve "the religious, spiritual, welfare and educational needs of the men and women in the armed forces and defense industries of the United States, and in general, to contribute to the maintenance of morale in American communities."

As summarized in the Y.M.C.A. *Year Book* of 1945, the U.S.O. expended slightly less between 1941 and 1945 than was raised in the United War Work drive of 1918; of \$179,316,254, the Y.M.C.A. administered \$31,044,377, a sum that approximated one-fourth of the total of \$125,495,916 expended by it for war work during World War I, not including work with Allied Armies and prisoners-of-war. This service financed by the U.S.O. was in addition to the normal activities of the armed services department for the same period. The service of the Y.M.C.A. of the United States in World War II differed from that in World War I in that it was rendered outside the training camps and Navy yards and not with the armies in the field or on the battle-ships, and it was restricted to continental United States and its possessions. Nor did the Y.M.C.A. administer the Army canteens. Its buildings were located near the concentrations of military personnel, to serve the men and women while off duty. Great numbers of civilian volunteers were enlisted in making possible the extensive program of activities, and co-operation with organizations in the communities, especially with the churches, was a major element of strategy. Mobile services were provided to isolated groups of the military. Another marked difference was that a comparable service was rendered to men and women in war industries, especially those in settlements brought into being by the war emergency. The Association continued to share in the post-War activities of the U.S.O. and in its successive reactivations, first as Associated Services for the Armed Forces and later as the second U.S.O. As the conflict in Korea persisted the Y.M.C.A. was performing an invaluable service to an expanding youthful civilian army in 1951.

It must not be assumed that the participation of the American Y.M.C.A.'s in World War II was limited to their share in U.S.O. or

to the greatly expanded programs of their own armed services work. They were not unprepared for mobilization. The *Year Book* of 1940 had devoted a section to the rising national emergency, and early in 1941 a group of national leaders had prepared a widely read study, *Y.M.C.A. Strategy in Wartime*. The *Year Book* for 1941 provided the Movement with an extended survey of army-navy work by the Associations since the first battle of Bull Run. Writers in *Association Forum* challenged the local Associations to adopt new techniques to meet the many changes in their communities brought about by the war.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1943 the New York City Association counted 3,234,984 uses of its facilities by service personnel. In several states Y.M.C.A.'s operated harvest camps to aid in food production, exerting serious efforts to practice the best camping techniques.<sup>3</sup> Boys' workers issued a statement, *Boys' Work Imperatives*, as a help in safeguarding the welfare of youth in wartime.

The largest effects upon the Associations were not derived from their specifically armed services programs. The plight of millions of men and boys who were the victims of war, the reality of an international fellowship, the opportunity to render a service to war prisoners, to displaced persons, to foreign students, caused the international outreach and world consciousness of the American Associations to increase as seldom before. One secretary initiated and developed the youth and community services of the United States military government in Germany, and another secretary held a comparable position with the occupation forces in Japan in 1947-51. The secretaries in America established a "Fellowship Fund" to aid their fellow secretaries abroad; many gave regularly a specified percentage of their monthly income.<sup>4</sup> Y.M.C.A. service to prisoners-of-war reached almost six million men in more than three dozen countries. Although administered as War Prisoners' Aid by the World's Alliance, this program was largely financed in the United States, chiefly by the National War Fund, though individuals and local Y.M.C.A.'s contributed more than \$900,000 of the \$12,642,000 in American funds expended between 1939 and 1945.<sup>5</sup> The estimate of the value of these services by the editor of the 1945 *Year Book* was modest: "The reaction and personal gratitude of hundreds of thousands of recent prisoners of war have been such as to suggest that in subtle ways no one can measure, the service actually experienced will generate new and worthy forms of expression." This prediction soon became apparent in the added strength which re-



patriated prisoners-of-war gave to the program and leadership of the Y.M.C.A. movements in Belgium, Italy, and Germany. Upon the close of the war in Europe, the World's Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A. undertook a comparable service to displaced persons; in a period of three and one-half years it carried on an extended program that at one time utilized the services of 166 people. Athletics, summer schools, entertainment, camps for boys and girls (for example, ninety-eight camps with eighty thousand campers in three seasons), repatriation and resettlement services, religious work, characterized these projects. The latest phase of resettlement took the form of locating a substantial number of displaced European Y.M.C.A. secretaries in American Associations.

#### THE WORLD-WIDE OUTREACH OF THE NORTH AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS

The American Associations raised a "World Youth Fund" of approximately six million dollars. By 1950 it had made possible the rebuilding of damaged Y.M.C.A. buildings, setting up of summer camps, revitalizing national movements, training their secretaries, and had otherwise helped indigenous Associations to help themselves in thirty-eight war-injured countries on four continents. All this was accomplished in spite of the fact that the fund fell short of its goal of \$8,650,000 by nearly a third. The tardiness of many Associations in getting under way, the failure of some to raise their accepted quotas, and of many to make any contribution at all were thought to be only partly due to the fact that many had just been liquidating depression-created local deficits and many had recently contributed to the payment of the National Council's big debt. The Canadian Associations exceeded their quota. As of January 1, 1951 the World Youth Fund became the "Special Needs" section of World Services.

The 1940's were a decade of mounting interest in the total World Services enterprise which included by 1949 the traditional World Services, the World Youth Fund, and the support of the World's Committee. These activities and many others cemented the already closely knit bonds between the American Y.M.C.A.'s and the World's Alliance into the most intimate fellowship of any time in the history of the Movement. Through the World's Alliance the American Movement was closely identified with the World Council of Churches organized in 1948; the implications of this outreach of the Associations were mentioned in Chapter 17. The observance of the annual Week of Prayer in the 1940's was largely in terms of world fellowship: "that they all may

be one." In 1950 the American Associations for the first time were all asked to contribute directly to America's share of the budget of the World organization, which that year was 60 per cent of the total. Although the sum needed amounted to only about one-tenth of one per cent of the \$100,000,000 total income of the Associations, they did not meet it fully. In spite of the generosity of many Associations, there was a disturbingly large number that had not progressed in generosity much beyond the indifference and financial incompetence that confronted Luther Wishard upon his return from his world tour in 1892. Nevertheless, in 1950, for the first time since the depression, there was raised for the World's Committee and for the ongoing work of World Service, exclusive of the World Youth Fund, an amount in excess of one million dollars.

By the close of the 1940's the American Associations had been instrumental in establishing or aiding Y.M.C.A.'s in thirty-five countries beside helping in eight others through the World Youth Fund. Faced with the difficult problems of brother movements fading out of contact behind iron or bamboo curtains World Services could but reiterate that, as had happened many times in the past, when needs diminished in one area resources were thus released for use elsewhere. In 1950 there were urgent requests from Europe, South America, Africa, and the Near East for the establishment of new connections: "As some doors are closed, God opens others wide. . . . The very pressure of adversity is occasion for increasing the speed and volume of Christian effort." At this time the first secretary was sent to Liberia; men for Ethiopia and Lebanon were under appointment at the time of writing this chapter. Forty years after its founding in 1911 the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students was effectually continuing its tradition of supplementing the formal educational experiences of overseas students, in the belief that "a stockpile of international friendships is worth far more than a stockpile of bombs." Sharing with the Institute of International Education the sizable task of the official census of foreign students in the United States, the Committee operated within the total framework of Y.M.C.A. World Service. Recognized by the United States government and by UNESCO, it numbered nearly two thousand volunteer "associates" in all parts of the country where foreign students were in residence, totaling nearly thirty thousand. Through many avenues the world-mindedness of American students was extended by the varied contacts provided by the World's

Student Christian Federation, which numbered forty-six national movements in its fellowship by 1948.

#### THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, 1941-51

Aside from its preoccupation with war-related matters, the affairs of the National Council moved during the fifth decade of the twentieth century along lines similar to those reviewed in Chapter 10. In 1941 John E. Manley was succeeded in the general secretaryship by Eugene E. Barnett (1888- ), whose long service with the national committee of Chinese Y.M.C.A.'s had been followed by three years as executive of the World Service program.<sup>6</sup> During this period he had traveled widely and knew at first hand the problems and policies of Y.M.C.A.'s the world around. To his leadership was due much of the fresh concern of the American Associations for the total World Service enterprise, for a renewed religious emphasis, and for closer relation with the World's Alliance. High on the new secretary's list of priorities was the liquidation of the longstanding indebtedness that had been incurred during the depression. As the result of a well-executed campaign, the debt, which in 1942 had cost \$101,000 in interest, was paid off in full by 1945. The leadership of an Emergency Service Committee of local general secretaries that raised one million dollars from local Associations was an important and significant factor in that campaign. Somewhat earlier, Colored Associations had raised an expansion fund while most Y.M.C.A.'s were hardly out from under the depression. The liquidation of the debt naturally released added funds for the regular program of the National Council, whose leadership was determined to live within its income, an attitude that doubtless had much to do with policies guiding the organization during the 1940's. Although local Associations' annual gross income passed one hundred million dollars, the position of the National services became increasingly difficult as costs soared without comparable increase in income. Percentage financing, which operated somewhat like a tax and bore unfortunately similar connotations for both payer and recipient, set the income within which National committees and executives were required to operate. The budgets of many local Associations were subject to outside review by their community chests, and this tended to fix the percentage of income which acted as a ceiling above all National services and not infrequently rendered impossible the special projects and pioneering on new fronts that had characterized the Movement a quarter-century

earlier—a time when, it must be said, funds for every sort of benevolence were relatively much more accessible.

The National Council meeting of 1949, asked to raise the percentage for the headquarters organization, did so reluctantly, although under the leadership of a strong committee of laymen conferences to review the proposed increase had been held all over the country through a period of two years. Many delegates apparently had learned almost for the first time of the range of National program services and the critical need for maintaining them and the danger that some portfolios would be eliminated. This episode seemed indicative of the reluctance of the Movement and of the lack of loyalty on the part of many local Associations. It had taken fourteen years after the percentage financing plan was adopted to secure the participation of Associations to the extent of 85.7 per cent of the total obligation allotted. Therefore the approval by the Council of a one-fourth increase in the percentage in 1949 was widely accepted as highly encouraging.

The National Council of 1947 somewhat hastily authorized a study by a well-known firm of management counselors of the essential structure of the National organization with a view to increasing its efficiency. This reflection of current trends in business found favor with the employed staff who quickly fell into line when key laymen became convinced that “greater efficiency” was what the organization needed. Adopted by the Council of 1948, the report laid down procedures whereby it was expected that substantial savings would be made. The inability of such an approach to understand the genius of a Movement such as the Y.M.C.A. was demonstrated in the perhaps minor omission of the Bowne Historical Library from consideration, in spite of the fact that such a resource was integral to the life of the Associations. Implementation of the study absorbed much of the energy of the staff and many lay leaders of the National organization who were forced to devote their attention for months to what was actually housecleaning and patching at a time when the crying need was for prophetic leadership. Here could have been a partial explanation of the failure of the World Youth Fund to reach its quota. Here, too, was further evidence of what McBurney had called “secrétarialism,” now expanded into organizational self-preoccupation.

Neither the reorganization nor the added income from an increased percentage assessment on local Associations provided sufficient income to maintain National services in the face of inflation, which confronted



the New York headquarters at a critical time in the form of greatly increased rent. Following the Second World War the owner of 347 Madison Avenue, who had for years favored the organization with a modest rental, offered the property at a bargain figure. Purchase was rejected largely because the governing board felt it unwise to become a landlord, since the building was considerably larger than the National Council needed and "the next ten years might see a major economic setback." When the location subsequently changed hands the new owners scaled rents to the rising prices of the Grand Central area which was now becoming, as the *New York Herald-Tribune* remarked, the "business executive center of the nation."<sup>7</sup>

Faced with the alternatives of paying greatly increased rent and thereby jeopardizing its services to the Movement or moving to less costly quarters, headquarters considered several desirable locations in the midtown area but such properties as were available, and some excellent ones were offered, were thought to be too costly. Possibilities of joint occupancy of special facilities with the New York City Association and a group of social agencies were weighed, but economy and "minimum future risks" took priority over all other considerations.<sup>8</sup> Although full weight was given to the strategic importance of the Y.M.C.A. maintaining headquarters for its own national and international connections close to the United Nations, it did not weigh heavily enough with the committee or staff to produce an unusual or daring solution of the problem, nor did it provoke a resignation or threat of one. Neither does it appear to have been seriously suggested that a drastic move nearer the Association center of the nation be considered, although percentage financing had unquestionably shaken some of the foundations upon which location in New York had been firmly settled since 1866.

After expressing the hope that "in the next ten-year period the way would open for the fulfillment of the Committee's desire for a centrally located headquarters building," it was decided to purchase a nineteen-story building constructed in 1910 at 291 Broadway. Here, one block north of Chambers Street and City Hall Park, the National Council became a landlord after all. Wall Street, the city and federal courts, an infinite variety of wholesale shoe, machine, and dry goods outlets were not far away. The economy viewpoint triumphed over the business-management outlook. To save perhaps fifty thousand dollars a year—the figure cited on the floor of the Council of 1949—a world

famous address strategically located within the orbit of growing concentration of national business, and a few blocks from the new United Nations center, was abandoned.

Another trend characterizing the National organization during the late 1940's was that toward integration, demonstrated in the continuation of the trend described in Chapter 10 toward closer relationships with the area organizations. Marked progress in this direction was made during the decade, at the end of which some of the isolationist state committees showed signs of joining the growing network of area councils. Perhaps most notable in this regard were mutually hopeful conferences between the National Council and the New England states;<sup>9</sup> the latter, it will be recalled from Chapter 3, had been the first to propose a merger of state organizations, sixty years earlier, but the scheme was then opposed by the chairman of the International Committee. Notable moves were made toward integration of the student work into the area structures, the experience of the Pacific Southwest in 1949 being perhaps indicative. Students were at first suspicious of the motives of the area council and their objections were sustained by the area council meeting; later agreement was reached. In the Rocky Mountain Area a knotty problem of another kind was raised by including in it Missouri which had previously been in the Southwest Area and believed it belonged there. These, however, were but samples of the issues raised by the proposal to relate the student division more closely to the structure of the National Council in 1949. Proposals then offered to the National body by the firm of management counselors who had been invited to survey the organization, which made the student services one of five National services along with financial services, transportation services, armed services, and field services, however, were carried with relative ease; twenty years earlier the entire student committee and staff had presented their resignations over a comparable arrangement, as was described in Chapter 16. The *Year Book* of 1950 reported that the past year had been a time of decision for the student Y.M.C.A. both from the standpoint of the delineation of its place and function and because there had been "steady progress in integration with the rest of the Y.M.C.A. in most of the Areas." At the same time officers of the railroad companies were reported to have refused to accept the survey's suggestion that the railroad Associations be supervised on any other than National or at least system-wide basis and the surveyors' proposals that the transportation service be related to the

Areas was not adopted. The integration of the transportation services within the national organization, however, appeared to be improving. The purposes of the reorganization in integrating better the services of the national office and the area and state offices and in the better co-ordination of the departments of the national organization by relieving the congestion at the desks of a few top executives seemed to be on the way to accomplishment.

The study also led to important structural changes. The National Board of Y.M.C.A.'s became the corporate body and was assigned most of the functions formerly carried by the International Committee. World-wide familiarity with the term "International Committee" led to its continuance as the designation for the National Board's subcommittee responsible for the world services.

The relation of the Canadian National Council to the World Service and certain other services remained unchanged, and 10 per cent of the members of both the National Board and the International Committee were to be named by the Canadian Council.

#### SOME ASPECTS OF PROGRAM AND LEADERSHIP, 1941-51

A complement to the business efficiency trends might be seen in the continuous efforts made, often by the National services but also not infrequently proposed by secretarial groups or organizations, to sharpen the working tools of the Movement. "Laggard" Y.M.C.A.'s were contrasted with those, a minority, that were found to be "adaptable."<sup>10</sup> Research papers in large number were summarized annually in the *Year Books*; during the 1940's they covered boys' work, community studies, the techniques of holding conferences, constituency studies, counseling, group work, the lay resources of the Movement, physical work, the postwar program, publicity, religious work, the secretaryship, world citizenship, and other interests.<sup>11</sup> In 1941 a Research Council was established, representative of the National Board, the two colleges, and the Association of Secretaries, for the purpose of developing a comprehensive and long range research plan and strategy, of improving the quality of research, and of co-ordinating research throughout the Y.M.C.A. Among these concerns, membership—"this matter of belonging," as a continuation of the constituency study was titled in 1946—took a primary place. The long-familiar issue of church relations was brought down to date by a penetrating study published in 1948.<sup>12</sup> Two years later a painstaking analysis of the religious beliefs

of young adults, *The Religious Beliefs of Youth*, revealed that in this realm the Associations were achieving little if any of the results contemplated with this important segment of their constituency.<sup>13</sup>

Association Press rendered a great service during World War II as publisher for the U.S.O. which made extensive use of booklets and pamphlets in its service. Many books published by the Press during the decade were selected by the Religious Book Club as the "religious book of the month." The "Haddam House" books made a great contribution, especially to the work of the Christian Associations and the church organizations in the colleges and universities. As publisher for the Y.M.C.A. Movement of its technical publications, research reports, pamphlets, and texts, the Press steadily extended its usefulness—and withal on a self-supporting basis.

In certain areas of program and constituency the Movement tended during the 1940's to salve an uneasy conscience by passing resolutions and engaging in further research upon critical problems, while avoiding the specific issues involved. Contenders for first place in this category were rural expansion and work for women and girls. The Second World War eliminated the fresh approach that had been achieved by the end of the 1930's to the difficult problem of expansion into small towns and rural communities. The National Council of 1949, however, provided expression of serious misgivings by many concerning current policies and lack of vision in this regard, with the usual result of ordering a fresh survey. The resultant document, however, a distinguished and realistic study, provided the most adequate data for advance that had yet been made available.<sup>18</sup> The next Council was greatly interested and moved toward implementation.

In 1947 a competent and useful history, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record*, another National Council Study, placed the Movement's eternal question mark in an adequate past perspective.<sup>19</sup> The year before that an official study of current practices had indicated that although women and girls constituency and activities did not approximate "anything like the proportion represented by the Y.M.C.A.'s traditional constituency, they [did] represent a very considerable and apparently growing part of the Y.M.C.A. enterprise."<sup>20</sup> That year the *National Council Bulletin* noted that women and girls membership had risen to 12 per cent and was now accepted in 62 per cent of the local Associations. Yet the next National Council meeting tabled a resolution to delete the word "male" from the constitutional statement defining the



Council's membership. The Council instructed the National Board to study the bearing of the growing constituency, membership, and work among women and girls upon the basic character and function of the Y.M.C.A. Paralleling the trends in work for women and girls, which moved toward programs for younger and younger girls, and a similar trend in boys' work for younger and younger boys, some Associations wondered whether they ought to consider the family as the unit of membership.<sup>21</sup> Yet perhaps the most significant development as to constituencies was the notable advance described in Chapter 13 among young men and young adults—nonstudent young persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine, and chiefly in city Associations.<sup>22</sup> Young men's assemblies, it was said, pushed ahead along "the eager Christian edge of our society," challenging the secretarial leadership to its best endeavors;<sup>23</sup> yet this membership decreased at the end of the decade. In boys' work the success of the 1940's was the popular "Youth and Government" program; boy governors attending the 1949 National Council meeting in Washington after being photographed with the President of the United States were given places of honor at the National Council dinner. The Hi-Y program of which Youth in Government was a phase was one of "four fronts"—Indian Guides, Gra-Y, Junior Hi-Y, and Hi-Y—pursuing flexible programs for each age level, for which a completely new set of manuals had recently been issued giving the leaders "a satisfying sense of what our work is." Boys' work was also marked by increased decentralization and decreased dependence upon elaborate equipment. Early in 1950 the National Committee on Work with Boys was renamed the Committee on Youth Program. The year before that the National Young Men's Council had changed its name to Young Adult Council. Both moves reflected the increase of co-ed activities.

The organized educational ventures of the Y.M.C.A. underwent certain significant developments during the decade. The most obvious of these was the phenomenal growth in size of the well-established colleges largely in response to the demand by World War II veterans for schooling under Public Laws 16 and 346. The majority of these filled the need for community colleges in their cities, appealing largely to young adults and in the vocational fields. In addition to twenty "well organized and recognized schools and colleges under Y.M.C.A. auspices," 168 Associations conducted unit courses in such subjects as accounting, business English, salesmanship and a variety of other occu-

pational interests.<sup>24</sup> *Year Book* data in 1950 indicated that enrollment had risen slightly to almost ninety-one thousand in the past year, but this was far below the peak of one hundred and thirty thousand in 1946. Of such formal schools, Northeastern University in Boston with a branch in Springfield offered the widest range of courses and fields of study, from preparatory school through liberal arts, engineering—one of the largest such schools in the United States—business administration, and law. Fenn College, Cleveland, was dramatically housed in a modern new skyscraper. It, like others, became uneasy as developments revealed the essential incompatibility of formal higher educational institutions and traditional Y.M.C.A. outlook and organization. This tendency was an intensification of a trend begun in the 1930's. As indicated in Chapter 13, an important contributing factor was the demand of accrediting agencies that a college to be accredited should have no over-body, noneducational in character, with authority over operating educational policy.

The problems involved in Y.M.C.A. administration of a large educational venture at the college level suddenly became national news in April, 1945, when the Central Y.M.C.A. College of Chicago exploded over resentment by the administration, faculty, and students against policies of the Association. Two years earlier a study had recommended the separation of the school from the Y.M.C.A. "largely because of conflict between the purposes of higher formal education and the policies of the Y.M.C.A."<sup>25</sup> Details of what became the educational cause célèbre of the year cannot be entered into here, but the majority of the faculty members of the College became convinced that it should be separated from the Y.M.C.A. and so voted, sixty-two to one.<sup>26</sup> The issue was complicated by charges that the Association board wished to interfere with academic freedom and that it had attempted to impose racial quotas upon the College.<sup>27</sup> The board removed the president on the ground of incompetence as an administrator. There followed the resignation of 70 per cent of the full-time faculty and administrative staff, a phenomenon almost without precedent in American education. The formation by a faculty, a dean, a president, and a student body of what became the extraordinary Roosevelt College does not concern this History. The incident was the prime example from the tenth decade of the American Y.M.C.A. century of a lost Association opportunity. The incident high-lighted the problems involved in a local Y.M.C.A. administering an accredited institution of

higher education. Of the ten such institutions listed in Chapter 13, not only the College in Chicago, but those in St. Louis and Portland, Oregon, Fenn College in Cleveland, and Northeastern University in Boston had separated from the Y.M.C.A.'s before the end of the decade—all peaceably except the one in Chicago.

Association industrial work, which languished somewhat during the depression, was brought to the fore again during the 1940's. As of May 1, 1950, Y.M.C.A.'s were sponsoring 120 Industrial Management Clubs, most of which were affiliated in a National organization administered by a National Council secretary and providing program aids, a development program, an annual conference, and other services directed toward improving human relations in industry—the last phrase the title of twenty-four conferences attended by seven thousand delegates in 1949. Although these were management meetings, they entertained labor leaders and received their endorsement. The last years of the decade were marked by a trend away from the exclusively management type of conference, but it could hardly be said that Y.M.C.A.'s had as yet been encouraged by either group to organize labor-management conferences, although one highly successful gathering of this kind was held in 1949. A potentially important development at the end of the 1940's was the appearance of a few young men's industrial clubs; another innovation was a conference for young adults in industry, sponsored by the New York State Young Adult Council. Earlier work that reached foremen, supervisors, and other managers continued. The constituency studies of 1943 and 1947 reported that the proportion of members from the industrial occupations was somewhat higher than had been given in 1900 when the percentage was twenty-five. In 1947 the percentage of the membership consisting of craftsmen and foremen approximated their estimated percentage of the total population (16.3% vs. 18%) but operatives and kindred classifications composed only 8.1 per cent of the membership versus 21.4 per cent of the population and nonfarm laborers only 1.8 per cent of the membership versus 8.1 per cent of the population.

Work of the transportation Associations was stimulated by an Extension Fund raised in 1949 from railroad companies and workers to organize new centers west of the Mississippi. Training institutes for young men employed by the railroads were reorganized after a lapse during the war. Continental campaigns helped to maintain membership in spite of reductions in the transportation industry.

Wartime losses in physical education participation in organized classes and teams were recovered in the late 1940's and Associations moved to exceed prewar levels. This development took place alongside of a general expansion in the sports and recreation programs in many other related voluntary and public agencies. Individual use of Y.M.C.A. facilities and services expanded rapidly and was encouraged by the addition of special equipment in new buildings. Health clubs and the boys' physical education program were carefully studied. A national athletic achievement program replaced the former hexathlon contests. Training materials and literature, proposed in 1937 to implement the revised National Y.M.C.A. Aquatic program, were rounded out and brought to completion early in 1951. Significant area-wide sports festivals were conducted in many localities.

The financing of new buildings, modernization and rehabilitation of existing facilities, received more than ordinary attention following the close of World War II. By the end of 1949, funds in hand for such purposes were reported to be 38 millions, most of which was designated for new construction. Capital fund campaigns directed by the National Board's Financial Service during 1949 and 1950 raised nearly 15 millions. In mid-1950, the Building and Furnishing Service reported over 100 building projects in process involving estimated expenditures of 37 millions.

As they prepared for the Centennial at the beginning of 1951, Associations in the United States numbered 1,688, of which 1,088 were in cities, 116 in transportation centers, 360 in colleges and universities, 96 in counties and rural districts, and twenty-eight on or near military establishments. In addition, twenty-eight newly reorganized U.S.O. Clubs were under Y.M.C.A. direction.

The 1940's saw marked progress toward strengthening the secretaryship. Pressure in this direction was exerted steadily by the Conference on the Association Profession. In 1945, thirty semester-hours of professional education in specified areas were added to the requirements for full professional certification.<sup>14</sup> At the same time in-service training remained the chief method of technically educating the professional leadership. To the immediate and practical aspects of this methodology might be attributed some of the deficiencies of the secretaryship often pointed to by these workers themselves—frequent lack of broad understanding of the social, religious, economic, and intellectual trends of the times together with an inability to guide boards, staffs, and con-



stituency along progressive lines to the forefront of community leadership. Much attention was given in the immediate postwar period to redefinition of purpose in terms of operations and organizational machinery and to the in-service process itself. As from the beginning, the profession was seen as a significant opportunity for the individual's expression of social and religious leadership;<sup>15</sup> for the Movement to reassert its Christian purpose, secretaries would need as individuals to reaffirm their own spiritual goals, declared a writer in the *Forum*.<sup>16</sup> More than one secretary bespoke his apprehension that the Movement was becoming "too institutionalized for our own good;" that it had lost track of basic aims and principles and must reassert itself as a militant Christian body and demonstrate the teachings of Christ in a practical manner while recovering its identity as a young men's organization.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless the most active influences at work within the general secretaryship at this time were in all probability those stemming from parallel trends in industrial management; the phrase "management principles" was virtually the catch-word of the day. The characteristic introspective attitude of the secretarial fellowship was a healthy sign though, as was pointed out in Chapter 4, the profession often seemed unduly self-conscious.

The concerns, interest, and leadership of laymen were a major resource of the Movement not to be overlooked. This was especially evident in the increased responsibility and initiative exercised in the work of the National Council. The spirit and competence of laymen in local, state, and area boards and committees were also greatly enhanced. Laymen in leadership positions increased by one-third in the decade (185,081 to 245,588), while the number of secretaries stood still.

#### PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN THE TENTH DECADE

There often existed a wide lag between the pronouncements and activities of the National Council and its public affairs committee and the actual practice of local Associations. Although the National Council on three occasions during the War called for protection of the constitutional rights of Americans of Japanese ancestry and requested local Y.M.C.A.'s to aid those resettling, the board of the Central Y.M.C.A. College of Chicago permitted the College in 1942 to enroll only ten such students. At the same time the National Board was employing several men to work among the western relocation centers; one of them was a Nisei, himself a former secretary of a large city Association.

Two years later the Chicago Association had a significant program for Nisei.<sup>28</sup> The International Convention of 1931 had urged all Y.M.C.A.'s "to take definite steps toward the goal of making possible full participation in the Association program, without discrimination as to race, color, or nationality." The National Councils of 1942 and 1943 reiterated this sentiment, but the Negro secretaries' conference of 1942, realizing that the Negro community had reached "a state of mind which no longer permits them to accept inferior and discriminatory status assigned them within the framework of American society in general, and in the Y.M.C.A. in particular," asked the National Board to appoint a commission to study discrimination throughout the Movement, not only in the use of facilities but in "inequitable salary differentials for professional and nonprofessional personnel carrying similar or essentially equivalent responsibilities."

In 1944 a thoroughgoing study concluded that the services available to Negroes were "typically casual, fragmentary, rather marginal, often hesitant, and largely lacking that wholeheartedness of approach that would seem characteristic of a century-old Movement still eager to win the youth of the world to the Christian ideal."<sup>29</sup> That same year the Pacific Southwest Area Council recommended to its members that no more racially segregated branches be established and that Associations work toward making existing branches inclusive. The most vivid illustration of the implementation of this was the Buchanan Street Branch in San Francisco, which after the return of Japanese-Americans at the end of the War became a fully interracial organization serving all the major races and including Caucasians, Filipinos, Japanese, and Negroes on its board. Following the race riots in Detroit at the midpoint of the decade the Y's Men's Club there devoted six months' to a study of the problem and formulated "Ten Commandments of Race Relations."<sup>30</sup> About this time a significant co-operative venture proved successful in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>31</sup>

Although such examples as these highlighted the decade, it was a matter of regret to many a thoughtful secretary that such progress as could be marked had "not been as great and it had not moved with the acceleration the times demand."<sup>32</sup> Another observer who also wrote in 1948 felt that on the whole there was "a definite trend toward a better understanding by the Y.M.C.A. of the entire racial problem and an effort on the part of some Associations to activate a program to solve it." Yet he declared that the inherited policy of some Associa-

tions to avoid anything controversial had earned for them the stigma "reactionary"; others were drifting, but those that fell behind other community organizations might well find themselves losing prestige and leadership. This secretary spoke frankly to his fellows:

Much of the lack of progress is due to the failure of professional staffs to educate their Boards and Committees as to the real purpose of the Movement. The error in many cases is made in the selection of laymen, who are often picked on the basis of civic and economic influence alone without consideration for their Christian leadership.

The strongest trend ahead, he added, "is among the youth. In many cases they are far more ready to advance than are the Secretaries, Boards and adults who give them leadership."<sup>33</sup>

In 1946 the *Year Book* appeared without the former separate statistics for Association work among Negroes. "Colored" Associations became "city" Y.M.C.A.'s, according to a National Council vote recognizing that they differed from other Associations only in that their services were directed toward men and boys of the Negro race. This brought attention to the long-continuing trend away from the designation "colored" in the names of these Associations, which were by that time usually called by their neighborhood or street or some honored leader's name. In the same manner, the *Year Book* would no longer show racial connections for staff members. At the same time no adequate method had been devised to show which Associations followed interracial practices; a careful study released that year had indicated "abundant evidence of the growth of interracial service in the Y.M.C.A.'s."<sup>34</sup> It was further noted that approximately half of the World Youth Fund designated for use in the United States was applied to increasing Association services to Negroes, chiefly as "pump-priming" grants to expedite the inauguration of new services among colored constituency.

In June, 1949, a conference on "intercultural and interracial advance" met in Philadelphia under National Council auspices to study "the growing concerns of the Y.M.C.A. in racial justice." This group had before it selected characteristic data on interracial practices, policies, methods, and techniques, which revealed that a remarkable group of local Associations had apparently bridged the interracial gap in a realistic manner. Almost 140 Association boys' camps across the northern half of the country were named as "having interracial practices in 1948." Not only the deliberations of this conference but the progress

indicated by its data led the program committee of the National Board to appoint a commission on interracial practices for the purpose of reviewing current developments, appraising parallel trends in other organizations, and to recommend a program "for advance both in policy and practice for the National Board staff and for the Association Movement at large." The National Council of 1950 approved its appointment and called upon the areas, state committees, and local Y.M.C.A.'s to "examine in the light of our Christian beliefs their own practices with regard to racial relationships" and to urge them "to recognize and respect merit and competence in service and leadership, wherever found, and to demonstrate by policy and practice our basic belief in the inalienable right and privilege of all persons to full citizenship and to unrestricted Christian fellowship in our Movement."<sup>35</sup>

The year 1950 was marked by an increasing number of interracial institutes and study commissions, and the specific figures reporting on interracial camping indicated that in sixty-nine camps the racial composition of campers was sufficiently diverse to provide significant interracial experience. The *Year Book* of 1950 estimated that upwards of five hundred Associations had acted to admit Negroes and others on a nonsegregated basis; many others were following such a policy without having declared it. The membership of local, state, area, and National boards, committees, and councils "contained increasing numbers of Negroes and representatives of other minorities." The National Y.M.C.A. volleyball tournament had been held in Knoxville with complete interracial participation, in accordance with established policy that National Association championship competition be open to any member.<sup>36</sup> The Associations had far outdistanced the churches of the nation in the application of the Christian ethic to race relations.

In the realm of public affairs and social policy there were both progress and inertia to record during the 1940's. "General timidity, and an accompanying lack of vital interest in pressing for the acceptance of Christian ideals in our economic and social life, characterized much of what I heard of the discussions in the Triennial A.O.S. Conference" of 1949 on the role of the secretary in the post-war economic and social situation, wrote a professional worker. Many of those expressing themselves, particularly general secretaries, he continued, "seemed to me to be thinking and speaking under a shadow—the shadow cast by members of the Board of Directors back home who are satisfied with the economic and social status quo." Far less evident,



he went on, "was the sense of responsibility to the young men of the home town, those grappling uncertainly with the problems of economic livelihood, military service, high living costs, inadequate housing, racial discrimination."<sup>37</sup> The American Y.M.C.A.'s could well ask themselves at the end of their first century why in all those years, with the great concern of the Associations and their leadership for youth and its problems, they had produced but one major evangelist in the social Christian movement—Sherwood Eddy. Certain individuals had in isolated instances achieved community-wide reputations for fairness or for championing the cause of a minority.<sup>38</sup> Yet a published survey of *Public Affairs and the Y.M.C.A.* during the century ending in 1944 could cite only a handful of examples of forthright local policies and of outstanding lay or secretarial leadership; it reached the conclusion that the Y.M.C.A.'s had hardly come to their maturity in this area and that the small progress evident in fifty years "should keep the American Association Movement duly humble."<sup>39</sup> The historian might well recall a judgment contributed to the 1943 *Centennial Guide to Y.M.C.A. Planning*: "It is a matter of common remark that the Y.M.C.A. has not been a fruitful soil for the growth of prophetic spirits."

Something similar could be said concerning the social policies of the Associations. Although the Y.M.C.A. was one of the first such organizations to provide old age and disability insurance and death benefits for its nonprofessional employees, the almost tragic account of its resistance to government social security for its workers was perhaps the most recent and most vivid case in point. In 1939 that issue had been clear to a few but the leadership was not ready. Somehow the Movement had not discovered how to find or to train men of keen Christian ethical insight and to give them opportunity or reason for focusing that critical faculty upon the issues facing the Movement and the problems with which its clientele was confronted. This may well be the reason why the perhaps extravagant forecasts made in 1901 at the golden jubilee, of a vastly expanded Movement during the second half of the Association century, were but partially fulfilled. This was not merely a failure to achieve exceptional leadership or to sway the nation: it resulted in much local spinelessness, quiescence, and nameless fear of changing the status quo.

In spite of the frequent lack of social policy, public affairs concern unquestionably increased during the decade. In 1941, 1945, and again

in 1949 the C.O.A.P. examined the place of the secretary in social leadership. Although reactionary trends were unmistakable in the nation at large in 1950, the committee on public affairs reported a mature and discriminating statement of guiding principles to the National Council that year. It is reproduced here as an indication that Association thought has moved ahead during the post-World War II years:

1. The Association program as a whole should be designed to meet basic social needs as well as to provide individual and group services.

This principle will lead to careful and continual analysis of community problems, social forces, processes for social change, goals for social progress. It will require a measurement and appraisal of Y.M.C.A. program features in terms of their functional contribution to social progress. Much of the present program will be validated and retained—but on a sounder foundation; some new features will be called for. It will be seen that a much wider connotation will be given the “public affairs” significance of all activities.

2. The public affairs program in the more specialized sense should have a defined and appropriate place within the total program.

This principle places the public affairs program as a specialized feature squarely within the Y.M.C.A. “family” and not as a distant relative to receive occasional hospitality. It calls for fair share budgeting of time, energy, and funds. The program itself is now well outlined and does not require educational elaboration in “know-how-and-what” so much as it does activation in “will-to-do.”

3. The Association should provide through conscious and implemented policy a seed-bed for and a climate conducive to the growth of responsible citizens and leaders.

This principle suggests that out of the Y.M.C.A. there should come a flow of persons imbued with a sense of social responsibility who will, as individuals, make their contribution to society through both private and public channels. It further suggests that such a flow should not be regarded merely as a by-product or left to casual processes.

4. The Association should recognize that in its nature as a fellowship it has an essential element in the building of “community” on which a sound social structure must rest and that it should utilize its fellowship aspect as a positive force.

This principle brings into focus the potentialities of the central characteristic of the Association which is so often taken for granted or valued in terms of “good-feeling.” Actually fellowship has very wide social significance, providing a setting and an atmosphere for conciliation and collaboration. It is an indispensable instrumentality for constructing the foundations of world order.

5. The Association should keep clear and further clarify the Christian faith and message as the primary source of salvation and guidance for the whole life of mankind.

This principle enjoins the spelling out of the relevance of the Christian faith in terms of social as well as individual problems. It implies that the Christian purpose of the Association is paramount and provides the rationale for all programs including public affairs. Taken seriously it will entail processes of research and group study beyond those presently employed.

#### CHRISTIAN EMPHASIS IN THE 1940's

As to the place occupied in their programs by Bible study and evangelism, typical Associations of the last decade showed a great decline from those of the early years. But in regard to the development of Christian character by educational processes through a great variety of activities and group relationships concern had probably never been greater. In 1944 a book on Christian emphasis in the whole range of Y.M.C.A. groups and activities issued by the National Council was sent by the Association of Secretaries to all its members. There was expressed in Association publications and conferences, however, widespread dissatisfaction with the "religious effectiveness" of the Associations. Two intensive investigations were made during the last years of the decade, one titled the *Religious Effectiveness of the Associations*, the other *The Religious Beliefs of Youth* (in the Y.M.C.A.'s). The first arrived at rather optimistic conclusions, the other, using different methods, made it quite plain that there was little connection between the stated goals of Association group work and traditional religious values. The significance of these findings was the subject of concern, study, and experiment as the first century closed.

In 1950, 228 Associations reported religious education classes, including Bible study, that enrolled thirty-three thousand and totaling attendances of some 474,000; the majority of these were boys and girls under eighteen. This was approximately the number reporting such activities over a period of several years. The editor of the *Year Book* commented that these figures were about the same as comparable data for the year 1900, with the exception that in the earlier year they represented "young men exclusively." He might have added that in 1950 the total membership of the Associations was approximately seven times that of fifty years before.

There were those who believed that the religious effectiveness of Y.M.C.A.'s would be enhanced if the implications of always spelling out the full name and never abbreviating or omitting "Christian" were pursued.<sup>40</sup> This was the natural approach from the traditional

viewpoint. The desire to give evidence of religious motivation was seen in the numerous chapels built into Association buildings during the 1940's. But the growing interfaith movement that made itself felt in the more cosmopolitan cities regarded the matter from what it considered a broader perspective. At the same time the powerful tendency to become another social agency acted to compromise both viewpoints but to leave the Movement adrift, for those who leaned toward the welfare conception of its function seemed to lack a philosophy that differentiated the Association from its secular contemporaries.

Yet there were encouraging signs at the time of the American centennial. In 1947 the San Francisco Association appropriated as its own a statement of religious philosophy recently worked out by a committee of the Chicago Association. This was an effective endorsement of the interfaith viewpoint which was in operation throughout the many branches of that cosmopolitan Y.M.C.A. with its widespread services to numerous interracial and intercultural groups:

The Y.M.C.A. believes that its Christian objectives can be realized even though its members consist of Jews, Roman Catholics, Protestants, and persons who have no religious affiliation. This belief is based on a simple philosophy:

First, that a religious person participates in the particular customs and beliefs of his own religious tradition.

Second, that a religious person expresses his religion by the way he lives and in everything he does. He is religious not only when he is in the church or the synagogue, but in the home, in his business, and at his play.

In its program, the Y.M.C.A. aims to help every individual to grow in both of these aspects of religious living. It wants every person to be an intelligent and loyal participant in his own religious culture. Every one in the membership is encouraged to find the spiritual home that meets his own needs, and to share loyally in its life.

Perhaps the more natural way in which the Y.M.C.A. realizes Christian objectives is to stress the second aspect of religious living—by cultivating Christian ways of thinking and acting in everything that is done. Basketball games, committee meetings, group activities and aquatic meets may be conducted in such a way that Christian values are realized.

Of three possible approaches to religion the San Francisco Y.M.C.A. chose to interpret its program "in such a way that each person would become a better adherent to the church or synagogue that meets his needs, and at the same time grow in those attitudes and qualities of life that are basic in all religions."

The author could discern little evidence of influence upon the Associations by the new evangelical trends back toward the theological



center prevalent in the liberal churches. As was the case in earlier periods when great changes in religious thought took place, due in one instance to the theory of evolution and in another to the social gospel, the impact upon the Y.M.C.A. seemed to lag well behind that upon the churches. Among the professional leaders of the Association there were, however, some signs of perhaps wistful desire to discover the meaning of these new trends in theology.

In the entire matter of Christian emphasis the student Y.M.C.A.'s were much more nearly aware of current directions of thought than were their brother Associations. This was natural on account of their close connections with centers of religious philosophy and their constant calls upon leading theologians, ministers, and professors of Christian ethics as speakers and conference leaders. The student Associations were likewise sensitive to the renewed interest of the American churches in worship and liturgy. Through the 1940's student conferences and meetings of all kinds as well as many local programs were marked by deepening emphasis upon evangelical Christian ideas and the study of the Bible;<sup>41</sup> a strenuous effort was made to translate Christian ethics into practice.<sup>42</sup> The Christian religion, declared a widely used *Program Book* published in 1948, "is the reason for and the source of" the activities of the student Association. At the center of each Association, it continued, "there must be a group of students who see each activity in relation to God's desire that love, unity, and justice shall replace all dishonesty and injustice. Tackling very mundane affairs and attempting to bring them under the domination of the way of God is at the heart of the Christian religion." The Movement must face students with the question, Who is Jesus Christ?, declared the chairman of the National student committee before the National Council of 1949. On every campus, he continued, there is a resurgence of Bible study. Such a Movement must be free for experiment in worship, study, and action; it also must be world-wide, he concluded. A painstaking two-year study released by a special commission on *The Message and Mission of the Student Y.M.C.A.* in 1950 reaffirmed the need for Christian commitment, Christian community, and Christian vocation on the part of every unit of the student movement.

#### CHURCH RELATIONS IN THE 1940's

Association secretaries who invested their lives in foreign countries as a rule learned to work with diverse religious, social, and cultural

groups. Yet few of their fellows at home developed marked interfaith or intercultural leadership. In its larger implications, this was, in fact, one of the Associations' most serious weaknesses.

In the area of church-relations two important statements clarifying the role of the Y.M.C.A. as a Protestant agency in connection with service to men and women in military uniform were developed in collaboration with church leaders, and generally satisfactory co-operation followed. A definite relation to the newly formed National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. was established by the election of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. as a "consulting member," along with the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., and the American Bible Society. These two developments at the national level were highly significant in the light of earlier uncertainties and misunderstandings. As the director of the National Council Bureau of Records, Studies, and Trends concluded in the "diagnostic report" he prepared covering the period 1940-1948, those years were a time for decision, as others had declared.<sup>43</sup> It was the concluding and climactic comment of his realistic report that "nothing less than a Movement-wide undertaking, centered in local boards and committees, to redefine the Movement's fundamental aims in the United States would appear to carry within it a sufficient promise of the needed clarification and redirection of the energies and resources of so influential a body of laymen from the American churches as the Y.M.C.A. represents." Such could be no short-term endeavor; it would need to utilize more carefully devised methods than had been employed before. It would need to be realistically and profoundly local but its vision "should be Movement-wide, Church-wide, nation-wide, world-wide." Broadly seen, such an endeavor would become nothing less than a new attempt "to learn afresh what is the will of God for an organization that for more than a century has counted itself 'Christian' and tried to serve that ideal with devotion." Such an effort could also "bear an impressive witness to the vitality of the Christian faith and the influence of the Christian Church, working in diverse forms and manners down through the centuries to unite believers in a fellowship that will be a force for righteousness."<sup>44</sup> As of 1951, some studies and consultations were in process, but no such Movement-wide undertakings on the part of local Associations as were contemplated by this challenge. Several important statements were made, some as the result of the questions raised by the survey of *Present-Day Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations*. One of these,

developed by a commission on religious emphasis and purpose of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island convention, well summarized most of the trends surveyed in this section. It proposed

- That the operations and relationships of Y.M.C.A.'s should be Christian in spirit and practice.
- That the Y.M.C.A. atmosphere should express its Christian purpose.
- That programs of all activities be reviewed periodically for their contributions to growth in Christian thinking and living.
- That personal contacts and interviews be used by leaders and advisers to clarify thinking about religion and to relate Christian principles to daily experience.
- That the Y.M.C.A. and the churches should work out additional forms of co-operation in use of facilities, leadership, and program planning.
- That in addition to the incidental approaches to religious interpretation and guidance, an important place should be given to direct and explicit expressions of religion in Association activities.
- That facilities be provided in Associations for individual meditation and devotional meetings of small groups.
- That special attention be given to Christian purpose and spirit in selecting secretaries and lay officers.
- That membership on the official Association bodies should continue to be open to Roman Catholic and Jewish laymen, and others who are not Protestants but believe in the democratic method and basic Christian purposes of the Association.
- That Y.M.C.A.'s associate themselves with Councils of Churches and other like religious bodies in expressing a common concern for serving youth and building a more Christian community.

#### FACING THE SECOND CENTURY

At the close of their first American century the Y.M.C.A. exhibited most of the tensions and institutional characteristics to which organizations that owe their origins to idealistic striving are prone. Its growth was a remarkable instance of the outbreak of a fresh idea and its furtherance in an ongoing body. Throughout most of its five-score years the specifically Christian dynamic of the Movement was its most obvious feature. Motivated by the evangelical revival it concerned itself for persons, young men away from home, that they might realize their best rather than sink to or beneath urban mediocrity and degradation. The Y.M.C.A. also expressed the evangelical interest in certain reforms as these represented the critical edges of current ideals of the good life. When the acids of modernism and the methods of progressive education dulled the spirit of evangelicalism, the Associations began to experiment but also to lose much of the dynamic that had marked their earlier years.

It has been apparent at numerous points in this History that the vested interest of a fixed idea soon began to exert a powerful inertia within the Movement. There were aspects of this apparent in the centennial year. They were for the most part related to property and the institutionalization of which Owen E. Pence's study *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need* was a careful delineation. The lack of a strong prophetic note in the Associations could be compared to the slowness of the churches to respond to the prophetic element in the gospel of Christ, yet it was undeniable that their lag was greater than that of the bodies that regarded themselves as the more direct trustees of the Christian tradition.

It was possible that the heavier weight of the status quo in the Associations was in part due to their greater lack of a sense of direction in the 1940's. After allying themselves with the left center of American Protestantism during the 1930's they remained more or less adrift when the majority of their denominational relatives swung back toward the right. The perplexity in which the Associations thus found themselves could well be compared to the position of the church-related colleges, many of which had cast off their alleged shackles to the denominations only to find themselves lacking an essential reason for being when challenged to showdown competition with public higher education. In 1951 few of them had either a well-reasoned rationale or an effective methodology whereby they could demonstrate their uniqueness among the many who appeared to be performing essentially the same functions. The Associations were concerned about this problem but it was not obvious in the centennial year that they were pursuing an effective program addressed to its solution.

In spite of their apparent lack of direction there was a definite desire among the Associations to look at themselves objectively. While this urge was not infrequently satisfied with the writing of a report or the passing of a resolution, it expressed itself in the genuine desire for a history that would relate not only the achievements but the failures and mistakes of the Y.M.C.A. century. Such was the essential motivation behind the conception, financing, and production of this book. That this desire was not universal was revealed by the taunt of a well-known retired secretary who charged that a history presuming to present both the strengths and weaknesses of the organization would never be published. The reader must be the judge of the Movement's claim to objectivity in this regard.



A notable achievement of the American Associations was their sense of fellowship and practice of mutual respect. If leaders differed, and the reader of Chapter 10, for example, is well aware that they did so, they nonetheless remained friends and kept intact their loyalty to the Movement. In the same spirit, implicit or overt scrutiny of policies has been regarded as the questioning of approach rather than of persons. Unlike most of its Protestant counterparts, the Y.M.C.A. underwent no schism during the years from 1851 to 1951. This was the obvious manifestation of an underlying characteristic which came near to being the basic bond that held the brotherhood together: the unity of men devoted to the Christian task surpassed their differences. That there were differences was inevitable. It was the unique achievement of the Y.M.C.A. that its fellowship, commitment, accomplishment, and tolerance transcended them.

In the 1870's the American Associations were described as the "light-armed cavalry of the Lord." They were the instigators of a hundred unique programs. By 1951 they had been transformed into what a leading secretary called a bulwark. A bulwark they were, of good citizenship, character-building, youth training, physical fitness, and a score of positive methodologies perhaps most vividly illustrated in boys' work with its ramifications in camping and comparable activities, the influence of which was felt far beyond the Associations themselves. Beyond these transcendently significant additions to American life the greatest achievement of the American Y.M.C.A.'s was their World Service outreach which transplanted the idea of a richer life for young men and boys to several score nations and political areas. Fruits of this worldwide development were infinite in their variety, but among them the contributions of the Associations to the ecumenical movement and specifically to the World Council of Churches were beyond measure. Paralleling these and all aspects of program was the undoubted significance of the student Y.M.C.A.'s in the production of Christian leadership dedicated to tasks of utmost need the world around.

Determination to face the future realistically was apparent as plans were made for the Centennial Convention scheduled for Cleveland, June 21-24, 1951. Among the materials prepared for study by the delegates was a manual entitled *Faith for the Future*, the ideas of which were said by the *National Council Bulletin* to harmonize completely with "the philosophy and methods of the Y.M.C.A." Its data had been obtained from a continent-wide survey that had elicited six hundred

replies from youth groups, staffs, and boards. These had reflected the insecurity, bewilderment, and uncertainty of the times but there was "not one really hopeless response" among them. They had "bluntly and specifically" stated the perplexities of 1950 but focused attention on the question of how the Associations could "help mankind to walk with certainty and security in this changing age." To do this it was clear that

We must renew our Christian faith;

We must rediscover our sense of Christian vocation;

We must strengthen democracy as a way of life;

We must seek world peace and unity.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout their century the American Associations had reached their greatest achievements in each of these four realms when they had given themselves most fully to their own unique purpose. They had built toward world peace and unity when in the wake of Luther Wishard's world journey Y.M.C.A.'s had been established in lands around the globe and their fellowship and World Alliance had transcended the limitations of nation, race, creed, and denomination. They had strengthened democracy at its roots when in the group, the club, the team, and around the campfire young men and boys had learned and practiced mutual self-expression, sportsmanship, and tolerance. They had expressed their vocation when they had pursued vigorously "a work for young men only" or in a later generation had emphasized a "fourfold program." As they faced their second century they would need to rediscover that sense of vocation in a time when their methodology had been shared with others and they themselves were not always certain of what was Christian.

The recovery of meaningful purpose was a corollary of the renewal of Christian faith, which the centennial survey had placed first in the list of musts, as well it might, for the Associations themselves had been born of a fresh outburst of the transforming power of the gospel. The testimony of the first century was its own challenge to the second: out of the "endless inventiveness of the ongoing Christian life" the Young Men's Christian Associations would create new strategies for the application of what the Boston founders of 1851 had called "the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men" through an organization "of those in whom the love of Christ has produced love to men."



## NOTES ON THE SOURCES

IN THE BOWNE HISTORICAL LIBRARY, described in the text of this History, the American Y.M.C.A.'s possess an extraordinary resource. Its collections are perhaps as complete as is to be expected in all types of materials except personal papers and correspondence. Since virtually all data utilized in this study were obtained in the Bowne Library, a glance at the Footnotes will reveal at once their vast range. Still inadequately housed and understaffed in 1951, the Library was nonetheless in better condition and more efficiently administered at the centennial than at any time since its removal to New York. Great numbers of the items in it are only generally catalogued. The files of the History project may serve as an additional key. They were developed for biography, individual Associations, and authors, in addition to a wide range of subject headings, most of which are suggested by the Index to this volume. There are comparable basic materials in the Library of Springfield College. No extensive library collections of North American Y.M.C.A. historical data exist outside the Bowne Library, the Springfield College Library, and the Library of George Williams College, except for the John R. Mott collection at Yale Divinity School, which comprises chiefly archives of the World's Student Christian Federation.

Association archives lack correspondence and personal materials. The extensive files of World Service, now deposited with the Bowne Library, comprise the only valuable asset of this kind known to the author. They are extremely rich in historical potential and deserve the greatest care. The archives from the office of the general secretary of the International Committee and National Council prior to 1929 are fragmentary. Only a handful of the vast correspondence of Richard C. Morse and Cephas Brainerd has survived. Brainerd destroyed his letters but no trace of Morse's correspondence could be found. Robert Weidensall's extensive files not only survive in the Library of George Williams College but most of his letters were transcribed during his lifetime into a series of typescript volumes to which there is frequent reference in the Footnotes. A minor collection of some of the letters of Charles K. Ober was received by the Bowne Library from Miss Marion K. Ober during the research for this History. Miss Margaret Wishard kindly loaned some of her father's scrap-books.

In comparison with the astonishing wealth of materials in the Bowne Library, local Associations have for the most part done little with their archives, most of which consist of nothing more than official records, chiefly minutes. Some of the larger Associations have preserved their printed materials but few Y.M.C.A.'s of which the History project became aware have



kept significant files, particularly correspondence. Only fragments of the letters of Robert McBurney have survived, the last remaining files of his office having been ruined by a leaky roof and destroyed in 1947. The retired general secretary of another great Association found that "janitors, and perhaps others, had cleaned out a lot of files stored in the attic." Over-zealous people had "set to work at the cleaning job without proper supervision" and had "destroyed what they considered dead material." At the time of the writing of this History no Y.M.C.A.'s had a policy for the retirement of selected files to the Library. Numerous Associations endeavored to assist the History project by writing their own histories. Due chiefly to the fact that most of these were prepared by amateurs few of them were documents of serious value.

The Footnotes need little explanation. All references are to data generally available or in the Bowne Library unless otherwise noted. A few common-sense abbreviations have been used for names and titles that appear frequently. The Bowne Library is currently known as the Y.M.C.A. Historical Library.

C.B.—Cephas Brainerd  
 Conv.—Convention  
 I.C.—International Committee  
 L.D.W.—Luther D. Wishard  
 QR—*Quarterly Reporter*  
 R.C.M.—Richard C. Morse  
 R.C.M. History—*History of the  
 North American Y.M.C.A.*

R.C.M. Life—*My Life With Young  
 Men*  
 R.W.—Robert Weidensall  
 W—*The Watchman*  
 YB—*Year Book*  
 YMCJ—*Young Men's Christian  
 Journal*  
 YMM—*Young Men's Magazine*

## Footnotes to General Introduction

1. *Y.B.*, 1943, pp. 7-10.
2. J. E. H. Williams, *The Life of Sir George Williams, Founder of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1906). Not an unbiased account, this biography may nevertheless be assumed to be factually accurate in the matters cited. There is considerable useful data in L. L. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922), Part I, Ch. II. In the author's opinion a fresh examination of the beginnings of the London Assn. would be a significant contribution to the Movement's history.
3. Charles G. Finney is a major figure in American religious history of whom no recent or competent biography exists. His *Memoirs*, published in 1876, are but a journalistic account of events in his life. The books cited in the text were his *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, first published in 1835; his *Lectures on Systematic Theology* appeared somewhat later but were read abroad as well as in the U. S.
4. Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79.
5. *Ibid.*, Part I, Ch. IV.
6. W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth, and Decline* (New York: Scribner, 1945), pp. 159-61.
7. C. G. Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (Oberlin, 1846), pp. 496, 550-53, quoted by H. R. Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America* (Chicago: Willett, 1937), p. 156.

## Footnotes to Chapter 1

1. The full text of this letter, which crystallized sentiment in favor of a Y.M.C.A. in Boston, may be found in L. L. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.* (1901), appendix.
2. L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (Cleveland: F. M. Barton, 1902; New York: Assn. Press, 1925), p. 29.
3. Letter, H. M. Dexter to M. R. Deming, November 9, 1885 (original in Boston Y.M.C.A. Scrapbook, 1885—, Bowne Lib.). See also R. E. Thompson, ed., *The Life of George H. Stuart, Written by Himself* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co., 1890), Ch. IV.
4. Undated newspaper clipping quoting an interview with T. H. Duncan, in Washington Y.M.C.A. miscellaneous box, Jubilee, 50th Anniversary folder (Rhees Collection, MS. Div., Lib. of Cong.).
5. R. E. G. Davis, *The Montreal Y.M.C.A. as a Religious and Social Institution* (M. A. thesis, McGill Univ., 1927; rev. ed., 1930), pp. 3, 5, 15.
6. The author is indebted to W. B. Whiteside, historian of the Boston Y.M.C.A., for basic information and criticism of the portions of this chapter dealing with that Assn. He is likewise obligated to H. C. Cross, historian of the Montreal Y.M.C.A., to the same extent. The origins of these two Assns. will be fully covered in forthcoming books by these two writers.
7. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.*, p. 110.
8. H. C. Cross, *History of the Montreal Y.M.C.A.*, Ch. 2, from *Montreal Witness*, Dec. 1, 1851.
9. W. B. Whiteside, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.*, Ch. 2, from the original Boston Const. and By-Laws.
10. Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8.
11. *Phila. Young Men's Society* (tract No. 1, ca. 1831, Bowne Lib.), p. 3.
12. Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
13. *YB*, 1943, p. 10.
14. C. P. Shedd, *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements: Their Origin and Intercollegiate Life* (New York: Assn. Press, 1934), p. 69.
15. F. R. Dunn, "Formative Years of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.: a Study in Urban History," *Journal of the Ill. State Hist. Society*, XXXVII (Dec., 1944), 334-35.
16. *YB*, 1943, p. 10.
17. *Assn. Outlook*, VIII (Mar., 1899), 147-152; *Assn. Forum*, VII (July, 1926), 5-8.
18. Letter, J. T. Bowne to E. P. Woods, Oct. 18 (letter-press vol. for 1884, Bowne Lib.).
19. Whiteside, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.
20. It is virtually impossible to compile a definitive list of early Amer. Y.M.C.A.'s,

- in view of the facts that many lasted only a few weeks or months, that the sources of information are meager, and that the authorities often disagree. The treatment here is based on statistical statements in *QR* beginning with Jan., 1856; First Annual *Report of the Washington City Y.M.C.A.* (1854), pp. 38-55; *Report of the Central Com. Young Men's Christian Confederation US & Brit. Provinces to the Ecumenical Conf. of Y.M.C.A.'s*, to be held at Paris, Aug. 20, 1855; and W. C. Langdon, Circulars Nos. 1-5, 1854 and 1855 (bound as part of report of Second Annual Conv. of Y.M.C.A.'s of the U.S. and Brit. Provinces, Sept. 19 and 20, 1855, Bowne Lib.); available histories and annual reports of Assns. listed.
21. Conv., 1860, pp. 19-20.
  22. E. C. Worman, *History of Brooklyn and Queens Y.M.C.A., 1853-1949* (typescript, 1949), plate following p. 44.
  23. The printer of the Charleston document at one point copied the word "Washington" instead of substituting "Charleston."
  24. Russell Thompson, *The Y.M.C.A. of Cleveland* (1901), p. 142.
  25. *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, I (Feb. 9, 1853); quotations in archives of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.
  26. *YMCJ*, IV (Apr., 1859), 77-80.
  27. L. L. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922), p. 334.
  28. M. G. Ross, *The Years Ahead; a Plan for the Can. Y.M.C.A. in the Next Decade* (Toronto: Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Can., 1945), pp. 30-31.
  29. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.*, pp. 12-13.
  30. *QR*, III (July, 1858), 86.
  31. H. A. Stotz, Notebook No. 2 (archives Chicago Y.M.C.A.), p. 81; see also Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
  32. *YMCJ*, V (July, 1859), 23-24.
  33. *Ibid*; see also F. E. Sickels, *Fifty Years of the Y.M.C.A. of Buffalo* (1902), pp. 25, 38.
  34. *QR*, I (Oct., 1856), 27; II (Jan., 1857), 35; *YMCJ*, IV (Mar., 1859), 61-62; V (Sept., 1859), 87-88.
  35. *YMCJ*, V (Mar., 1860), 276-77.
  36. C. B. "Observations Suggested by a Recent Plea for City Missions," an address to the New York Y.M.C.A., 1863 (Bowne Lib.).
  37. *YMM*, II (Sept., 1858), 233-34.
  38. *QR*, II (Apr., 1857), 41; III (Apr., 1858), 45.
  39. *YMM*, I (Jan., 1858), 425; *YMCJ*, V (Oct., 1859), 114.
  40. Fifth Annual *Report of the Y.M.C.A. of Richmond, Va.* (1860), p. 21.
  41. *QR*, II (Oct., 1857), 58.
  42. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.*, pp. 346-47.
  43. *QR*, I (Oct., 1856), 25; II (Jan., 1857), 34; *YMCJ*, V (July, 1859), 17; Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
  44. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.*, p. 20.
  45. *QR*, I (Jan., 1856), 4; (Apr., 1856), 10.
  46. *QR*, III (Apr., 1858), 36; *YMCJ*, IV (June, 1859), 141.
  47. Sixth Annual *Report of the Y.M.C.A. of New Orleans* (1859), pp. 34-46.
  48. *YMCJ*, IV (Feb., 1859), 35-36.
  49. *QR*, I (Oct., 1856), 25.
  50. *YMCJ*, IV (Mar., 1859), 66.
  51. *Chicago Press and Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1858 (transcript in the archives of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.).
  52. See for example, *Chicago Press and Tribune*, Mar. 10, 1859 (transcript in the archives of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.).
  53. *QR*, III (Jan., 1858), 13-15; for an interesting case in which the Reverend Alexander Campbell disgressed from his topic, "The Philosophy of a Y.M.C.A.," into what were regarded as sectarian ideas, in an address at New Orleans, see *YMM*, I (May, 1857), 28.
  54. *QR*, I (Jan., 1856).
  55. *QR*, II (Oct., 1857), 62; Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.*, p. 235.
  56. *QR*, I (Oct., 1856), 25.
  57. *QR*, II (Jan., 1857), 33-34; (Apr., 1857), 41-42.
  58. *YMCJ*, IV (May, 1859), 112.
  59. H. W. Beecher, *Eyes and Ears* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1862), pp. 205-6.
  60. Worman, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-28; Second Annual *Report of the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A.* (1856), p. 17.
  61. Conv., 1856, pp. 15, 67.
  62. *QR*, II (Apr., 1857), 42.
  63. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
  64. *W*, XIII (Apr. 15, 1888), 122.
  65. Conv., 1860, pp. 31, 42, 47.
  66. *QR*, II (Apr., 1857), 42.
  67. *QR*, III (Apr., 1858), 52.
  68. First Annual *Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 43; *QR*, I (Apr., 1856), 11.
  69. Conv., 1865, p. 95; *Assn. Men*, LII (Aug., 1927), 568.
  70. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.*, p. 314.
  71. *YMCJ*, IV (Mar., 1859), 67. "Plug Uglies" were gangs of toughs who roamed the city streets armed with ice picks which they used as dangerous weapons.
  72. Collection of 28 letters, 1855-56 (MS. Doc. Room, Yale Univ. Lib.).

73. *First Annual Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 43; *Conv.*, 1877, p. 81; *N. Y. Conv.*, 1867, p. 12.
74. *QR*, II (Jan., 1857), 34; (Oct., 1857), 59; *First Annual Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), pp. 41-42, 46.
75. *First Annual Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 42; *Hundred-Year Book*, 1853.
76. W. D. Weatherford, *History of the Student Y.M.C.A. in the South* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), pp. 1-4. The author is deeply indebted to Dr. Weatherford for this painstaking study, which has been of great value in preparing this portion of the History. Dr. Weatherford's documentation for the origins of the Y.M.C.A. at Cumberland rests principally upon the *History of Cumberland Univ.*, by Bone, but his personal knowledge and other sources establish the priority of the Cumberland Assn. beyond doubt.
77. Shedd, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
78. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI.
79. *YM CJ*, IV (Mar., 1859), 59; *Const. and By-Laws of the Y.M.C.A. of the Univ. of Va.* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1860); Shedd, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
80. *YM CJ*, V (Apr., 1860), 311; *Conv.*, 1859, p. 131; Shedd, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
81. *Conv.*, 1859, p. 17.
82. *YM CJ*, V (Jan., 1860), 202-5; see also *Alumni Bulletin* of the Univ. of Va., 3rd. Ser., Vol. II (Jan., 1909), pp. 48-68.
83. Copies of these two sermons are in the Bowne Lib. There was a short-lived "Christian Society" at the Univ. of Pa. as a result of the revival of 1857; see R. E. Francis, "The Religious Revival of 1858 in Phila.," *Pa. Magazine of Hist. and Biog.*, LXX (Jan., 1946), 72. The Phila. Y.M.C.A. conducted a prayer meeting for med. students between 1858 and 1860; see *Fifth Annual Report* of the Y.M.C.A. of Phila. (1860), p. 28.
84. M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), pp. 10-22.
85. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *QR*, I (Jan., 1856), 1; *YM CJ*, IV (Jan., 1859), 21.
86. J. A. Urice, *Committees and Boards in The Early Hist. of the N. Y. C. Y.M.C.A. 1852-70* (New York: Assn. Press, 1928); O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need: a Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 25.
87. *Second Annual Report* of the Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1855), p. 13.
88. *QR*, III (Jan., 1858), 30; (Apr., 1858), 40; *Fifth Annual Report* of the Y.M.C.A. of Charleston, S. C. (1859), pp. 20-21.
89. *QR*, I (Jan., 1856), 3; (Oct., 1856), 26; Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Washington Y.M.C.A., Aug. 30, 1852.
90. *QR*, III (Jan., 1858), 30-31; *YM CJ*, V (July, 1859), 6; see also *The Union Pulpit. A Collection of Sermons by Ministers of Different Denominations* (Washington, D. C.: Y.M.C.A., 1860).
91. *QR*, II (Apr., 1857), 42.
92. Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Washington Y.M.C.A., Jan. 10, 1853; *First Annual Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 48.
93. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
94. F. E. Burgess, compiler, *The Y.M.C.A. of Ontario and Quebec* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), p. 9.
95. L. A. Duncan, the "supervising editor" of *The Companion*, presented the only known file of the magazine to the Bowne Lib. in 1883. For reactions to the refusal of the *Conv.* to accept it as the official organ, see the issue for Nov., 1855, p. 76. For the Glasgow periodical, see *First Annual Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A., (1854), p. 26. The author is grateful to Mr. A. Senaud, Librarian of the World's Com., Geneva, for assistance in checking early periodicals, and to Mr. D. McCallum of the Glasgow Assn. Unfortunately no record or copies of the *Glasgow Young Men's Magazine* have been found.
96. The author is indebted to Mr. R. P. Walker, Gen. Sec. of the Newark Y.M.C.A., for access to this periodical.
97. *Hundred-Year Book*, 1858.
98. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.*, pp. 373ff.
99. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
100. Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Washington Y.M.C.A., Aug. 30, 1852. Feb. 5, 1853; Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.*, p. 21.
101. R.C.M., *History*, p. 149; Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Sickels, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; *Half a Century in Charleston 1854-1904* (pam., Charleston, S. C.: Y.M.C.A., 1904), p. 11.
102. Francis, *op. cit.*, p. 62 [see footnote 83]; H. A. Gibbons, *John Wanamaker* (New York: Harper, 1926), Vol. I, Ch. VI; J. H. Appel, *The Business Biog. of John Wanamaker, Founder and Builder, America's Merchant Pioneer from 1861-1922* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Chs. II, III, and IV.
103. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
104. Letter, L. P. Rowland to "Dear Brother," Nov. 25, 1881 (MS. in *Biog. Sketches of Y.M.C.A. Workers*, MS. vol., Bowne Lib.). For Rowland's career see also Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.*, p. 30; E. V. Ambler, "A Century of History



- of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Mass. and R. I." (mimeo. MS., 1949), Parts I, II; B. W. Tallman, *A History of the Mich. State Y.M.C.A.* (mimeo. MS., 1947), p. 17; *The State* (Detroit: Mich. State Y.M.C.A.), XXXVII (Sept. 30, 1928), 1.
105. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, pp. 17-18, 52-56.
  106. J. V. Farwell, Jr., *Some Recollections of John V. Farwell* (Chicago: 1911), pp. 104-5.
  107. *YMCJ*, V (Sept., 1859), 86.
  108. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
  109. First Annual Report, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 52.
  110. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
  111. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.*, pp. 378-79.
  112. For a summary of this matter in the pre-Civil War period, see S. W. Wiley, *History of Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the U.S.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1944), Ch. 1.
  113. *The Companion*, II (Mar., 1855), 12.
  114. Minutes, Bd. of Directors, Chicago Y.M.C.A., Oct. 19, 1861.
  115. This was in the course of comment on an address by T. H. Gladstone at the Leeds Conf. of 1859; *YMCJ*, IV (June, 1859), 135.
  116. See G. M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the Y.M.C.A.: 1844-1944* (New York: Assn. Press, 1948), Ch. 2. The term "public affairs" is used in this History as defined by Fisher on p. 11.
  117. Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Washington Y.M.C.A., Sept. 17, 1852.
  118. Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Washington Y.M.C.A., Nov. 8, 1852.
  119. *YMM*, I (May, 1857), 29.
  120. I. H. and E. W. Brainerd, *Cephas Brainerd Biography*, (unpublished MS., 1947, Bowne Lib.), pp. 63-73.
  121. *QR*, III (Oct., 1858), 109.
  122. Conv., 1856, p. 37.
  123. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

## Footnotes to Chapter 2

1. *The Story of My Early Life*, an unpublished autobiographical sketch prepared by Langdon for his family. Original MS. is in the possession of Mrs. William Chauncy Langdon, II, of Bronxville, N. Y., to whom the author is greatly indebted for permission to use and photostat this document, copies of which are deposited in the Bowne Lib., the N. Y. Public Lib., the Yale Divinity School Lib., and the Lib. of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s in Geneva. The sketch of Langdon's career in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is reliable.
2. W. C. Langdon, "The Early Story of the Confederation of the Y.M.C.A.'s," *YB*, 1888, pp. 17-58. This statement is a basic document for the period, 1852-59. Save for a few minor errors, it is reliable and inclusive. In writing it, Langdon had before him such correspondence as survived, all of which is now in Bowne Lib.
3. See Langdon's detailed "Report of Cor. Sec.," in the First Annual Report of the Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), pp. 16-56; *MS. Reports of the Cor. Sec., Y.M.C.A.*, Washington, D. C., 1853-1854; original correspondence of Langdon relative to the Confederation of the Amer. Y.M.C.A.'s, 1854-1859. These and other minor items are in Bowne Lib.
4. First Annual Report, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 29.
5. W. C. Langdon, *Quarterly Report of the Cor. Sec. of the Washington City Y.M.C.A.*, Oct., 17, 1853 (MS., Bowne Lib.).
6. Oscar Cobb, "After Fifty Years," in *A Little Book of Welcome, History and Illustration*, printed for the Thirty-Fifth Internat. Conv. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A. (Buffalo: 1904, Bowne Lib.).
7. Conv., 1854, p. 21.
8. Russell Thompson, *The Y.M.C.A. of Cleveland* (1901), p. 20.
9. For Helme's Association activities, see *Era*, XXII (Apr., 1896), 227-28.
10. Conv., 1854, pp. 12, 13.
11. For Neff's Y.M.C.A. career, see L. L. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922), pp. 238-39; *Assn. Men*, XXIX (Apr., 1904), 301-2; XXXVIII (Apr., 1913), 343; also, biographical items in Bowne Lib.
12. W. H. Neff, "Early Days of the Assn. Confederation," *Assn. Men*, XXIX (Apr., 1904), 301; R.C.M., *History*, pp. 29f.
13. Conv., 1854, pp. 39-40.
14. This title was used for two years; Neff, who followed Langdon in 1856, was "Corresponding Secretary."
15. H. T. Miller, *Reminiscences of Early Amer. Work* (MS., Bowne Lib.), pp. 6-7; *The Companion*, I (Aug., 1854), 52.
16. For Lowry's Assn. activities, see Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-42; numerous articles from his pen in *QR* and *YMCJ*; brief obituary in *Christian Manhood*, St. Louis Y.M.C.A., XXXIV (Aug., 1910), 5.

17. *YB*, 1888, p. 53.
18. *QR*, II (July, 1857), 53.
19. *YMCJ*, III (Apr., 1859), 84.
20. Samuel Lowry, *Hist. Sketch of the Progress of Y.M.C.A.'s in N. A.* (Cincinnati: 1868), pp. 12-13.
21. *QR*, III (Oct., 1858), 105.
22. *Conv.*, 1859, pp. 37-48; *Conv.* 1860, p. 18.
23. *YMCJ*, IV (Jan., 1859), 10-11.
24. *Conv.*, 1859, pp. 80-88.
25. *Conv.*, 1859, p. 99.
26. *YB*, 1888, p. 58.
27. *Conv.*, 1864, pp. 9, 139.
28. The Phila. Com. must also bear the responsibility for having lost the Confederation archives, which were unquestionably sent to it from Richmond.
29. *First Annual Report*, Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), pp. 20, 23-24; Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
30. *QR*, II (July, 1857), 54; see also Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 309, 313, 322; *YMCJ*, IV (May, 1859), 104; (Dec., 1859), 169-70.
31. The author is deeply indebted to Professor Shedd for both data and perspective on the subject of this section. Dr. Shedd contributed several paragraphs of the narrative at this point. His findings concerning Dunant are in an article, "Henri Dunant et le développement international des Y.M.C.A.," in *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, IX, 3 (1949), 219-42.
32. Langdon, *Report of the Cor. Sec. of the Washington City Y.M.C.A.*, June 8, 1853 (MS., Bowne Lib.).
33. *YB*, 1888, p. 42.
34. The sketch of Stevens in the *Dictionary of American Biography* omits all mention of his share in the Paris Conf. Stevens was long active in the New York Y.M.C.A. but does not appear to have taken part in Movement affairs. A brief obituary appeared in *Men*, XXIII (Sept. 25, 1897), 13. See also Doggett, *op. cit.*, Ch. V.
35. "Report of the Gen. Conf.," held in Paris, Aug., 1855, *Occasional Paper No. III* (London: Y.M.C.A., 1856), p. 11.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 21. This statement followed closely that adopted by the Paris Assn. in 1852.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
39. A. Senaud, *History of the Paris Basis*, paper prepared for World's Com., Y.M.C.A. Consultation on the Message, Nyborg Strand, Aug. 11-16, 1950 (Bowne Lib.), pp. 4-5.
40. *Conv.*, 1855, pp. 48, 78.
41. *Conv.*, 1856, pp. 14, 33, 76.
42. *QR*, III (Jan., 1858), 11-12.
43. *YMCJ*, IV (Jan., 1859), 16, 18.
44. *QR*, II (Apr., 1857), 42.
45. T. W. Chambers, *The Noon Prayer Meeting of the North Dutch Church* (New York: Bd. of Publication, Reformed Dutch Church, 1858), pp. 40-75.
46. *QR*, III (Apr., 1858), 42.
47. R. E. Francis, "The Religious Revival of 1858 in Phila.," *The Pa. Magazine of Hist. and Biog.*, LXX (Jan., 1946), 52-77.
48. Circular letter over the signatures of George H. Stuart and John Wanamaker, Jan. 12, 1859 (Bowne Lib.).
49. F. R. Dunn, "Formative Years of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.," *Journal of the Ill. State Hist. Society*, XXXVII (Dec., 1944), 337-38.
50. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
51. *YMCJ*, IV (May, 1859), 118-19; *YMM*, II (Nov., 1858), 328-29.
52. *YMCJ*, V (Jan., 1860), 206.
53. *YMCJ*, V (Dec., 1859), 178-79; (Mar., 1860), 274.
54. For an extended account of the revival see *Conv.*, 1859, pp. 137-45.
55. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 29-30.
56. *Eleventh Annual Report of N. Y. City Y.M.C.A.* (1863), p. 18; other documents in archives of the N. Y. City Assn.
57. Archives of the Chicago Y.M.C.A., from A. T. Andreas, . . . *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago: 1884-1886), II (1885), 227-28, 345-46; E. B. Smith et al., *Hist. Sketch of the Y.M.C.A. of Chicago 1858-1898* (1898), pp. 22, 27-28.
58. *Hundred-Year Book*, 1862.
59. Circular letter, Richmond Y.M.C.A. to the Y.M.C.A.'s of North America, May 6, 1861 (Bowne Lib.); also in Tenth Annual Report of the N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (1862), pp. 29-30.
60. Circular letter, New Orleans Y.M.C.A. to the Y.M.C.A.'s of North America, May 22, 1861 (Bowne Lib.); also in Tenth Annual Report, N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (1862), pp. 30-31. Both letters are in Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-8.
61. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 207, 208.
62. From unidentified newspaper clippings in a Boston Y.M.C.A. Scrapbook, 1852-1865 (Bowne Lib.).
63. From miscellaneous newspaper clippings, pamphlets, and a ticket to the Brownlow lecture (Bowne Lib.).
64. Cephas Brainerd, *The Work of the Army Com. of the New York Y.M.C.A., which led to the organization of the U.S. Christian Commission* (New York: 1866, Bowne Lib.). See also Tenth Annual Report of the N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (1862),

- p. 20; also, miscellaneous records in Bowne Lib.
65. Twelfth Annual Report of the N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (1864), p. 15.
  66. Brainerd, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
  67. Conv., 1866, 87-95; see R. E. Thompson, ed., *The Life of George H. Stuart, Written by Himself* (Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddard & Co., 1890).
  68. L. L. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.* (1901), p. 33.
  69. As, for example, New Haven, Conn.; see Conv., 1865, pp. 113-14.
  70. G. L. Fels, *History of the Louisville Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, 1948).
  71. See G. A. Warburton, *George Alonzo Hall* (New York: Internat. Com., 1905), Ch. III.
  72. Lemuel Moss, *Annals of the U.S. Christian Commission* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), p. 293.
  73. *Ibid.*, pp. 663-84; M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), pp. 24-28.
  74. Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
  75. R.C.M. *Life*, p. 130, from Conv., 1865, p. 108.
  76. *QR*, II (Apr., 1857), 42.
  77. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 45.
  78. Sixth and Seventh Annual Reports of the Y.M.C.A. of Richmond, Va., 1861 and 1862 (1862), pp. 20-24.
  79. Eighth Annual Report of the Y.M.C.A. of Richmond, Va. (1863), pp. 22-24.
  80. *Christian Observer* (Richmond), June 23, 1864, single sheet (Bowne Lib.).
  81. *Half a Century in Charleston 1854-1904* (pam., Charleston, S. C.: 1904), pp. 14-15.
  82. W. W. Bennett, *A Narrative of the Great Revival which Prevailed in the Southern Armies During the Late Civil War . . .* (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1877), p. 274.
  83. *Ibid.*, p. 386.
  84. Irl Hicks, *The Prisoner's Farewell to Johnson's Island* (pam., St. Louis: 1872), p. 3.
  85. J. W. Jones, *Christ in the Camp, or, Religion in Lee's Army* (Richmond: B. F. Johnson & Co., 1887), p. 338.
  86. *Ibid.*, pp. 398-99.
  87. *The New York Tribune*, Nov. 16, 1861, and the *Y.M.C.A. Reporter*, Cincinnati, in accounts of "Proceedings of a Special Conv. of Y.M.C.A.'s, held in N. Y., Nov. 14 & 15, 1861," report that . . . "our brethren in the army have, in some instances, organized themselves into Religious Associations," and hope is expressed for such work in every regiment (newspaper excerpts in Bowne Lib.).

The only example of a regimental Assn. in the Union armies to come to the author's attention is a MS. const. and list of members of such an organization set up during the siege of Vicksburg and apparently continued until the mustering out of the 77th Ill. Volunteers in 1865. These papers are in the possession of Mr. S. Wirt Wiley; they have been utilized in the illustrations for this chapter.

## Footnotes to Chapter 3

1. First Annual Report of the Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 42.
2. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 67-71.
3. *Assn. Notes*, N. Y. City, May, 1885, p. 1.
4. *Assn. Sem.*, XII (1903-04), 2ff.
5. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 67.
6. *A Memorandum respecting N. Y. as a Field for Moral and Christian Effort among Young Men . . .* (New York: Y.M.C.A., 1866); also R.C.M., *History*, pp. 76-77.
7. For the life of McBurney, see: L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (Cleveland, Ohio: F. M. Barton, 1902; New York: Assn. Press, 1925); C. A. Coburn, "The Great General Secretary," *Assn. Forum*, VIII (Apr., 1928), 8-9, 21; G. A. Warburton, "The Tower Room," *Assn. Forum*, IX (Oct., 1928), 9; also G. A. Warburton, "A Study in Secretarial Personality," *Assn. Forum*, I (Oct., 1920), 1-3; C. K. Ober, "Robert R. McBurney, Master Secretary," *Assn. Men*, XXXVIII (Sept., 1913), 619; for the quotation cited, see *Dictionary of American Biography* sketch.
8. R.C.M., *History*, pp. 79-80.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
10. Letter, R.C.M. to L. L. Doggett, Mar. 12, 1901 (Bowne Lib.).
11. See the Index of this volume.
12. R.C.M., *History*, p. 73; Conv., 1865, p. 20; Conv., 1866, p. 28; Conv., 1869, p. 73; also *W*, VII (Sept. 1, 1881), 219.
13. Lyman Abbott [?], in *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, XLI (Oct., 1870), 643-44. The Assns. named were Meriden, Conn.; Bethlehem, Pa.; Newton, Long Is-

- land; Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; and Springfield, Mass.
14. Abbott [?], *op. cit.*, p. 647.
  15. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), pp. 246-48.
  16. S. W. Wiley and Florence Lehman, *Builders of Men, A History of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A.: 1866-1936* (1938), p. 104.
  17. Conv., 1864, pp. 12-13, 15, 80-81 (the report of the Conv. of 1863 is found on pages 9-16 of report for Conv., 1864). See also L. L. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.* (1901), p. 36. Potter's address at the Conv. of 1864 was published in pam. form by the Exec. Com.
  18. L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert McBurney*, p. 161.
  19. *Ibid.*, p. 165. Also R. R. McBurney, "Statement" concerning his connection with the Convs. (MS., Bowne Lib.), p. 2.
  20. Conv., 1866, pp. 19-20.
  21. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 50.
  22. McBurney gave much of the credit for the recommendations to the chairman of the Exec. Com., the Reverend Alfred Taylor.
  23. McBurney, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
  24. Letter, C. B. to L. L. Doggett, July 31, 1901 (Bowne Lib.), p. 18.
  25. Conv., 1867, pp. 78-79.
  26. Conv., 1867, p. 124.
  27. Not until the 1890's did the Convs. become self-entertaining. See *Men*, XXII (July 31, 1897), 1231.
  28. Conv. statistics are in all Year Books for this period. Also, R.C.M., *History*, p. 285 and *Fifty Years of Federation of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A.* (New York Internat. Com., 1905), p. 112.
  29. This will be described in Chapter 11.
  30. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
  31. Conv., 1865, pp. 15-16.
  32. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-24.
  33. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 186-87, 191-92; copy of the Act in YB, 1883-84, pp. xviii-xxi.
  34. Letter, C. B. to Doggett, July 31, 1901 (Bowne Lib.), pp. 6-7.
  35. C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent: Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), p. 44; R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 317-18.
  36. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 281-86.
  37. R.C.M., *Fifty Years of Federation*, pp. 47-48.
  38. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, pp. 87-88.
  39. R.C.M., Family League Letters, II, Aug. 24, 1903 (Bowne Lib.).
  40. Conv., 1864, p. 66.
  41. Conv., 1868, pp. 82, 115.
  42. Letters, C. B. to J. C. Denise, Oct. 3 and Nov. 6, 1868 (Bowne Lib.).
  43. R. W., *The First Field Work and Early Development of the Y.M.C.A. Movement as Conducted under the Internat. Com. and its First Employed Agent* (typescript, 1912 Bowne Lib.), I, 1-2.
  44. W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York: Harper, 1939), pp. 548-49.
  45. *Assn. Men*, LII (Dec., 1927), 182.
  46. R. W., *op. cit.*, I, 8-15.
  47. Ober, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13. See also R. W., *Man's Needs and Their Supplies* (New York: Assn. Press, 1919).
  48. Letter, C. B. to R. W., June 22, 1875, in R. W., compiler, *Letters, Cephas Brainerd, First Chairman, to Robert Weiden-sall, First Sec., Internat. Com. Y.M.C.A.'s, 1868-1893* (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), p. XIII.
  49. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
  50. Conv., 1869, pp. 48, XV; Conv., 1870, p. VII; Conv., 1872, p. 72; R.C.M., *Life*, Chs. V-VI.
  51. I. H. and E. W. Brainerd, *Cephas Brainerd Biography* (unpublished MS., 1947, Bowne Lib.), p. 237; also I. H. Brainerd, "Richard C. Morse's Life among Children," *Assn. Forum*, VIII (Oct., 1927), 9.
  52. R. R. McBurney, *Hist. Sketch of the Y.M.C.A.* (pam., St. Louis: State Exec. Com., 1884), p. 21.
  53. R.C.M., Family League Letters, III, Jan. 4, 1912 (Bowne Lib.).
  54. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
  55. Letters, C.B. to R.C.M., 1890, date blurred (Bowne Lib.). For many years there had been a quorum of the resident body of the Com.
  56. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 214.
  57. *State and Provincial Convs.* (pam. 1873), reprint from *Assn. Monthly*, IV (Mar., 1873), 1.
  58. Conv., 1865, p. 24.
  59. Conv., 1866, p. 59.
  60. R. W., *The First Field Work of the I. C.*, I, 152.
  61. *Ibid.*
  62. W. L. Miller, *A History of the State Y.M.C.A. of Conn.* (mimeo. MS., New Haven: 1949); Conn. Conv., 1867.
  63. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 112.
  64. See the forthcoming *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada—A Chronicle of a Century* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), by M. G. Ross.
  65. Conv., 1867; p. 71; Vt. Conv., 1867, pp. 4, 14.
  66. Ohio Conv., 1867, p. 19.
  67. R. W., *op. cit.*, I, preface.



68. The Weidensall Collection of his letters, comprising principally those received by him, is housed at George Wilkins Coll., Chicago.
69. Conv., 1891, p. 44.
70. YB, 1892, pp. 30-31.
71. Conv., 1872, pp. xxii-xxv.
72. Mich. Conv., 1890, pp. 30-32.
73. M. C. Williams, compiler, *The Early History of the Work of the State Exec. Com. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Ohio—1867 to 1912* (typescript, Bowne Lib.), pp. 21, 23-24.
74. Minn. Conv., 1885, pp. 30-32.
75. W. H. Wones, *Historical Data of the Y.M.C.A. in Wis.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), p. 11.
76. *Era*, XVIII (Apr. 14, 1892), 461-62, 466.
77. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
78. *Assn. Monthly*, II (Nov., 1871), 221.
79. W, XII (May 1, 1886), 104; Ky. Conv., 1891.
80. M. G. Ross, *The Toronto Y.M.C.A. in a Changing Community, 1864-1940* (M. A. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1947), pp. 17ff.
81. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 88.
82. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
83. Conv., 1869, p. XX.
84. R.W., *The First Field Work of the I. C.*, II, 423.
85. *Ibid.*, 443.
86. Letter, C.B. to R.W., Feb. 17, 1875, in R.W., *op. cit.*, II, 451.
87. Ober, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15; Conv., 1876, pp. xix-xxii.
88. Calif. Conv., 1891, p. 75; Tenn. Conv., 1885, pp. 28-31.
89. Letter, C.B. to M. L. Blanton, undated (Bowne Lib.).
90. Conv., 1877, p. xiv.
91. Conv., 1879, p. 40.
92. R.C.M., *Fifty Years of Federation*, p. 53.
93. G. A. Warburton, *George Alonzo Hall* (New York: Internat. Com., 1905), pp. 113-14, 130-31.
94. M. G. Ross, ed., *The Years Ahead: A Plan for the Can. Y.M.C.A. in the Next Decade* (Toronto: Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Can., 1945), p. 34.
95. Conv., 1869, p. 101.
96. Warburton, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Conv., 1877, pp. xi-xiii.
97. Conv., 1870, p. 85.
98. Letter, R.W. to J. T. Bowne, Sept. 4, 1881 (Bowne Lib.).
99. R.W., *The First Field Work of the I. C.*, I, 393.
100. Conv., 1872, p. xvi.
101. *The Hy-Shy-Ny.*, Mobile, Ala., Y.M.C.A. IV (Oct., 1897), 15.
102. Conv., 1874, pp. 20, xv-xvii.
103. *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, V (June 12, 1875), 285.
104. Conv., 1875, p. 65.
105. Warburton, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
106. J. K. Cree and H. S. Ninde, eds., *Thomas Kirby Cree, a Memorial* (New York: Assn. Press, 1914), pp. 124-26.
107. Conv., 1875, p. xxiii.
108. Conv., 1875, p. 63; Conv., 1876, pp. 75, xxiii; Conv., 1877, pp. 39, xiv.
109. YB, 1878-79, p. 15.
110. Conv., 1883, pp. 98-100.
111. Minutes, Internat. Com., Mar. 11 and Apr. 8, 1884. See Minutes of Southern Work Com. for June 13, 1893 (Bowne Lib.).
112. YB, 1886, pp. 58-60.
113. C. K. Ober, *op. cit.*, pp. 117f.; Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934), pp. 96-98.
114. YB, 1890, pp. 28-29; *Era*, XVI (May 8, 1890), 296.
115. Conv., 1895, p. 58.
116. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 89ff.
117. See Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Can.—A Chronicle of a Century*, for further treatment of the development in the Maritimes.
118. Letter, C.B. to R. R. McBurney, Oct. 27, 1870 (Bowne Lib.).
119. Conv., 1883, p. 44.
120. Calif. Conv., 1885, pp. 2, 59-63.
121. *Era*, XVI (July 3, 1890), 421; (July 31, 1890), 489; XVII (July 30, 1891), 506.
122. YB, 1893, pp. 31-32; *Era*, XVIII (Apr. 21, 1892), 495-97.
123. Conv., 1895, p. 62.
124. Letter, R.W. to R.C.M., Feb. 17, 1887; C.B. to R.W., Feb. 25, 1887 (Bowne Lib.).
125. YB, 1896, pp. 9-15.
126. M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), p. 40, quoted from Conv., 1869, p. 52.
127. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 456-60.
128. Conv., 1877, p. 77; W, IV (Apr. 1, 1878), 6; III (July 1 and 15, 1877), 6.
129. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 488-94.
130. W, VII (Dec. 1, 1881), 294-95.
131. Conv., 1897, p. 51.
132. W, XIII (Oct. 15, 1887), 301, 302, 304, 317.
133. YB, 1899, p. 63.
134. W, VII (Jan. 1, 1881), 6; (Mar. 1, 1881), 53; XIII (Aug. 1, 1887), 224.
135. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 494.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 80; Conv., 1871, pp. 30-31.
137. *Men*, XXVIII (July, 1903), 439-40.
138. *Assn. Men*, XXVI (May, 1901), 269-70.
139. *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Nov., 1910), 47ff.
140. *Era*, XIX (June 15, 1893), 749; (June 22, 1893), 779.

141. Conv., 1876, p. viii.
142. *YB*, 1889, p. 25; H. S. Ninde, *Y.M.C.A.'s of North America*, Monographs on Amer. Social Econ., No. XVII, Johns Hopkins Univ. (New York: Internat. Com., 1900).
143. *W*, VI (Sept. 1, 1880), 195; VIII (Aug. 15, 1882), 251.
144. *Era*, XIX (July 6, 1893), 843-44.
145. *Assn. Monthly*, III (Aug., 1872), 133.
146. R.C.M., "Mr. Moody and the Y.M.C.A.," *Assn. Men*, XXV (Feb., 1900), 145-47.
147. For examples of this type of state Y.M.C.A. activity see: Internat. Com. Scrapbook 1875-79 (Bowne Lib.), pp. 195-96; *YB*, 1872, p. xxxiii; Allen Folger, *Twenty-five Years as an Evangelist* (Boston: James H. Earle & Co., 1905), Ch. II; N. H. Conv., 1890; B. W. Tallman, *A History of the Mich. State Y.M.C.A.* (mimeo. MS., 1947, Bowne Lib.), p. 19; M. C. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 32; H. M. J. Klein, *A History of the State Y.M.C.A. of Pa.* (typescript, 1949), Ch. VII.
148. Pa. Conv., 1869, pp. 15-17; Conv., 1887, pp. 34-38.
149. R. R. McBurney, *Our State Work* (pam., Brooklyn: N. Y. State Y.M.C.A., 1878), pp. 13-14.
150. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 171; Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, p. 200, appear to be in error in stating that the Mass.-R.I. union was set up in 1879. See "Call to Two-State Conv.," dated Providence, Sept. 29, 1885 (Bowne Lib.); Mass.-R.I. Conv., 1885, p. 3; *YB*, 1880, p. 48; *W*, XI (Oct. 1, 1885), 226.
151. L. L. Doggett, "The Growth of State Work in the Y.M.C.A., and Some Lessons It Suggests" (undated MS., ca. 1905, Bowne Lib.), pp. 26-32; see also Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 19; L. A. Bowman, *The Life of Isaac Eddy Brown* (New York: Assn. Press, 1926), p. 40; *W*, VIII (July 15, 1882), 212; XV (Jan. 31, 1889), 74; Conn. Conv., 1890; Conv., 1891, pp. 56-62; Ill. Conv., 1891, p. 13; Conv., 1895, pp. 64-68.
152. Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and *W*, VIII (Mar. 15, 1882), 89; F. E. Burgess, compiler, *The Y.M.C.A. of Ontario and Quebec* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), pp. 73-74, 131.
153. Iowa Conv., 1885, pp. 43-47; Mass. Conv., 1885, pp. 49-51; *YB*, 1892, pp. 36-37; Ill. Conv., 1895, pp. 16-17.
154. R.C.M., "The U. S. and Can.," Ch. VII in *Fifty Years' Work amongst Young Men in All Lands* (London: 1894), pp. 122-28.
155. Conv., 1891, p. 80; quoted in *The Hundred-Year Book*, 1892.
156. *Era*, XVIII (Dec. 1, 1892), 1514-15; XX (Apr. 26, 1894), 10; (May 3, 1894), 36; R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 287-88.
157. Conv., 1897, pp. 34-35, 54, 58.
158. Complimentary dinner to Cephas Brainerd, Esq., &c. (New York: 1893), p. 56.
159. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
160. *The Test of Active Membership in Y.M.C.A.'s* (pam., Internat. Com., 1870).
161. *YB*, 1884, p. 70.
162. Complimentary dinner to Cephas Brainerd, Esq., &c., pp. 31-32; also, Conv., 1870, pp. 64-68.
163. Letter, C.B., to R.W., *The First Field Work of the I.C.*, II, 682-83.
164. *Ibid.*, 676-77.
165. Letter, unsigned, from R.W. Collection, April 18, 1891 (author probably Morse, Bowne Lib.).
166. Conv., 1872, pp. 79-80. See also letter, C.B. to L. L. Doggett, July 31, 1901, (Bowne Lib.), p. 31.
167. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 182.
168. Conv., 1883, pp. 66-73.
169. In later life, Douglass dropped the last "s" from his signature. There is a biographical sketch of him by R.W. in the Bowne Lib. See also *Assn. Men*, XXXVII (Feb., 1912), 221.
170. Letter, W. C. Douglass to R. R. McBurney, May 26, 1883 (McBurney Collection, Bowne Lib.).
171. Conv., 1883, p. 81; Conv., 1885, p. 69.
172. Conv., 1885, pp. 63-65.
173. Letter, L. W. Munhall to R.C.M., Apr. 2, 1885 (Bowne Lib.).
174. Letter, L. W. Munhall to C.B., Dec. 17, 1884 (Bowne Lib.); see also R.W., *Y.M.C.A. State Work Series*, VIII, *Indiana* (typescript, 1913, Bowne Lib.), p. V.
175. Letter, S. A. Taggart to C.B., "11/10/83" (Bowne Lib.).
176. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 218-20.
177. *The City of London Assn. News*, VI (June, 1892), 105; *Era*, XVIII (July 14, 1892), 878.

## Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (Cleveland, Ohio: F. M. Barton, 1902; New York: Assn. Press, 1925), p. 86.
2. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1939), pp. 88-93.
3. H. J. McCoy, et al., *San Francisco, Five*

- Decades—1853-1903 Historical Record* (1903), p. 15.
4. *Assn. Monthly*, II (Feb., 1871), 23.
  5. *Omaha Daily News*, Jan. 12, 1908; letter, B. C. Wade to F. E. Burgess, Jan. 24, 1908 (Bowne Lib.).
  6. *Assn. Monthly*, I (June, 1870), 121.
  7. H. M. J. Klein, *Service to Youth, 1869-1949—History of the State Y.M.C.A. of Pa.* (typescript, 1949), Ch. II, pp. 12-13; *YB*, 1886, p. 104; *Pa. Conv.*, 1869, pp. 29-31.
  8. E. C. Worman, *History of Brooklyn and Queens Y.M.C.A. 1853-1949* (typescript, 1949), p. 59; *YB*, 1885, p. 104.
  9. Chicago Y.M.C.A., newspaper excerpts, Sept., 1867 (Bowne Lib.).
  10. *W*, II (July, 1876), 1; *Highlights in the History of the Y.M.C.A. of Chicago 1858-1944* (mimeo. MS., 1944), quoted from *Y.M.C.A. Weekly Bulletin*, Apr. 12, 1879, p. 6.
  11. *W*, VI (Jan., 1880), 1; *Assn. Monthly*, I (Jan., 1870), 15; (Feb., 1870), 25, 35.
  12. *W*, V (Nov. 14, 1879), 253; *Assn. Monthly*, I (Apr., 1870), 73.
  13. *Assn. Monthly*, I (Jan., 1870), 3-4.
  14. Lyman Abbott [?], "The Y.M.C.A.," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, XLI (Oct., 1870), 641-54 (article in Bowne Lib.).
  15. *Assn. Monthly*, I (Jan., 1870), 10.
  16. *W*, XIII (Oct. 15, 1887), 304.
  17. *Era*, XXI (July 25, 1895), 496; *Conv.*, 1889, p. 105.
  18. This was at Richmond, Va.; *YB*, 1890, p. 99.
  19. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
  20. *W*, XIII (Oct. 15, 1887), 303; I. E. Brown, *Book of Y.M.C.A. Bldgs.* (Chicago: *Young Men's Era*, 1895), p. 90.
  21. *Highlights in the History of the Y.M.C.A. of Chicago 1858-1944*, p. 9.
  22. J. F. Moore, *The Story of the R. R. "Y"* (New York: Assn. Press, 1930), pp. 153-54.
  23. *Era*, XX (Nov. 29, 1894), 4-5; M. C. Wells, *History of the First Seventy Years of the Y.M.C.A. of Hartford, Conn.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), pp. 26-27.
  24. *Men*, XXIV (Dec., 1898), 37.
  25. *Conv.*, 1869, p. 60.
  26. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-57.
  27. Russell Thompson, *The Y.M.C.A. of Cleveland* (1901), p. 138; *Era*, XXI (Aug. 22, 1895), 562; State & Provincial Convs., XXXVIII (1895), Wis. State Conv., p. 26; *Men*, XXII (June 5, 1897), 1077.
  28. *Men*, XXII (Aug. 7, 1897), 1258.
  29. J. K. Cree and H. S. Ninde, eds., *Thomas Kirby Cree, a Memorial* (New York: Assn. Press, 1914), pp. 143-44.
  30. *Suggestions regarding a Y.M.C.A. Bldg.* (pam., Internat. Com., reprinted from *Hand-Book*, 1892), p. 35.
  31. T. G. Darling, *Advantages of a Permanent Home for a Y.M.C.A. with suggestions concerning How it Can Be Secured* (pam., Internat. Com., 1881); E. S. Turner, *What Advantages have Accrued to Work for Young Men as a Result of Securing Assn. Bldgs.?* (pam., Internat. Com., 1883); *Y.M.C.A. Bldgs.* (pam., Internat. Com., 1885, 1886, 1887); *Suggestions Regarding a Y.M.C.A. Bldg.* (pam., Internat. Com., 1888).
  32. *YB*, 1886, p. 47.
  33. *W*, XII (Feb. 1, 1886), 27; *Assn. Monthly*, II (Dec., 1871), 233; *Conv.*, 1869, p. 32; *W*, V (Aug. 1, 1879), 174.
  34. Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.
  35. *W*, XI (Oct. 15, 1885), 234-35, 238; Worman, *op. cit.*, pp. 67ff.
  36. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *Hundred-Year Book*, 1867.
  37. See for example: *Men*, XXV (Jan., 1900), 135; *YB*, 1892, pp. 30-31.
  38. R.W., *The First Field Work and Early Development of the Y.M.C.A. Movement as Conducted under the Internat. Com. and its First Employed Agent* (typescript, 1912, Bowne Lib.), II, 666-67; *YB*, 1887, p. xxxv.
  39. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 154-59; Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-13, 195.
  40. Worman, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 57, 72.
  41. Minutes, Bd. of Directors, San Francisco Y.M.C.A., June 22, 1881, p. 119.
  42. *Then and Now, 1881-1891. The Progress of a Decade of Years in the Y.M.C.A.*, Newburgh, N. Y., p. 14; W. R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York: Macmillan, 1931), Ch. LVI.
  43. Kan. Y.M.C.A.'s *Year Book*, 1887 (State Exec. Com., Y.M.C.A.'s, 1887), p. 20; *W*, XIII (Mar. 1, 1887), 61; *Conv.*, 1883, p. 129.
  44. *W*, XI (May 15, 1885), 115.
  45. C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 154-56; A. I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1943), Ch. VI, pp. 137-65.
  46. R.C.M., *History*, pp. 130-31.
  47. M. G. Ross, *The Toronto Y.M.C.A. in a Changing Community, 1864-1940* (M.A. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1947), p. 70.
  48. *Report of Montreal Y.M.C.A.*, 1864, p. 16; Detroit obtained a part-time helper also in 1864; A. G. Studer, *Almost a Century, History of Detroit Y.M.C.A.* (typescript ca. 1949), p. 21.
  49. R.W., *op. cit.*, I, 154-55.

50. Second Annual Report, Y.M.C.A. of Cincinnati (1867), pp. 3, 13.
51. Worman, *op. cit.*, pp. 46ff.
52. W. H. H. Smith et al., *The Record of Fifty Years and a Look Ahead* (Washington, D. C.: 1902), p. 13; clipping from *Daily Chronicle*, May 14, 1868 (Rhees Collection, MS. Div., Lib. of Cong.); *Assn. Men*, XXVI (June, 1901), 324; *History of the Indianapolis Y.M.C.A. 1854-1948* (typescript, ca. 1949), p. 9.
53. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.
54. Conv., 1873, p. XLI.
55. See for example: N. R. Best, *Two Y Men*, David A. Sinclair and Edwin L. Shuey (New York: Assn. Press, 1925), pp. 7, 9, 25; L. A. Bowman, *Life of Isaac Eddy Brown* (New York: Assn. Press, 1926), pp. 4, 28, 108; Cree and Ninde, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 33, 42, 94; L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), pp. 6, 9, 10; A. W. Hunton, *William Alphaeus Hunton, a Pioneer Prophet of Young Men* (New York: Assn. Press, 1938), pp. 7, 9, 17, 121f; G. A. Warburton, *A Typical Gen. Sec., the Life of Edwin F. See* (New York: Y.M.C.A. Press, 1908), pp. 21, 25f., 31f., 73f.
56. YB, 1887, pp. xxix-xxxiii.
57. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 80, 111; YB, 1883-84, pp. l-liii.
58. Letter, James McConaughy to C. K. Ober, July 19, 1889 (Bowne Lib.).
59. A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), p. 177; YB, 1897, p. 11; YB, 1899, p. 11.
60. G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas; or, The Re-Education of Sherwood Eddy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), p. 41.
61. C. T. B. Goodspeed et al., *Loring Wilbur Messer, Metropolitan Gen. Sec.* (Chicago: The Y.M.C.A., 1934), pp. 120-22; Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96, 129.
62. F. L. Norton, ed., *A College of Colleges, led by D. L. Moody, Session of 1889* (New York: Revell, 1889), pp. 16, 78-88.
63. Letter, James McConaughy to C. K. Ober, July 19, 1889 (Bowne Lib.).
64. Conv., 1869, pp. XV-XVI.
65. *Era*, XXII (Feb. 13, 1896), 100; *Men*, XXIII (June 11, 1898), 755-56.
66. R. R. McBurney, *Business Management in the Assn.* (typescript, ca. 1892, McBurney Collection, Bowne Lib.).
67. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
68. *Assn. Men*, XXXVII (May, 1912), 390.
69. F. E. Burgess, compiler, *The Y.M.C.A. of Ontario and Quebec* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), pp. 12, 13.
70. Studer, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
71. W, IX (Apr. 1, 1883), 81; *Era*, XVII (Mar. 19, 1891), 184.
72. Conv., 1887, p. 41.
73. YB, 1882, p. 11.
74. The thirteen charter members of "The Assn. of the Gen. Secs. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the U.S. and Brit. Provs.": J. B. Brandt, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. D. Blake, Rochester, Minn.; E. W. Chase, St. Paul, Minn.; Thomas K. Cree, Pittsburgh, Pa.; L. P. Dorland, Minneapolis, Minn.; I. G. Jenkins, Buffalo, N. Y.; Robert R. McBurney, N. Y.; L. P. Rowland, Boston, Mass.; Alfred Sandham, Montreal; Lang Sheaf, Cleveland, Ohio; Thomas J. Wilkie, Toronto; George A. Hall, Washington; Richard C. Morse, N. Y.; see *Summary of the Proceedings of the Assn. of Gen. Secs. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the U.S. and Can., 1871-1888*, p. 3; see also R.W., *The Origin of the Assn. of Gen. Secs. of Y.M.C.A.'s and The Early History of the Training Schools of Y.M.C.A.'s* (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), Part I, pp. 1-13.
75. Hunton, *op. cit.*, p. 122; W, XV (May 16, 1889), 312.
76. W, III (June 15, 1877), 8; *Era*, XXI (May 23, 1895), 354.
77. R. R. McBurney, *Secretarialism* (New York: F. W. Forbush, ca. 1908, Bowne Lib.); see also, *Era*, XVI (May 8, 1890), 292.
78. W, X (July 1, 1884), 150.
79. Doggett, *A Man and a School*, p. 26; W, VI (July 1, 1881), 170.
80. W, XIV (Jan. 1, 1888), 10.
81. Examples: W, V (Apr. 1, 1879), 76; IX (Apr. 1, 1883), 79; XIV (May 1, 1888), 139, 140; *Era*, XVII (Mar. 12, 1891), 169; (Apr. 30, 1891), 274-75; XIX (Aug. 17, 1893), 987; XX (May 19, 1894), 14.
82. R.W., *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 11 (see footnote 74).
83. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 188-89.
84. C. S. Bishop, *L. Wilbur Messer, an Appreciation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), pp. 19-20, 23; Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Conv., 1883, p. 37; YB, 1883-84, pp. xxii-xxvi; *Era*, XX (May 10, 1894), 8.
85. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 188-90; W, IX (Apr. 15, 1883), 87-88; (May 1, 1883), 105.
86. This section is largely based upon R.W., *op. cit.*, Part II (see footnote 74); Watson Boyes, compiler, *Hist. Data of College Camp* (typescript, George Williams Coll. Lib.); *History and Seventh Annual Report of the Western Secretarial Institute of the Y.M.C.A.'s* (ca. 1891, Bowne Lib.); J. R. Austin, *A History of the Y.M.C.A. College—Chicago, Lake Geneva* (thesis, George



- Williams Coll., 1915). See also *W*, X (Sept. 1, 1884), 198-99, 202.
87. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
88. The other units eventuated into the School of Religious Educ. of the Hartford Sem. Foundation, Springfield Internat. Coll., and a Springfield Tech. High School (*Ibid.*).
89. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 258-60; *Assn. Sem.*, XVIII (1909-10), 201.
90. *Assn. Sem.*, XVIII (1909-10), 73.
91. R.W., *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 68 (see footnote 74).
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 57; Letter, I. E. Brown to R.W., Mar. 12, 1891 (Bowne Lib.).
94. *Chicago Training School* (broadside, 1897, Bowne Lib.).
95. Letter, C.B. to H. E. Brown, Oct. 2, 1891 (Brainerd-Brown Corresp., Bowne Lib.).

## Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. M. G. Ross, *The Toronto Y.M.C.A. in a Changing Community, 1864-1940* (M.A. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1947), p. 40.
2. From excerpts copied from Chicago newspapers, Chicago Y.M.C.A. archives.
3. *Assn. Monthly*, I (Jan., 1870), 14; also, *Forty Years of the Y.M.C.A. of Portland, Ore., 1868-1909* (mimeo. MS), p. 15.
4. Archives of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.; *W*, II, supplement (May, 1876), 2.
5. Pa. Conv., 1871, p. 6; R.W., *Early History of the College Work of Y.M.C.A.'s* (typescript, copy I, 1911, Bowne Lib.), pp. 83-84.
6. Letters, J. V. Farwell to W. E. Dodge, Jr., D. L. Moody, C.B., June 11, 12, 14, 1877 (Bowne Lib.).
7. R.W., *Early History of the County Work of Y.M.C.A.'s* (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), pp. 91ff.
8. *Assn. Forum*, V (Oct., 1924), 19-21.
9. *W*, VII (Feb. 1, 1881), 33; (Nov. 1, 1881), 266.
10. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 224-25.
11. *Fifty Years' Work amongst Young Men in all Lands* (London: 1894), p. 12.
12. R. A. Orr, *Bible Studies in the Y.M.C.A. of the U.S. and Brit. Provs.* (paper prepared for the World's Conf. of 1878; pam., Internat. Com., 1878), pp. 4-5. See also R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 174, and *W*, II (Sept., 1876), 7.
13. E. C. Worman, *History of Brooklyn and Queens Y.M.C.A., 1853-1949* (typescript, 1949), pp. 50-51.
14. Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
15. *W*, VIII (Apr. 15, 1882), 116.
16. *The Guide* (Glasgow), No. 106 (Oct., 1888), p. 163.
17. *Era*, XX (Jan. 4, 1894), 14; also XVI (Oct. 16, 1890), 627; (*Era* for 1892 beginning Jan., p. 12 has series of lessons by R. A. Torrey); XX (Nov. 8, 1894), 10; XXI (Jan. 3, 1895), 10; (Dec. 12, 1895), 826; Ind. Conv., 1895, pp. 24-35, 60-65.
18. *Era*, XXI (Aug. 22, 1895), 553.
19. Worman, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80; see *Era*, XVI (1890), 561, 582, 585, 598, 614. *Men*, XXIII (Aug. 20, 1898), 935; *YB*, 1900, p. 19; G. A. Warburton, *A Typical Gen. Sec., the Life of Edwin F. See* (New York: Y.M.C.A. Press, 1908), pp. 99, 102, 127.
20. *Men*, XXII (May 8, 1897), 992-93.
21. The best short biog. sketch of Moody is that by L. A. Weigle in the *Dictionary of Amer. Biog.* Others that may be recommended are W. R. Moody, *D. L. Moody* (New York: Macmillan, 1931); the Dwight L. Moody edition of *Assn. Men*, Feb., 1915; J. V. Farwell, *Early Recollections of Dwight L. Moody* (Chicago: 1900); Gamaliel Bradford, *D. L. Moody, a Worker in Souls* (New York: Doran, 1927).
- For representative accounts of Moody's relations with the Y.M.C.A., see *W*, V (Mar. 15, 1879), 64; (June 15, 1879), 134; XV (Feb. 7, 1889), 91; *Era*, XVIII (May 5, 1892), 550-52; (Sept. 22, 1892), 1189-91; *Assn. Men*, XXV (Jan., 1900), 134; (Feb., 1900), 145-52; R.C.M., *Fifty Years of Federation of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A.* (New York: Internat. Com., 1905), p. 59; R.C.M., *Life*, Index; Ont.-Que. Conv., 1868; Conv., 1868, pp. 23, 122-24; Conv., 1879, p. 95; Kans. Conv., 1889 and compare *W*, XV (Oct. 31, 1889), 660; Conv., 1895, p. 136.
22. Conv., 1879, p. 110.
23. The Assn. of San Antonio, Tex., was formed under Moody's influence in Mar., 1886; see *Outline for History of San Antonio Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.); and the Hartford Y.M.C.A. was re-born during his meetings there in 1878; see M. C. Wells, *History of the First Seventy Years of the Y.M.C.A. of Hartford, Conn.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), p. 1. He reorganized the San Francisco Y.M.C.A. in 1881; see Minutes, Bd. of Directors, San Francisco Y.M.C.A., Apr. 6, 8, 1881.
24. Moody obtained McCoy for the San Francisco Assn.; *Assn. Men*, LX (Feb.,

- 1915), 240 and R.C.M., *Life*, p. 156; K. A. Burnell as state sec. of Mass.; E. V. Ambler, *A Century of History of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Mass. and R.I.* (mimeo. MS., Boston: 1949); E. F. See for Brooklyn; see Warburton, *op. cit.*, pp. 34ff.
25. R.C.M., *History*, p. 124.
26. Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934), p. 105.
27. G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas; or, The Re-Education of Sherwood Eddy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934).
28. *Assn. Men*, XXV (July 1, 1900), 340-41.
29. *Conv.*, 1875, pp. 85-86; *W*, XII (Dec. 15, 1886), 286; *Era*, XX (Jan. 11, 1894), 5; *Era*, XXI (Mar. 21, 1895), 186.
30. Twenty-first Annual Report of the New York City Y.M.C.A. (1874), p. 19; also, Forty-third Annual Report (1896), p. 26.
31. Fourth Annual Report of the Washington, D. C. Y.M.C.A., (1857), p. 16; *W*, VII (Oct. 15, 1881), 254; *VIII* (Jan. 1, 1882), 2.
32. Report of the Relief Work of the Y.M.C.A. of New Orleans in the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878 . . . , (pam., 1879); *Conv.*, 1879, pp. 85-86; *Assn. Notes* (N.Y. City Y.M.C.A.), Oct. 9, 1878, p. 1; *W*, IV (Sept. 1, 1878), 6; *V* (Dec. 1, 1878), 7. For Vicksburg, Raleigh, and Jacksonville, see *W*, V (Jan. 1, 1879), 6; *XIV* (Sept. 15, 1888), 281; (Oct. 1, 1888), 297; (Dec. 1, 1888), 352; R.W., *The First Field Work and Early Development of the Y.M.C.A. Movement as Conducted under the Internat. Com. and its First Employed Agent* (typescript, 1912, Bowne Lib.), I, 346-48; *YB*, 1889, p. 49.
33. The significant study by L. A. Emerson, *Employment Service in the Y.M.C.A. of N. Y. City. A Study of its History and Present Practices*, prepared for the Gen. Council on Employment (New York: Sept., 1931), came to hand too late to be included in this section.
34. *Conv.*, 1874, p. 78; *W*, V (Apr., 1879), 73-74.
35. N. R. Best, *Two Y Men, David A. Sinclair and Edwin L. Shuey* (New York: Assn. Press, 1925), pp. 92-93; Annual Report, N. Y. City Y.M.C.A., 1888, p. 78 and 1890, p. 43; L. L. Doggett, *History of the Boston Y.M.C.A.* (1901), pp. 43, 92; Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (Cleveland, Ohio: F. M. Barton, 1902; New York: Assn. Press, 1925), pp. 129-30; *Era*, XVII (Sept. 10, 1891), 561; *XVIII* (May 26, 1892), 659-60; *Hand-Book* of 1892, p. 352; for a summary of institutional church programs of the same era, see C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1940), pp. 154-56.
36. L. W. Messer, *Social Forces in Action. A Paper read before the Chicago Literary Club, 1899* (Chicago); S. W. Wiley, "Research Function of the Y.M.C.A. Sec.," *Assn. Forum*, XXV (Jan.-Feb., 1944), 12-14; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-78.
37. *Hundred-Year Book*, 1875.
38. *YB*, 1884, p. 70.
39. "The Y.M.C.A.: Its True Sphere," *Brooklyn Assn. Advocate*, Mar., 1876, p. 5; *Hundred-Year Book*, 1874.
40. *Conn. Conv.*, 1890, pp. 39-46; *Era*, XX (Mar. 29, 1894), 6.
41. A series of articles in *W*, III (1877); June 1, July 1, 15 etc.; also XI (Dec. 1, 1885), 272; *Era*, XVII (Mar. 5, 1891), 146; *XXI* (Apr. 11, 1895), 239, the last a biog. sketch of Pool. Brainerd's article was in *W*, VII (Nov. 1, 1881), 280.
42. R. B. Pool, "Libraries of R.R. Y.M.C.A.'s," Third Internat. Conf. of Christian R.R. Men, May, 1882 (reprinted with this title as an Internat. Com. pam.; the *Proceedings* list an address on "The Selection of Books").
43. J. T. Bowne, "The Care of the Reading-Room," *W*, VIII (July 1, 1882), 196.
44. Other large gifts for libraries were \$50,000 from John Crerar to the Chicago Y.M.C.A.; *Men*, XXII (July 3, 1897), 1159; \$10,000 from Alexander Folsom of Bay City, Mich., to the Y.M.C.A. of that community; *W*, XV (May 30, 1889), 344.
45. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 20. For the background of the public library movement, see Sidney Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* (Chicago: American Lib. Assn., 1947).
46. *W*, IX (Sept. 15, 1883), 213; *XI* (Sept. 1, 1885), 198.
47. *Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.*, III (Nov., 1868), 18, Newark *Young Men's Advocate*, Sept. 1869, p. 4; *Era*, XVI (Oct. 30, 1890), 664; (Nov. 6, 1890), 675; *XVIII* (Mar. 10, 1892), 302-3; *XXI* (May 16, 1895), 323.
48. *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Y.M.C.A.*, Nov. 1866, p. 3; Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, p. 97; McBurney's informal untitled address given in 1890 to students of N. Y. Univ. included the statement that his Assn. had held night classes as early as 1866 (MS., McBurney Collection, Bowne Lib.).
49. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
50. *YB*, 1883, p. xxxvii; *Conv.*, 1885, pp. 49-54; *W*, XII (Sept. 1, 1886), 201; *Era*, XIX (Apr. 20, 1893), 496.
51. Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 67ff; Dayton *Assn. Notes*, Oct., 1887, p. 3; Sept., 1888, p. 2; *The Story of Twenty Years in the Life*

- of the Y.M.C.A. of Dayton, Ohio (1890), pp. 41, 45-46, 60.
52. A. G. Studer, *Almost a Century. A History of the Detroit Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, ca. 1948), p. 30.
  53. *Era*, XIX (Nov. 9, 1893), 1274; C. S. Bishop, *L. Wilbur Messer, an Appreciation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), pp. 63ff.
  54. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
  55. *Era*, XIX (Jan. 12, 1893), 45; Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
  56. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 268-71.
  57. *W*, V (Aug. 1, 1879), 174.
  58. *W*, VI (May 15, 1880), 112.
  59. S. F. Dudley, "Story of an 'Outing' and a Few Reflections," *W*, XI (Sept. 15, 1885), 213.
  60. *Assn. Monthly*, I (Dec., 1870), 332.
  61. See for example, A. I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1943), pp. 96-97, 173.
  62. E. M. Robinson, *The Early Years: The Beginning of Work with Boys in the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1950), is an interesting and stimulating record of the early years of boys' work. His Chapter VII supplies illuminating data concerning the Salem department. See also, E. V. Ambler, *op. cit.* (see footnote 24); *W*, VIII (July 1, 1882), 202; *Era*, XVIII (Oct. 13, 1892), 1294; XX (Nov. 1, 1894), 9; *Men*, XXVII (May, 1902), 346. Also, H. W. Gibson, *Twenty-five Years of Organized Boys' Work in Mass. and R.I. 1841-1915* (Boston: 1915), p. 13.
  63. M. G. Ross, ed., *The Years Ahead: A Plan for the Can. Y.M.C.A. in the Next Decade* (Toronto: Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Can., 1945), p. 37; Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 16, 49.
  64. B. W. Tallman, *A History of the Mich. State Y.M.C.A.* (mimeo. MS., 1947, Bowne Lib.), pp. 16, 26.
  65. Robinson, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII; *Assn. Forum*, III (Jan., 1923), 59.
  66. M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), pp. 50-51.
  67. *W*, XV (Apr. 4, 1889), 212; *YB*, 1893, pp. 46-47; *Era*, XXI (Feb. 21, 1895), 129; (Dec. 12, 1895), 833; (Dec. 26, 1895), 867; O. W. Crays, *An Assn. in the Making, or The First Fifty Years in Newark* (typescript, 1929, Bowne Lib.), p. 23; A. S. Roe, *Worcester's Y.M.C.A.* (1901), p. 130.
  68. *W*, XI (Jan. 15, 1885), 17.
  69. *W*, XI (Apr. 1, 1885), 77.
  70. *W*, XI (Aug. 15, 1885), 185.
  71. *W*, VII (Feb. 15, 1881), 47.
  72. *W*, X (June 15, 1884), 141.
  73. *W*, XI (May 15, 1885), 120; Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
  74. *W*, XI (June 15, 1885), 141; XII (June 15, 1886), 142-43.
  75. *Era*, XVII (Feb. 12, 1891), 104; XVIII (Feb. 11, 1892), 178; F. E. Burgess, compiler, *The Y.M.C.A. of Ontario and Quebec* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), pp. 153, 164, 177; *Men*, XXII (Feb. 13, 1897), 736; (Feb. 20, 1897), 756.
  76. *The Camp Conf.* Secretary's Report 1905-06 (Boston: Bowne Lib.), pp. 8-10.
  77. Although it has been suggested elsewhere that the first of these excursions was in 1881, no primary evidence of that fact has been recovered. See *Annual Report for Brooklyn*, 1883, p. 33.
  78. *Richmond Assn. Record*, II (July, 1883), 3.
  79. *Detroit Y.M.C.A. Branch Record*, I (Sept., 1883), 1.
  80. *Richmond Assn. Record*, III (July, 1884), 2.
  81. *W*, XI (Aug. 1, 1885), 177.
  82. In the descriptive booklet for the camp (later named Dudley) for the season of 1892, Dudley wrote, "In 1885, at the suggestion of Mr. Geo. A. Sanford, the writer organized a number of boys connected with that Assn. into a Camping Party . . ." (Bowne Lib.).
  83. *W*, XI (Aug. 1, 1885), 177-78.
  84. *W*, XII (Aug. 15, 1886), 190-91.
  85. C. J. Kilborne, "Camp Dudley," *Men*, XXIII (July 2, 1898), 821; this is the first use of the title, which the author states was given to the camp at that time. For Dudley's philosophy and practice, see *W*, XV (Aug. 1, 1889), 490; *Era*, XVII (June 11, 1891), 388; XX (Mar. 1, 1894), 13; (June 21, 1894), 8-9; XXI (May 23, 1895), 353; (June 6, 1895), 386; (June 20, 1895), 418.
  86. For a biog. sketch of Dudley, see *Men*, XXII (Mar. 20, 1897), 828-29; XLIX (June, 1924), 451-52; M. A. Osborn, ed., *Camp Dudley, the Story of the First Fifty Years* (New York: Huntington Pr., MDCCLXXXIV).
  87. *Era*, XVII (June 25, 1891), 414-15; *Men*, XXII (July 17, 1897), 1203.
  88. *W*, V (Dec. 1, 1879), 267.
  89. For general treatments of denominational home missionary interest, see C. B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the Amer. Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Pr., 1939); K. S. Latourette, *The Great Century, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914: Europe and the U.S.A.*, Vol. IV, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper, 1941); W. W. Sweet, *The Story*



- of Religion in Amer. (New York: Harper, 1939), Chs. XX-XXII. For the attempts to reach immigrants, consult Abell, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42, 181-83, and Hopkins, *op. cit.*, Index.
90. The Fenian Raids were outlaw attempts by Irish-Americans to seize Can. as a hostage for the freedom of Ireland; see S. E. Morrison and H. C. Commager, *The Growth of the Amer. Republic* (New York: Oxford, 1942), II, 62; the work of the Can. Y.M.C.A.'s is described by Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
91. C. E. Crissey, *The Y.M.C.A. with the U.S. Army in the Civil War from May 27, 1861 through the Mexican Border War, 1916* (graduation thesis, International Y.M.C.A. Coll., Springfield, 1917, Bowne Lib.), p. 40; *W*, XIII (Oct. 1, 1887), 287-88.
92. *W*, V (June 15, 1879), 135.
93. *W*, XI (July 1, 1885), 145.
94. *A Brief History of the Army and Navy Section of the Y.M.C.A. Assn. of Secs. and Related Hist. Data* (ca. 1947), p. 21; *Era*, XVI (Jan. 9, 1890), 18.
95. Letter, J. T. Swift to L.D.W., Oct. 29, 1892.
96. *Era*, XVIII (Mar. 24, 1892), 373.
97. Conv., 1895, pp. 103, 115-18.
98. This section is largely based on R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 404-10 and *History*, p. 230; for the previous incident see L. A. Weigle, *American Idealism*, Vol. X, *Pageant of America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1928), p. 247; for early reports of the Sioux Assns., see Minn. Conv., 1885, pp. 31-32, 49-54; *W*, XI (Dec. 1, 1885), 272; XII (Aug. 15, 1886), 188; *YB*, 1886, pp. 65-66.
99. *Springfield Republican*, July 24, 1886 (from scrapbook in R. P. Wilder Collection, Yale Divinity School Lib., by courtesy of Mrs. Paul J. Braisted); Garvie's later activities are reported in Minn., N.D., S.D. Conv., 1890, pp. 2ff; Conv. 1891, p. 111; *YB*, 1892, p. 68; *Era*, XVII (Jan. 22, 1891), 51. For Indian work at the Carlisle School in Pa., see several articles by D. K. Lonewolf; *Era*, XXII (Jan. 16, 1896), 38; *Men*, XXII (Mar. 13, 1897), 811, 841; Pa. Conv., 1890, pp. 51-53.
100. C. A. Eastman, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Boston: Little, 1916). All the relevant portions of this book are quoted in full in R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 407-9; for some of Eastman's reports see Conv., 1895, p. 82 and *Era*, XXI (May 16, 1895), 323; *YB*, 1895, p. 30; *YB*, 1899, pp. 46-47. For one of Tibbetts' first reports, see *Men*, XXIV (June, 1899), 321-23.
101. *Men*, XXII (Oct. 10, 1896), 359, 1308, 1318.
102. J. E. Moorland, "The Y.M.C.A. among Negroes," *Journal of Negro History*, IX (Apr., 1924), 128; R.C.M., *Life*, p. 400; *Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.*, II (Feb., 1868), 50.
103. This was an amendment, moved by McBurney, to the original resolution of Gen. C. H. Howard, which had called for a broader promotion, but which was not adopted. Conv., 1867, pp. 78-79, 103.
104. *Assn. Monthly*, I (Mar., 1870), 62.
105. S. C. Conv., 1876, p. 8.
106. Biog. data supplied by the Libraries of Oberlin and Talladega Colleges (on file in Bowne Lib.).
107. Letter, C.B. to H. E. Brown, June 23, 1879.
108. Letter, C.B. to H. E. Brown, Nov. 30, 1879.
109. Minutes, Internat. Com., Feb. 19, 1879, p. 362.
110. Conv., 1883, pp. 101-4.
111. *YB*, 1880-81, p. 72.
112. A. W. Hunton, *William Alphaeus Hunton: a Pioneer Prophet of Young Men* (New York: Assn. Press, 1938), pp. 15-16. This significant biog. reveals Hunton as a sensitive and creative leader; it likewise reflects the difficulties under which he labored.
113. Minutes, Southern Work Com., Nov. 10, 1891 to June 13, 1893, a compilation (Bowne Lib.). At the same time C. K. Ober, then in the South, was receiving \$3,000 as Internat. field sec.
114. *Era*, XXI (Aug. 29, 1895), 578.
115. Letter, C.B. to C. K. Ober, Feb. 24, 1891.
116. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), pp. 59ff.
117. An interesting documentation of this at the same time was provided by the Reverend Charles M. Sheldon, of Topeka, Kan., who made a test case of trying to obtain a membership for a Negro in the Y.M.C.A. of that city: ". . . He gave satisfactory references, but after some conversation was politely refused admission on the ground of color, and that only"; *Andover Review*, XIV (Oct., 1890), 371.
118. Hunton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
119. Conv., 1891, p. 103; Conv., 1889, p. 98.
120. Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62. E. Uhl, Internat. Com. office sec., wrote to C. K. Ober, Aug. 11, 1891, that there was "usually trouble in the German Branches."
121. First Annual Report of the Washington City Y.M.C.A. (1854), p. 43.



122. Pacific Coast First Conv. (San Francisco: 1869), p. 8; Conv., 1869, pp. 53, 60, 102; *Assn. Monthly*, I (Jan., 1870), 14; Conv., 1875, pp. 33-34.
123. R.W., *First Field Work of the I.C.*, I, 395; Conv., 1873, p. XVIII; Conv., 1875, p. XIX; Conv., 1889, p. 97.
124. Conv., 1876, pp. 52, 78; *W*, II (Sept., 1876), 7; III (Sept. 1, 1877), 6; V (Dec. 15, 1879), 280.
125. Conv., 1869, pp. 54, 55; N. Y. Conv., 1868, p. 35.
126. R.W., *op. cit.*, I, 132; letter, R.W. to J. T. Bowne, Sept. 4, 1881; Conv., 1870, pp. XI-XII, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 72-76; corresp. between R.W., C.B., T. G. Sellew, R.W.-C.B. letterpress vol., Bowne Lib.); Conv., 1872, pp. XIV-XV.
127. MS. letter, Frederic von Schluembach to George H. Stuart, Dec. 28, 1863, from Camp Convalescent (George H. Stuart Collection, MS. Div., Lib. of Cong.); letter, A. Senaud to Mary P. Thorpe, Apr. 18, 1950 (Bowne Lib.).
128. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 134, 137-38; Conv., 1874, pp. 80-81, 100; Conv., 1875, pp. xxvii-xxix, 33. F. W. Godtfriing, Sr., *History of the German Branches of the Y.M.C.A. in the U.S.* (typescript, ca. 1945, Bowne Lib.) pp. 91, 95, 106. This discursive document represents the author's autobiography, interpretation of the German work, and contains many significant viewpoints and facts; facts cited have been checked with original sources.
129. Godtfriing, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
130. *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 122, 137-143. This was at first \$100, later reduced to \$75; *Monatliche Rundschau*, Organ des Deutschen Christlichen Vereins Junger Männer von San Francisco, Cal., Aug., 1898.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
132. See letter, W. C. Douglass to R. R. McBurney, May 26, 1883, p. 8, and June 30, 1883, p. 12; the Bowne Lib. also has McBurney's reply, dated June 11, 1883. The basic reason for the Internat. Com. dissolving the Bund was inferred in a remark in the *Era*, XX (Aug. 23, 1894), p. 3, when it was said that the Bund was "... abandoned, experience showing that the work could be better carried on when affiliated with the local assns. already established." This was not the viewpoint of the Germans.
133. *YB*, 1892, pp. 25-26.
134. *Era*, XVIII (Oct. 27, 1892), 1364.
135. Godtfriing, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Minutes, Internat. Com., Oct. 14, 1897, p. 75.
136. Conv., 1891, p. 103.
137. Godtfriing, *op. cit.*, pp. 128b-29.
138. Abell, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
139. R.W., *Early History of the County Work*, pp. 4-13; R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 413-15; Conv., 1874, p. xxii; C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent: Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), p. 115.
140. *W*, VIII (Feb. 1, 1882), 35-36; (Apr. 1, 1882), 99; (May 1, 1882), 132.
141. *W*, XI (Dec. 15, 1885), 280.
142. R.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 59ff; *W*, XV (June 20, 1889), 388-89; (Sept. 19, 1889), 570; (Nov. 28, 1889), 734.
143. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 414-15; the Weidensall vol. is the basic source in this problem; see also *YB*, 1891, pp. 23-24.
144. R.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 164ff, 181-214; *Era*, XXII (Apr. 9, 1896), 228-29.
145. Other work than that of the Y.M.C.A. on the Union Pacific is suggested in Conv., 1869, p. 65. For the history of the R.R. work, see J. F. Moore, *The Story of the R.R. "Y"* (New York: Assn. Press, 1930).
146. *Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.*, III (Nov., 1868), p. 35-36.
147. *Ibid.*, III (Feb., 1869), p. 45.
148. R.W., *First Field Work of the I.C.*, I, 121-24.
149. Conv., 1869, pp. xix-xxiv; for a report of Y.M.C.A. work among R.R. workers in N. H., see p. 57.
150. Letter, C.B. to F. A. Hatch, Nov. 4, 1883 (Bowne Lib.).
151. Russell Thompson, *The Y.M.C.A. of Cleveland* (1901), pp. 62ff; *Era*, XVI (Mar. 27, 1890), 196.
152. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 113-15.
153. Van Arsdale was later sec. of the Chicago Assn. and subsequently editor of *The Watchman*.
154. Conv., 1875, p. 67; Conv., 1876, pp. xxvii-xxx; for Sheaff's career, *W*, XV (Jan. 24, 1889), 57; Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
155. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 151-53; *Assn. Men*, XXV (Oct. 1, 1899), 1; (Nov. 1, 1899), 58.
156. *Assn. Men*, XXIII (June 4, 1898), 727-28; (June 11, 1898), 745; A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), p. 171.
157. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.
158. This paragraph is based on Moore, *op. cit.*, Ch. V.
159. R.R. conf., 1879, pp. 30-31; the letter was published in *W*, V (Dec. 1, 1879), 266.
160. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 150; see for example, R. B. Pool, *Libraries of R.R. Y.M.C.A.'s* (pam., Internat. Com., 1882), together with catalogues of such libraries as those of the Assns. at N.Y., Clifton Forge, Va., etc. (Bowne Lib.).

162. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53; *W*, X (Jan. 1, 1884), 11; VIII (June 15, 1882), 180; *Era*, XVI (July 10, 1890), 435; (July 31, 1890), 488; XIX (Apr. 20, 1893), 496; *Men*, XXIII (Oct. 30, 1897), 117; Minn. Conv., 1885, pp. 44-48 for a paper by Judd, which was also published in *The Railway Review*, Dec. 19, 1885, pp. 629-30.
163. *Era*, XXI (June 6, 1895), 380; (Sept. 19, 1895), 623; *Men*, XXII (Oct. 24, 1896), 401; (July 17, 1897), 1191; XXIII (Dec. 25, 1897), 274; (June 4, 1898), 733.
164. For a summary of R.R. program, see *YB*, 1883-84, pp. xxxvff; Ch. XII of J. D. Fulton, *Sam Hobart, the Locomotive Engineer. A Workingman's Solution of the Labor Problem* (New York: Funk, 1883), describes the Assn. work.
165. *Hundred-Year Book*, 1878; C. T. Rea, *The History of the Railroad Y.M.C.A.* (thesis, Springfield College, 1904), p. 51.
166. *Assn. Men*, XXV (Dec., 1899), 92; C. J. Hicks, *Railroad Y.M.C.A. Buildings* (pam., Internat. Com., 1900), p. 28.
167. G. A. Warburton, *The R.R. Secretaryship: Its Demands and Opportunities* (pam., Internat. Com., 1901).
168. Conv., 1881, p. 70; *W*, IX (Sept. 1, 1883), 196; W. R. Davenport, *Have R.R. Officials the Right to Use the Funds of the R.R. Co. to Aid the Y.M.C.A. in its Work for R.R. Men?* (pam., Internat. Com., 1883).
169. *YB*, 1883-84, p. xxxviii; Conv., 1891, pp. 73-78.
170. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-73.
171. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, Vol. VIII, *A History of Amer. Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 63-65.
172. Letter, J. T. Swift to Taizo Miyoshi, Apr. 28, 1891 (Swift letter-press vols. 1890-1902, Bowne Lib.); undated letter, Swift to E. Uhl, ca. Feb., 1892 (For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.); *YB*, 1893, p. 49.
173. Letter, D. McConaughy to E. A. Lawrence, Mar. 24, 1892; also, letter to For. Missionary Com., Internat. Com., Dec. 7, 1891; (both in McConaughy letter-press vols., Bowne Lib.).
174. Conv., 1899, p. 26.
175. R.C.M., Family League Letters, II, June 27, 1899 and Oct. 30, 1900 (Bowne Lib.); Conv., 1901, p. 144.
176. *Assn. Men*, XXVII (June, 1902), 395.
177. *W*, III (July 1 & 15, 1877), 5.
178. *W*, V (Dec. 1, 1879), 268.
179. Abell, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
180. "Whither," unpublished McBurney MS. (McBurney Collection, Bowne Lib.).
181. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
182. See for example, *Assn. Monthly*, II (Feb., 1871), 34; *YB*, 1885, p. xciv; Wis. Conv., 1890, pp. 50-51; *YB*, 1891, p. 74.
183. *Era*, XIX (June 22, 1893), 780.
184. *Era*, XVI (Oct. 30, 1890), 659; *YB*, 1892, p. 34; *Era*, XIX (May 25, 1893), 652.
185. R.C.M., *Life*, 394-97; *YB*, 1891, pp. 33-34; *YB*, 1892, p. 31.
186. *Era*, XVI (June 5, 1890), 360; *Men*, XXIV (Nov., 1898), 11-12.
187. *Era*, XXI (July 25, 1895), 493.
188. *Era*, XXI (May 2, 1895), 285; (Nov. 21, 1895), 761.
189. Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Conn. Conv., 1890, pp. 97ff; Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
190. *Era*, XXI (May 9, 1895), 299, 303; (May 30, 1895), 366.
191. *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, III (Aug. 23, 1873), 402 (Bowne Lib.).
192. Conv., 1870, p. 43.
193. Letter, Geo. A. Hall to C. K. Ober, Oct. 23, 1890. Hall, reporting "a long talk with Mr. Moody yesterday at Buffalo," also remarked that he had never seen Moody "so stirred up."
194. J. L. Ellenwood, *Look at the "Y"* (New York: Assn. Press, 1940), p. 141.
195. Worman, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; Lyman Abbott [?], "The Y.M.C.A.," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLI (Oct., 1870), 642; see also N.J. Conv., 1869, pp. 13-14.
196. H. M. J. Klein, *Service to Youth, 1869-1949—A History of the State Y.M.C.A. of Pa.* (typescript, 1949), Ch. V, p. 2.
197. *W*, III (Aug. 1 & 15, 1877), 1-2; Rome, N. Y., Y.M.C.A., *Once-a-Month*, I (May, 1873), 2; Newark Young Men's Advocate, I (Dec., 1868), 5, 6, 7; S. W. Wiley and Florence Lehman, *Builders of Men, A History of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A.; 1866-1936* (1938), p. 25; J. R. Patterson, *Reminiscences of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.* (Chicago Y.M.C.A. Archives).
198. C. K. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard, Projector of World Movements* (New York: Assn. Press, 1927), pp. 67ff.
199. Mobile, Ala., Y.M.C.A. Notes, Feb. 1, 1881, p. 2.
200. *Era*, XVI (Jan. 2, 1890), 4; (Jan. 30, 1890), 72, 75.
201. Conv., 1867, pp. 108, 124; Conv., 1868, pp. 91, 114, 127, 128.
202. Conv., 1869, p. 102.
203. Hall and Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
204. *W*, X (Dec. 15, 1884), 282.
205. Wiley and Lehman, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44, 63-64; *Assn. Advocate of Brooklyn Y*, Nov., 1877; for the arguments over the sustaining membership plan, see *W*, III (Nov. 1, 1877), 7; IV (Sept. 1, 1878), 5; (Sept. 15, 1878), 4; (Oct. 1 & 15, 1878), 5; V (Oct. 1, 1879), 219; XI (Oct. 1, 1885), 222.

206. Klein, *op. cit.*, Ch. V, p. 7.
207. *Era*, XXII (Mar. 12, 1896), 166; *Men*, XXII (Sept. 19, 1896), 306.
208. R.C.M., "Summary story of the Internat. Com. 1854-1924" (typescript, Bowne Lib.).
209. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, p. 208. The sensitivity of the organization to periods of depression or crisis was one of the most obvious features of its development in this period; this is reflected in all fin. reports, local, state, and Internat., during the several years following 1873 and 1893, and in southern and western state reports between 1889 and 1892.
210. The Internat. Com. subcom. on Foreign Work recommended the following division: one-fourth each to Internat. Com. and states, one-third for Foreign Work, one-sixth for Springfield (Minutes, May 18, 1891); the Brooklyn Assn., as an example, designated one-half to Foreign Work and one-eighth each to Internat. Com. home work, Springfield, local extension, and the N. Y. State Com. (Worman, *op. cit.*, p. 82).
211. The Conv. of 1895 (pp. 52-54) proposed classifying local Assns. according to size with gifts ranging from \$5 through \$10, \$25, \$50, \$75, \$100, and "over \$100." In 1892 J. T. Swift, Internat. Com. sec. for Japan, suggested a per capita "tax" on membership that would obtain funds from members rather than friends (letter, Swift to B. C. Wetmore, Feb. 2, 1892). The editor of the *Era* proposed a percentage plan (Oct. 3, 1895), p. 649 and argued cogently for it. The next year he printed an analysis of a scheme suggested by L. W. Messer, sec. at Chicago: *Era*, XXII (Jan. 30, 1896), 65.
212. Most of the material covered in this section is mentioned by R.C.M., *Life*; see Index, "Financial crises," etc., but especially pp. 204-10.

## Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. Conv., 1891, p. 103.
2. Memo., W. J. Rhees to W. H. Philip, May 9, 1866 (Rhees Collection, MS. Div., Lib. of Cong.).
3. *Appeal and Plans of the Y.M.C.A. of Washington, D. C. . . . for Immediate Aid*, etc. (pam., 1866), p. 11.
4. Oddly enough, the first gymnasium under an Assn. roof in the U.S. was that of the first Farwell Hall in Chicago, in 1867, the facilities being rented to an outside athletic club.
5. Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Boston Y.M.C.A. (1878), p. 52.
6. G. F. Thompson, "History of the Phys. Work in the Y.M.C.A. of Amer.," *Assn. Sem.*, XII (May, 1904), 301, and following through six issues, this ref. to XII (July, 1904), p. 380.
7. Eighteenth Annual Report of N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (Jan., 1871), p. 25.
8. *W*, XIII (July 1, 1887), 185.
9. Boston Young Men's Magazine, II (Apr., 1889), 7.
10. Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Boston Y.M.C.A., Sept. 11, 1876: ". . . A new Supt., Mr. R. J. Roberts, has been secured." The first issue of the Boston Assn. Bulletin, Nov. 11, 1876, mentioned Roberts' "new position as superintendent of our gymnasium." The author is indebted to W. B. Whiteside, historian of the Boston Assn., for this data.
11. L. H. Gulick, "Robert J. Roberts and His Work," in R. J. Roberts, *Home Dumb Bell Drill* (pam., Springfield, Mass.; 1894, Springfield Coll. Lib.), p. 6.
12. Sixteenth Annual Report of N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (May, 1868), pp. 12, 34; Brooklyn Assn. Advocate, May, 1872, p. 1.
13. *W*, IX (Nov. 15, 1883), 258.
14. F. E. Leonard, *Pioneers of Modern Phys. Training* (New York: Assn. Press, 1915), p. 125. A few men were trained by the Baltimore Assn. about this time; see Thirty-fourth Annual Report of Baltimore Y.M.C.A., 1887, p. 17.
15. L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), p. 48. For a survey of Amer. Y.M.C.A. phys. work in 1888, see a paper by Gulick, "What the Amer. Y.M.C.A.'s are doing for the Phys. Welfare of Young Men," prepared for the World's Conf. at Stockholm, 1888.
16. E. J. Dorgan, *Luther Halsey Gulick, 1865-1918* (New York: Teachers College, 1934), p. 31. For Gulick's life, see, also, the sketch in the *Dictionary of Amer. Biog.*; Doggett, *op. cit.*; Thompson, *op. cit.*; F. E. Leonard, *op. cit.*, Ch. XVIII; "Luther Halsey Gulick, 1865-1918: a Symposium" in *Amer. Physical Education Review*, XXIII (Oct., 1918), 413-26.
17. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
18. *Era*, XVIII (1892), 429, 430, 622, 629; XXI (May 16, 1895), 330.
19. *Era*, XX (Jan. 18, 1894), 14.
20. *Assn. Men*, XLIII (June, 1918), 774.

21. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
23. The most farfetched and completely unfounded of such rumors was that basketball was derived from the Amer. Indians.
24. James Naismith, *Basketball, Its Origin and Development* (New York: Assn. Press, 1941), p. 33. Aside from a few inaccuracies, such as the remark that R. J. Roberts was once a circus performer (p. 29), Naismith's account in this book, written fifty years afterward, agrees essentially with what he and Gulick said in 1892 and shortly after.
25. *Internat. Assn. Training School Notes*, I (Dec., 1892), p. 86.
26. *Era*, XXII (Apr. 16, 1896), 253.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Letter, H. F. Kallenberg to E. J. Hickox, Dec. 30, 1948 (copy in Bowne Lib.).
29. Naismith, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
30. Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74; Lu, Hui-Ching, *An Analysis of Volley Ball in Various Regions of the World* (a report on a Type C project, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1950), pp. 1, 10, 13.
31. Thompson, *op. cit.*, *Assn. Sem.*, XIII (Dec., 1904), 103.
32. L. A. Bowman, *The Life of Isaac Eddy Brown* (New York: Assn. Press, 1926), p. 100.
33. *Era*, XVI (June 12, 1890), 378.
34. The members of the first com. were F. B. Pratt, chairman, Charles E. Patterson, L. E. Ballard, R. C. Morse, Erskine Uhl, and Gulick; in F. B. Barnes, "History of the Y.M.C.A. Athletic League," *Spalding's Official Y.M.C.A. Athletic League Hand-Book* (New York: American Sports Pub. Co., 1908), pp. 5-13.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
36. *Era*, XXII (Jan. 2, 1896), 1.
37. Dorgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.
38. *Men*, XXII (Dec. 19, 1896), 565.
39. *Men*, XXII (Jan. 23, 1897), 666-67.
40. *YB*, 1899, p. 25.
41. Dorgan, *op. cit.*, p. 32; see also *Men*, XXIV (Aug., 1899), 417-18.
42. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 265.
43. Dorgan, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
44. *YB*, 1889, p. 39.
45. Morse objected to this title, believing "directors" the proper name for the lay governors of the Assn.: "They should be known as Secretaries of the Physical Department." R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.
46. It was also published in the *Era*, XVI (Mar. 13, 1890), 170.

## Footnotes to Chapter 7

1. The author is deeply indebted to Professor Clarence P. Shedd in countless ways for the enrichment of this chapter, which is of necessity largely based upon his *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements: Their Origin and Intercollegiate Life* (New York: Assn. Press, 1934).
2. Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, Vol. VIII, *A History of Amer. Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 264-67.
3. A. M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, Vol. X, *A History of Amer. Life*, (New York: Macmillan, 1933), pp. 202ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
5. *Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.* (Aug., 1868), 146-47.
6. *Conv.*, 1868, p. 137.
7. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 63.
8. *Assn. Monthly*, I (Jan., 1870), 7.
9. *Ibid.* (June, 1870), 125.
10. *Conv.*, 1870, pp. 64, 82.
11. R.W., *Y.M.C.A. State Work Series*, V, *Wisconsin* (typescript, 1913, Bowne Lib.), p. 41; *Wisc. Conv.*, 1871, pp. 15-16; *Era*, XXI (Apr. 25, 1895), 265.
12. R.W., *Early History of the College Work of Y.M.C.A.'s* (typescript, copy 1, 1911, Bowne Lib.), pp. 31-32, 184.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
14. *W*, III (Jan. 1, 1877), 3.
15. L. D. Wishard (hereafter abbreviated L.D.W.), *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), pp. 53-54, (hereafter this will be referred to as *The Beginning*).
16. *Ohio Conv.*, 1884, p. 78.
17. *Conv.*, 1889, pp. 87-88; R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 162-64.
18. *Intercollegian*, XXV (Jan., 1903), 76.
19. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 163.
20. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.
21. R.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 108-10 (see footnote 12).
22. *Conv.*, 1877, p. 77.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.
24. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 73.
25. *Intercollegian*, XXV (Jan., 1903), 78-79.
26. Ruth Rouse, *The World's Student Christian Federation. A History of the First Thirty Years* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1948), p. 29. Technically, Wishard was



- "corresponding secretary," an unpaid position the title of which reflected his first concept of his duties; his salary was provided the first year by three friends.
27. R.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 161 (see footnote 12); YB, 1878, p. 14.
  28. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.
  29. K. S. Latourette, *The Great Century, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914: Europe and the U.S.A.*, Vol. IV, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper, 1941), pp. 79-86.
  30. *College Bulletin*, I (Mar., 1879), 2-3; C. K. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard, Projector of World Movements* (New York: Assn. Press, 1927), pp. 98-99; L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 165-67.
  31. Conv., 1879, p. 64.
  32. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 100.
  33. YB, 1880-81, pp. 27-30. This table is compiled from *Year Book* data.
  34. C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent: Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), pp. 68-69.
  35. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
  36. J. R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. III; *The Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), pp. 4-5. The Bowne Lib. has a collection of the early handbooks which forms the basis for the introd. portions of a Univ. of Ore. thesis by A. W. Carkin, *A Study of the Student Handbook on the College Level* (1947), utilized in this account.
  37. W, XII (Jan. 15, 1886), 16.
  38. F. L. Norton, ed., *A College of Colleges, led by D. L. Moody, Session of 1889* (New York: Revell, 1889), p. 15.
  39. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
  40. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 109-11.
  41. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 346.
  42. Shedd, *op. cit.*, p. 166 (see footnote 1).
  43. *Era*, XVI (Oct. 23, 1890), 651, and XVIII (Feb. 25, 1892), 244.
  44. Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934), p. 77.
  45. Mott, *op. cit.*, III, 5-6 (see footnote 36).
  46. L.D.W., *The Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. Movement* (pam., Internat. Com., 1885), p. 32.
  47. L.D.W., *The Beginning*, p. 168.
  48. L.D.W., *The Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. Movement* (pam., Internat. Com., 1885), pp. 31-32.
  49. L.D.W. and C. K. Ober, *The College Y.M.C.A.'s of the U. S. and Can.* (pam., Internat. Com., 1887).
  50. J. R. Mott, *College Y.M.C.A. Bldgs.* (pam., Internat. Com., 1895), p. 9.
  51. J. R. Mott, *College Y.M.C.A. Bldgs.* (pam., Internat. Com., ca. 1891), pp. 9-10.
  52. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 337.
  53. From clippings from *St. Andrew's Cross*, ca. 1889 (Bowne Lib.); see also C. P. Shedd, *The Church Follows its Students* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1938).
  54. YB, 1883-84, p. xv.
  55. YB, 1885, p. lxxvii.
  56. Ober—C.B. corresp. (Bowne Lib.).
  57. YB, 1887, p. xl.
  58. A. W. Hunton, *William Alphaeus Hunton, a Pioneer Prophet of Young Men* (New York: Assn. Press, 1938), p. 13.
  59. Conv., 1883, pp. xlvii-li.
  60. YB, 1886, p. 60.
  61. *Missionary Review of the World*, III (1880), 131-33, 135-38, 358; IV (1881), 35.
  62. Shedd, *Two Centuries of Stud. Chr. Movements*, p. 219.
  63. W, VI (Jan. 1, 1880), 4; R.W., *op. cit.*, p. 175 (see footnote 12).
  64. R.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11.
  65. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
  66. L.D.W., *The Beginning*, pp. 138-39.
  67. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.
  68. Letter, S. W. Tatlock to C. K. Ober, Oct. 6, 1887 (Ober Collection, Bowne Lib.); R.W., *The Origin of the Assn. of Gen. Secs. and The Early History of the Training Schools*, Part II (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), p. 48.
  69. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4.
  70. Shedd, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.
  71. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
  72. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
  73. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.
  74. Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
  75. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 104.
  76. *Springfield Republican*, July 24, 1886 (from Scrapbook in R. P. Wilder Collection, Yale Divinity School Lib., by courtesy of Mrs. Paul J. Braisted).
  77. *Era*, XX (Mar. 8, 1894), 7; see also *Missionary Review*, VIII (Sept., 1885), 369-71 and (Nov., 1885), 464-68.
  78. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard*, pp. 100-3.
  79. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 108.
  80. Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
  81. R. P. Wilder, *The Great Commission* (London: Oliphants, 1936), pp. 23-24.
  82. L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), p. 7.
  83. Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
  84. *Report of the Third Annual Missionary Conf. of the Med. Students of N. Y. City*, Dec. 12, 1886 (pam., Bowne Lib.), p. 9.
  85. Ober, *Exploring a Continent*, p. 88.
  86. W, XIII (Apr. 15, 1887), 106.
  87. Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
  88. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 155.
  89. Ober, *op. cit.*, p. 78; L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74.
  90. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 371.

91. Mott, *Addresses and Papers*, Vol. I: *The Student Volunteer Movement for For. Missions* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), pp. 7-8. For the origins of the S.V.M., see Ober, *op. cit.*, Ch. IX.
92. Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 14 (see footnote 38).
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
95. This account of Söderblom's visit to Northfield is based upon translations made for this History to Mr. Svein Hanssen-Bauer of Karl Fries, *Mina Minnen*

- (Stockholm: 1939); Nathan Söderblom, *Sommarminnen* (Stockholm: 1941); Nils Karlström, *Kristna Samförståndssträvanden Under Världskriget 1914-1918 Med särskild hänsyn till Nathan Söderbloms insats* (Stockholm: 1947, copies of these translations are in Bowne Lib.). Also utilized were Springfield Union (July 9, 1890), special Northfield edition, p. 8; and *Era*, XVI (July 31, 1890), 484.
96. Ober, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7 (see footnote 85).

## Footnotes to Chapter 8

NOTE: This chapter is very largely based upon archives of the World Services, all in Bowne Lib. The recently recovered early correspondence files of the pioneer secretaries have been drawn upon. Letters cited below are from this source unless otherwise noted.

1. Conv., 1879, pp. 85-86.
2. L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (Cleveland: F. M. Barton, 1902; New York: Assn. Press, 1925), p. 220.
3. *W*, X (May 1, 1884), 105.
4. Conv., 1864, pp. 90-93; Conv., 1865, pp. 20-22, 78-80.
5. James Stokes, Jr. (1842-1918), banker and philanthropist, gave nearly \$1,000,000 for Y.M.C.A. bldgs. in major European cities; he was long a member of the Internat. Com. and World's Com. See *James Stokes, Pioneer of Y.M.C.A.'s* (New York: Assn. Press, 1921) by F. W. Ober, ed.; Conv., 1869, pp. XLI-XLVI.
6. *W*, XII (Nov. 1, 1886), 250.
7. L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), pp. 150-55.
8. *W*, XIV (Oct. 1, 1888), 298.
9. See, for example, T. K. Cree, *Les Unions Chrétiennes en Amérique 1851-1889* (pam., French Natl. Com., 1889).
10. *Bombay Y.M.C.A. Reports, Accounts, &c., for the year 1890* (Bombay: 1891), pp. 21-22.
11. K. S. Latourette, *The Great Century in N. Africa and Asia, A.D. 1800—A.D. 1914*, Vol. VI, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper, 1944), pp. 2-3. The author is deeply indebted to Professor Latourette for suggestions and criticisms of this chapter.
12. A. E. Holt, *A Study of the Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon*, Made as an Integral Part of the Internat. Survey (Calcutta: 1933), pp. 3-5.
13. E. C. Worman, "Brief History of the Y.M.C.A. in India, Burma, and Ceylon," *Young Men of India*, XXXIII (Jan., 1922), 552ff. *Bombay Y.M.C.A. Reports, Accounts . . . 1890*, pp. 7ff.
14. J. A. Rath, *The Young Men of India* (thesis, Springfield Coll., 1904), pp. 33-38.
15. First Annual Report of the Tokyo Chr. Assn., 1879, p. 24.
16. *The Japanese Y.M.C.A. Movement* (pam., 1922), p. 1.
17. *Anniversary Sketch, 1880-1914, Y.M.C.A. of Tokyo* (pam., 1914), p. 2.
18. *W*, XIII (Apr. 15, 1887), 106.
19. T. J. Shanks, ed., *A College of Colleges: led by D. L. Moody* (New York: Revell, 1887), p. 178-79.
20. *W*, XIII (Sept. 15, 1887), 269.
21. L. D. Wishard (hereafter abbreviated L.D.W.), *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), p. 171.
22. Letter, J. H. DeForest to R.C.M., Sept. 6, 1887.
23. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 173.
24. Minutes, For. Educ. Com., Jan. 9, 1888.
25. Letter, W. N. Whitney to R.C.M., Feb. 21, 1888.
26. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 367; Ruth Rouse, *The World's Student Christian Federation. A History of the First Thirty Years* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1948), p. 80. Both references are based on "Teachers of Eng. in Japan," by Galen M. Fisher, *Student World*, V (Oct., 1912), 140-46. Dr. Fisher indicated to the author that the "Y.M.C.A. Teachers" movement lasted until the early 1920's and that there were at least 225 men placed.
27. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 391-92.
29. Report letter to Brainerd, Feb. 20, 1889.
30. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 232; R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 374. G. M. Fisher to the author: "I was told that the \$25,000 was a bequest to Swift just received from his uncle and

- that he directed it should all go to the Tokyo building."
31. Letter (printed) from G. W. Knox, Oct. 15, 1888.
  32. Minutes, For. Educ. Com., Nov. 30, 1888.
  33. Letter, J. T. Swift to R.C.M., Nov. 27, 1888.
  34. Letter, L.D.W. to R.C.M., Jan. 16, 1889.
  35. L.D.W., *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Chr. Hist.*, p. 88.
  36. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 369-70.
  37. *Young Men's Review* (London), V (Sept., 1888), 175.
  38. *W*, XV (Jan. 10, 1889), 21.
  39. *W*, XV (Apr. 4, 1889), 214.
  40. F. L. Norton, ed., *A College of Colleges, led by D. L. Moody, Session of 1889* (New York: Revell, 1889), p. 59.
  41. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
  42. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.
  43. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
  44. C. K. Ober, *Luther D. Wishard, Projector of World Movements* (New York: Assn. Press, 1927), p. 144.
  45. Norton, *op. cit.*, Ch. V.
  46. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 182.
  47. Conv., 1889, p. 70.
  48. W. D. Murray, *As He Journeyed; The Autobiography of William D. Murray* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), p. 255; minutes, Internat. Com., June 10, 1889.
  49. Minutes, Internat. Com., Sept. 26, 1889; *YB*, 1890, p. 43.
  50. *Era*, XVII (July 2, 1891), 436-37; Ober, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-46.
  51. Letter, J. T. Swift to C.B., Mar. 24, 1891; *Era*, XVII (June 25, 1891), 417, 421.
  52. Letter, T. Miyoshi to R.C.M., July 21, 1893.
  53. Letter, J. T. Swift to R.C.M., Jan. 27, 1893.
  54. Jacob Chamberlain, "Call from Madras for First Sec. for India," to R.C.M., Mar. 20, 1888 (typescript).
  55. *W*, XV (Dec. 19, 1889), 782.
  56. Minutes, Exec. Com. of the World's Com., Geneva, Nov. 15, 1889.
  57. Latourette, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.
  58. J. N. Farquhar, *The Old Stalwarts of Bow Bazaar* (pam., Calcutta: 1908), pp. 7, 14.
  59. *Young Men's Christian Magazine* (Glasgow), XXX (Sept., 1882), 322.
  60. D. McConaughy to "Missionary Sub-Com., Internat. Com.," Jan. 22, 1890.
  61. D. McConaughy, *Pioneering with Christ Among the Young Men of India and the Churches of America* (New York: Assn. Press, 1941), pp. 41-42; *Era*, XVI (Mar. 13, 1890), 162.
  62. Letter (original), D. McConaughy to Northfield Conf., May 21, 1890; *Era*, XVI (Mar. 6, 1890), 152; (May 8, 1890), 290.
  63. McConaughy, *Pioneering with Christ*, pp. 51-52.
  64. Letter, R. R. McBurney to John Elliott, July 30, 1890.
  65. McConaughy, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.
  66. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
  67. *The Guide* (Glasgow), No. 106 (Oct., 1888), p. 163; see also *Era*, XVI (Feb. 20, 1890), 120; D. McConaughy, *Diary*, 1888 (original, Bowne Lib.).
  68. Letter, R. R. McBurney to D. McConaughy, Sept. 16, 1891.
  69. Letter, D. McConaughy to R. R. McBurney, July 22, 1891.
  70. Letter, R.C.M. to L.D.W., April 15, 1890.
  71. Letter, L.D.W. to D. McConaughy, Oct. 24, 1890.
  72. Letter, R.C.M. to L.D.W., June 16, 1891 (words in brackets added).
  73. Letter, R. R. McBurney to D. McConaughy, Sept. 16, 1891.
  74. Letter, L.D.W. to R.C.M., March 28, 1891.
  75. *Ibid.*
  76. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
  77. R. W. Braisted, *In This Generation: The Story of Robert P. Wilder* (New York: Friendship Press, 1941), p. 70; B. R. Barber, *The Young Men of Calcutta, A brief sketch of the Y.M.C.A. 1850-1904* (typescript, Bowne Lib.), p. 3.
  78. Clipping from the *Madras Cosmopolite* (Apr. 12, 1890), commenting on *The Young Men of India* (Bowne Lib.).
  79. Letter, D. McConaughy to R.C.M., Apr. 2, 1890.
  80. McConaughy, *Pioneering with Christ*, p. 58.
  81. *Bombay Y.M.C.A. Monthly Letter*, IV (Feb., 1893), 3.
  82. Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 42; see Doggett, *A Man and a School*, pp. 152-53.
  83. L.D.W., *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Chr. Hist.*, p. 168.
  84. As distinct from the stud. conf. that had been held the previous summer in Japan.
  85. Supplement to the *Morning Star* (Jaffna, Ceylon), Jan. 2, 1890 (excerpts in Bowne Lib.).
  86. *Call from Ceylon for the Work of the Y.M.C.A.* (pam., Bowne Lib.).
  87. D. W. Lyon, *First Quarter Century of the Y.M.C.A. in China, 1895-1920* (pam., Shanghai: 1920; dates added), p. 2; *Era*, XVI (July 24, 1890), 468; (Oct. 9, 1890), 612; (Dec. 4, 1890), 740.
  88. H. P. Beach to D. W. Lyon, Oct. 16, 1926; quoted by Lyon, "Notes on the

- Early History of the Chin. Y.M.C.A.'s" (unpublished MS. in English), p. 8.
89. *Era*, XVI (July 24, 1890), 468.
90. Lyon, *op. cit.*, 1 (see footnote 88).
91. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 183.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 185; *Era*, XVI (Dec. 18, 1890), 772-73.
93. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 185-86.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-94.
98. *Era*, XVIII (Apr. 14, 1892), 454-55.
99. *Ibid.*, (Apr. 28, 1892), 518-19.
100. *Ibid.*, (May 12, 1892), 582.
101. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7; *Era*, XVIII (July 7, 1892), 854; XIX (Dec. 21, 1893), 1419-20.
102. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 160.
103. *Ibid.*, 210-12. The letter and pamphlet are described in Chapter 7.
104. *Era*, XVI (Nov. 20, 1890), 706.
105. This curious document appears to be in Morse's handwriting.
106. *Assn. Men*, XLV (July, 1920), 676; *Assn. Forum*, I (Oct., 1920), 5.
107. *Foreign Mail*, II, No. 1 (Mar., 1895), 16-20.
108. K. S. Latourette, *The Great Century in the Americas, Australasia and Africa, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, Vol. V, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper, 1943), p. 120.
109. *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, IV (May 2, 1874), 213.
110. *W*, X (Feb. 1, 1884), 33.
111. *W*, VII (Mar. 15, 1881), 76.
112. Letter, R. R. McBurney to John H. Elliott, July 30, 1890.
113. *Era*, XXI (Jan. 3, 1895), 6.
114. *YB*, 1892, p. 48.
115. *YB*, 1885, p. lxxi; *YB*, 1886, p. 69; *W*, XI (June 1, 1885), 129; Calif. Conv., 1885, pp. 52-53.
116. *YB*, 1893, pp. 46-47; *Foreign Mail*, I, No. 2 (Sept., 1894), 16-20.
117. A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), p. 59.
118. R.W., compiler, *Letters, Cephas Brainerd, First Chairman, to Robert Weidensall, First Sec., Internat. Com., Y.M.C.A.'s, 1868-1893* (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), I, 248.
119. R.W., *Y.M.C.A. State Work Series*, III, *Kansas* (typescript, 1912, Bowne Lib.), p. 361.
120. Kan. Y.M.C.A.'s *Report*, No. 13, June 30, 1889, p. 3; *Era*, XVI (July 3, 1890), 420-21; *YB*, 1890, pp. 59-60.
121. *W*, XV (Aug. 29, 1889), 524, 526; (Sept. 18, 1889), 565; (Nov. 7, 1889), 682; Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 244 (see footnote 40).
122. C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent: Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), p. 96.
123. Kan. Conv., 1889, pp. 43, 75. This report bore a map of Africa on its back cover.
124. Letter, Charles L. Helmick to "My dear George," July 15, 1890 (copy, Bowne Lib.).
125. Official corresp., U. S. State Department, 1890 ("Kan.-Sudan Missionary Movement" files, Bowne Lib.).
126. R.W., *Letters, C.B., First Chm., to R.W., First Sec.*, I, 280 (see footnote 118).
127. Mo. Conv., 1890, p. 51; Ind. Conv., 1890, p. 60; Wis. Conv., 1890, p. 80; Mich. Conv., 1890, p. 57; N. Y. Conv., 1890, p. 85; *Era*, XVI (Aug. 21, 1890), 499.
128. Letter, R.C.M. to Seldon P. Spencer, Dec. 2, 1890.
129. Letter, R.W. to R.C.M., Apr. 15, 1891 (Weidensall Collection, George Williams Coll., Chicago).
130. Conv., 1891, pp. 68-71.
131. *Era*, XVIII (Feb. 11, 1892), 164; (Mar. 10, 1892), 296.
132. It is, also, almost the sole controversial episode of which a fairly complete reconstruction has been possible.
133. Letter, L.D.W. to For. Work Com., July 21, 1890.
134. Conv., 1891, p. 104.
135. L.D.W., *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Chr. Hist.*, p. 220.
136. Minutes, For. Work Com., Sept. 26, 1889 and Oct. 13, 1889.
137. *Era*, XVII (Jan. 15, 1891), 35.
138. Letter, R.C.M. to D. McCaughy, Dec. 12, 1892.
139. Letter, J. T. Swift to R. R. McBurney as chm. For. Work Com., May 5, 1893.
140. Minutes, For. Work Com., Sept. 3, 1895.
141. Letter, J. T. Swift to L.D.W., Apr. 14, 1892.
142. *Era*, XVII (Oct. 29, 1891), 680.
143. Letter, J. T. Swift to R. S. Miller, Jr., Jan. 17, 1890.
144. Letter, J. T. Swift to R. R. McBurney, May 5, 1893.
145. Letter, R.C.M. to L.D.W., "Mar. 36" (sic), 1890. McCaughy's initial budget, which included extras "incidental to the first year of the work," was for \$3,475.—salary \$1,200, rent \$300, travel \$500, voyage out \$665, outfit \$400, extras \$400; Minutes, For. Work Com., Sept. 27, 1889. Clark's first budget was modeled upon that for an unmarried Presb. missionary: salary, \$1,102.20, rent \$250, teacher \$200, postage and stationery \$10, passage \$166,



- outfit \$300, freight \$60; Minutes, For. Work Com., June 12, 1890.
146. Conv., 1891, p. 47.
147. Letter, R. R. McBurney to C. K. Ober, Feb. 2, 1891.
148. Letter, J. T. Swift to B. C. Wetmore, chm. For. Work Com., Feb. 2, 1892.
149. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, pp. 221ff. In 1893, individuals in 57 cities gave \$7,439.68 and 23 Associations, \$1,647.69, according to the YB.
150. Letter, D. McConaughy to R.C.M., May 28, 1890.
151. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 222.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
153. Letter, R.C.M. to D. McConaughy, June 30, 1890.
154. YB, 1890, p. 69; Mass. Conv., 1890, p. 134; S. C. Conv., 1890, p. 38; Md., W. Va., D. C., Del. Conv., 1890, pp. 63-64; Ohio Conv., 1890, p. 98.
155. Minutes, For. Work Com., Sept. 2, Oct. 10, Nov. 22, 1892; Feb. 3, 1893; Dec. 17, 1894; May 3, 1895.
156. L.D.W., *op. cit.*, p. 228.
157. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-37.

## Footnotes to Chapter 9

1. L. L. Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney* (Cleveland: F. M. Barton, 1902; New York: Assn. Press, 1925), p. 146; Conv., 1869, p. 98.
2. R.W., *The First Field Work and Early Development of the Y.M.C.A. Movement as Conducted under the Internat. Com. and its First Employed Agent* (typescript, 1912, Bowne Lib.), I, vi; also R.W., compiler, *Letters, Cephas Brainerd, First Chairman to Robert Weidensall, First Sec., Internat. Com., Y.M.C.A.'s, 1868-1893* (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), I, vii.
3. W, XIV (Dec. 15, 1888), 373.
4. Exact data on this problem are not obtainable. The figures given are based upon the data provided by those Assns. reporting to the Com. just prior to the Conv. of 1868. A "tabular abstract" of the returns was included with the Conv. report. Later writers (Doggett, R.C.M., Pence) used different figures which cannot be reconciled with this source.
5. Conv., 1868, pp. 94, 128. Both men later claimed to have written the resolution. The author is inclined to credit its wording to Brainerd. See, Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Conv., 1901, p. 82; I. H. and E. W. Brainerd, Cephas Brainerd, Biography (unpublished MS., 1947, Bowne Lib.), p. 223.
6. Conv., 1901, pp. 81-83.
7. J. W. Dodge, "Y.M.C.A.'s and the Church," *Congregational Review*, VIII (Sept., 1868), 440-52.
8. For some biog. data about Lee, see *Who Was Who in America*, Vol. I (1897-1942), 717.
9. Grant is listed in *Who Was Who*, Vol. I (1897-1915); see also the *Dictionary of Natl. Biog.*, Vol. II, second supplement (London: Oxford, 1920).
10. Kellogg was listed in the *Church Almanac for the Year of our Lord 1869* (New York: Prot. Epis. Tract Soc., 1869), p. 57.
11. Conv., 1869, pp. 51, 101. In 1893 a clause, "and unto life eternal," was added to the wording of the test by the Internat. Conv.
12. Conv., 1869, pp. 58, 102.
13. A case involving the refusal of the Y.M.C.A. of Battle Creek, Mich., to admit Seventh Day Adventists as active members caused a flurry in 1890; see *Era*, XVI (Dec. 25, 1890), 786, and letters and other documents in Bowne Lib.
14. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 211-12; see also O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 52.
15. Conv., 1891, p. 82; see for example, W, IX (June 15, 1883), 140. The 1891 Conv. resolution on the evang. test in for. fields was the result of problems both in Japan and India; see, for example, letters, Luther D. Wishard to R.C.M., July 16, 1889, and R.C.M. to Luther D. Wishard, Sept. 10, 1889.
16. W. C. Langdon, "Significance of the Y.M.C.A.'s," *Era*, XXI (Mar. 21, 1895), 188; (Mar. 28, 1895), 204.
17. *Assn. Outlook*, IX (Apr., 1900), 161.
18. R. R. McBurney, "Whither," (MS., McBurney Collection, Bowne Lib.); see also C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1940), pp. 102-4, 249-52.
19. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
20. *Assn. Sem.*, XXI (June, 1913), 326.
21. R.W., *The First Field Work of the I.C.*, I, vi.
22. W, V (Jan. 15, 1879), 19; the Swiss paper in question was the *Journal des Unions Chrétiennes de Jeunes Gens de la Suisse Romande*.
23. *Assn. Men*, XXIV (Aug., 1899), 422.

24. For a general treatment of Y.M.C.A.-church relations in this period, see S. W. Wiley, *A History of Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the U. S.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1944), Ch. II.
25. R.W., *Y.M.C.A. State Work Series, V, Wisconsin* (typescript, 1913, Bowne Lib.), p. 16.
26. *W*, VII (Oct. 1, 1881), 239-40.
27. *Era*, XVII (Mar. 12, 1891), 169; L. A. Bowman, *The Life of Isaac Eddy Brown* (New York: Assn. Press, 1926), p. 75; C. T. B. Goodspeed, et al., *Loring Wilbur Messer, Metropolitan Gen. Sec.* (Chicago: Y.M.C.A., 1934), pp. 102ff.
28. S. W. Wiley and Florence Lehman, *Builders of Men, A History of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A.: 1866-1936* (1938), pp. 103-4.
29. Minutes, Gen. Assembly of the Presb. Church in the U.S.A., 1877, p. 581; cited by A. I. Abell, *The Urban Impact on Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1943), p. 43.
30. Conv., 1875, p. 41; Conv., 1881, p. 57.
31. Conv., 1881, p. 98.
32. Iowa Conv., 1885, pp. 26-27.
33. *Monthly Bulletin of the Y.M.C.A.* (Chicago), XIII (Mar. 1, 1886).
34. Letter, H. P. Beach to R.C.M., Feb. 12, 1891; Letter, J. T. Swift to R.C.M., Mar. 12, 1888; Conv., 1895, p. 110.
35. *YB*, 1888, p. 32; quoted from *The Churchman*, Feb. 11, 1888, p. 153.
36. *Assn. Men*, XXIV (Sept., 1899), 469.
37. L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), p. 132.
38. A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), pp. 86-89; for the background of the A.P.A., see W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (New York: Harper, 1939), pp. 533-34; Theodore Maynard, *The Story of Amer. Catholicism* (New York: Macmillan, 1943), pp. 491-97; there is no suggestion of any Assn. personnel involved in any of the anti-Cath. episodes described by Michael Williams in *The Shadow of the Pope* (New York: McGraw, 1932).
39. D. W. Lyon, *Reports and Letters on China, 1895-1910* (typescript, Bowne Lib.), p. 213; Letter, Myron Clark to R.C.M., Jan. 12, 1892.
40. *Pilot*, June 22, 1901 (clippings in Jubilee Conv. Scrapbook, No. 3, Bowne Lib.).
41. *Era*, XVIII (Feb. 4, 1892), 138-39.
42. *Era*, XVI (Jan. 2, 1890), 2.
43. L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), p. 195; *Era*, XVII (July 2, 1891), 429-30.
44. Wishard, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
45. *Men*, XXII (Mar. 27, 1897), 848-49; (May 15, 1897), 1011, 1019.
46. Russell Thompson, *The Y.M.C.A. of Cleveland* (1901), p. 65.
47. Bowman, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.
48. Washington Gladden, *Recollections* (Boston: Houghton, 1909), p. 170.
49. M. C. Wells, *History of the First Seventy Years of the Y.M.C.A. of Hartford, Conn.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), p. 24.
50. J. F. Moore, *The Story of the R.R. "Y"* (New York: Assn. Press, 1930), p. 158.
51. *W*, XI (Feb. 1, 1885), 27; (Apr. 1, 1885), 78.
52. Calif. Conv., 1885, pp. 34-36.
53. Twenty-first Annual Report of the N. Y. City Y.M.C.A. (1874), pp. 15-17.
54. *A Tribute to Twenty-five Years of Successful Leadership in Work for Young Men* (New York: 1893), pp. 29-30. This is a privately printed description of the complimentary dinner tendered to Brainerd upon his retirement from the chairmanship of the Internat. Com. (Bowne Lib.). See also Heywood Brown and Margaret Leech, *Anthony Comstock, Roundsmen of the Lord* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1927), Ch. VI; *Assn. Monthly*, III (May, 1872), 79; *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, IV (Feb. 14, 1874), 74; Doggett, *Life of Robert R. McBurney*, pp. 106-9.
55. W. S. Sloan, *A White Cross Question* (pam., New York: Y.M.C.A., 1886), pp. 12-13.
56. Jasper Van Vleck, *Henry Horace Webster* (Chicago: Young Men's Era Pub. Co., 1893), pp. 126-27; for the argument in *The Watchman*, see *W*, XI (1885), 161, 200, 258, 260, 284.
57. *Era*, XIX (Dec. 28, 1893), 1436; *Men*, XXIII (Mar. 19, 1898), 511-12; F. E. Burgess, compiler, *The Y.M.C.A. of Ontario and Quebec* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), p. 157.
58. See, for example, Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Ohio Conv., 1870, p. 29; Wis. Conv., 1871, p. 28; Second Annual Conv. of Y.M.C.A.'s of Maritime Provinces of B.N.A., Halifax, N.S., 1868, pp. 51-56.
59. C. S. Bishop, *L. Wilbur Messer, an Appreciation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), pp. 9, 30; *Assn. Forum*, VII (Oct., 1926), 14.
60. Conv., 1874, pp. 82-86, xxix, xxxviii. For the background of the women's temperance crusade in Ohio, see L. A. Weigle, *American Idealism*, Vol. X, *Pageant of America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1928), pp. 206-7.

61. *W*, IX (June 15, 1883), 140; (July 1, 1883), 155.
62. W. D. Murray, *As He Journeyed: The Autobiography of William D. Murray* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), p. 259; letter, C. Olandt to R.C.M., Sept. 24, 1906 (Bowne Lib.).
63. *Fifty Years' Work amongst Young Men in all Lands* (London: 1894), p. 111.
64. *Conv.*, 1891, p. 90.
65. *YB*, 1883, p. XXXVIII.
66. *W*, III (Nov. 1, 1877), 1; *Y.M.C.A. News* (Louisville), Jan., 1886, p. 3.
67. Quoted in *Hundred-Year Book*, 1882; see also *Assn. Monthly*, III (Feb., 1872), 25.
68. This subject is treated specially in G. M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the Y.M.C.A.: 1844-1944, with Special Ref. to the U. S.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1948), Ch. III; A. E. Hugg, *Hist. Study of the Development of Public Affairs in the Y.M.C.A.* (M.A. thesis, Springfield Coll., 1942), Chs. III, IV, V.
69. *Era*, XIX (Sept. 21, 1893), 1100.
70. *Era*, XIX (Nov. 30, 1893), 1340.
71. *Era*, XIX (Aug. 10, 1893), 954.
72. Minutes, Bd. of Managers, Chicago Y.M.C.A., Sept. 20, 1887; J. R. Patterson, *Reminiscences of the Chicago Y.M.C.A.* (Chicago Y.M.C.A. Archives); see also, Hugg, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
73. This section is based upon Hugg, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44, 50-51, for which the author is grateful to Mr. Hugg.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-59.
75. For the background of this development, see Abell, *op. cit.*, Ch. IX; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-69.
76. For Protestant reaction to the labor troubles of this period, see H. F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 91-111.
77. *Equity, a Journal of Christian Labor Reform* (Boston), II (Mar., 1875), 7 (copy in Boston Pub. Lib.).
78. *Era*, XXI (Apr. 25, 1895), 267.
79. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, Chs. XVII, XVIII.
80. *Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.*, III (May, 1899), 91-92.
81. *Era*, XIX (Nov. 23, 1893), 1313; XX (May 10, 1894), 4; other of Taylor's addresses and writings will be found through this vol. His autobiography, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1930), is one of the most significant of his generation.
82. The addresses by Taylor and Brainerd were reported verbatim in the *Era*, XXI (May 16, 1895), 330 as well as in *Conv.*, 1895, pp. 126-28.
83. *Era*, XXI (May 23, 1895), 345, 352-53.
84. Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95; *Era*, XXI (May 23, 1895), 341.
85. L. W. Messer, *Social Forces in Action* (paper read before the Chicago Literary Club, 1899; privately printed).

## Footnotes to Chapter 10

1. J. Q. Ames, *The Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A.*, Monogr. No. IV, *The Changing Y.M.C.A.* Series (Chicago: Y.M.C.A. Coll., 1926), p. 3.
2. *YB*, 1941, pp. 28-29.
3. *Conv.*, 1916, p. 13.
4. Monroe was a partner of the firm of Ball, Black, and Co., at the time of his death; in 1870-74 he had been treas. of the Mercantile Safe Deposit Co. A biog. sketch appeared in *Era*, XVIII (Dec. 1, 1892), 1514-15.
5. There were only forty regular members of the Com. and eleven advisory members, with a bd. of fifteen trustees.
6. See L. C. Warner, *The Story of My Life, 1841-1911* (New York: privately printed, 1914), and *Personal Memoirs of Lucian Calvin Warner, 1841-1914* (New York: Assn. Press, 1915); sketch in *Natl. Encyclopedia of Amer. Biog.* (New York: James T. White & Co., 1907), IX, 537-38; *Era*, XXI (June 20, 1895), 412; *Conv.*, 1895, pp. 64-69; *Conv.*, 1897, p. 36; *YB*, 1898, p. 9.
7. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 297.
8. *YB*, 1899, p. 9; *Conv.*, 1901, p. 267; *YB*, 1915-16, p. 11.
9. *Cleveland's Young Men*, XVII (Mar. 6, 1903), 2.
10. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (July, 1908), 458.
11. *YB*, 1891, p. 40.
12. *Conv.*, 1897, p. 51. The author's reflections upon the hist. records of the Y.M.C.A. are in the introd. essay to the Footnotes, following Ch. 18.
13. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 463.
14. *Assn. Sem.*, XIX (Dec., 1910), 103-4.
15. *Assn. Sem.*, XIX (Nov., 1910), 45.
16. C. S. Bishop, *L. Wilbur Messer, an Appreciation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), pp. 86-87.
17. Letter, E. D. Ingersoll to R.C.M., Nov. 23, 1906 (Bowne Lib.).

18. *Men*, XXVI (Sept., 1899), 468. The history of the Movement periodical was given in Ch. 3, this History.
19. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29; A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), pp. 168-82.
20. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 507; see also *Assn. Men*, XXXIV (Sept., 1909), 568.
21. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 102.
22. *Assn. Sem.*, X (Dec., 1901), 1-3.
23. L. L. Doggett, *The Growth of State Work in the Y.M.C.A. and Some Lessons it Suggests* (typescript, ca. 1904, Bowne Lib.). See also M. C. Williams, *The Early History of the Work of the State Exec. Com. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Ohio, 1867 to 1912* (typescript, ca. 1930, Bowne Lib.), pp. 71, 73.
24. *Assn. Sem.*, XVIII (Nov., 1909), 67.
25. *The Perils and Weaknesses of the Internat. Com.* (Bound vol. of excerpts from letters secured by H. B. F. Macfarland for presentation at the Internat. Com. and secs. conf., Atlantic City, Sept. 16-18, 1912; Bowne Lib.), p. 4.
26. *Conv.*, 1913, p. 33.
27. R.C.M., *History*, pp. 143-46.
28. There are two biographies of Messer: Bishop, *op. cit.*, and C. T. B. Goodspeed, et al., *Loring Wilbur Messer, Metropolitan Gen. Sec.* (Chicago: Y.M.C.A., 1934); two interpretative articles appeared in *Assn. Forum*, VIII (Oct., 1927), 14-16; (Apr., 1928), 8, 9, 21; see also C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent: Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), pp. 50-52.
29. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
30. *First Conf. of Metropolitan Gen. Secs.*, Dec. 8-11, 1911, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
31. *Assn. Sem.*, XIX (Feb., 1911), 190.
32. Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.
33. L. W. Messer, *Assn. Relationships* (pam., Chicago: 1902), p. 6.
34. *Conv.*, 1899, pp. 59-65.
35. Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23.
37. Letter, G. T. Coxhead to C. H. McCormick, chm. of com. of twenty-one, Jan. 22, 1902.
38. Bishop, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-37.
39. *Assn. Sem.*, XII (May, 1904), 281; (June, 1904), 321.
40. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
41. Letter, W. C. Douglas to J. W. Hansel, Apr. 21, 1902 (Bowne Lib.).
42. The author is indebted to Dr. M. G. Ross, historian of the Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Can., for collaboration in this account, as well as numerous courtesies at other points. See R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 497-500; F. E. Burgess, compiler, *The Y.M.C.A. of Ontario and Quebec* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), pp. 210-11, 238-40.
43. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 107.
44. R.C.M., *Life*, p. 453.
45. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 497 appears to be in error in saying that Mott was abroad at the time. See Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-11.
46. M. G. Ross, ed., *The Years Ahead: A Plan for the Can. Y.M.C.A. in the Next Decade* (Toronto: Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of Can., 1945), p. 42.
47. *Conv.*, 1913, p. 168.
48. This position was stated to the author by Mott in conversation, May, 1950.
49. *Conv.*, 1913, pp. 167-69.
50. *Conv.*, 1919, p. 430 indicated that separate Can. statistics would be published in the near future; relations between the two movements were still intimate at this *Conv.*; see also pp. 7, 9, 71, 426.
51. R.C.M., Family League Letters, III, Dec. 7, 1910 and Jan. 16, 1911 (Bowne Lib.).
52. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 510-11.
53. *The Perils and Weaknesses of the Internat. Com.*, pp. 3-4 (see footnote 25).
54. *Conv.*, 1913, pp. 59-60, 210-11.
55. *Assn. Sem.*, XXIII (Oct., 1914), 5-43.
56. This section is based upon Internat. Com. minutes and R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 516-21.
57. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 302-4, and his Family League Letters, IV, June 12, 1915.
58. Minutes, Internat. Com., June 10, 16, 1915.
59. Letter, F. S. Brockman to K. S. Wong, Aug. 21, 1915; for Brockman's career in China see Ch. 17, this History, and his autobiog., *I Discover the Orient* (New York: Harper, 1935).
60. *YB*, 1914-15, pp. 345-46.
61. The official biog. of Mott by Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934) unfortunately gives almost no attention to its subject's career in the Amer. Y.M.C.A. Two of the six vols., III and IV, of J. R. Mott's *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), are devoted to the Y.M.C.A.; the material is Mott's compilation from public sources, there being no personal data or corresp. included.
62. G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas; or The Re-Education of Sherwood Eddy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), p. 206; for Eddy's comment on Mathews' biog. of Mott, see p. 207.



63. *Assn. Men*, XLI (Oct., 1915), 24.
64. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.
65. Minutes, Internat. Com., June 16, 1915.
66. *YB*, 1915-16, p. 8.
67. *Proceedings* of Conf. held at Garden City, Mar. 3-4, 1916 (Bowne Lib.).
68. *Conv.*, 1916, p. 154.
69. Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-39.
70. See, for example, *Conv.*, 1916, pp. 5-6, 8, 13.
71. Letters, H. P. Lansdale to C. K. Calhoun, June 5, 1920; Lansdale to R. E. Lewis, Feb. 12, 1920.
72. Letter, J. E. Manley to J. R. Mott, May 20, 1921.
73. Letter, W. J. Parker to H. P. Lansdale, Feb. 8, 1921.
74. *Report on a Survey of the Internat. Com. of Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A.* (pam., 1923, Bowne Lib.), p. 3.
75. See *Assn. Forum*, III and IV (1922-23 and 1923-24) for extensive coverage of the entire range of problems involved.
76. *Assn. Men*, XLIX (Dec., 1923), 153.
77. This section is based on the Minutes of the *Conv.* and interviews with participants, notably W. D. Weatherford to whom the author is especially indebted.
78. *Provisions of the Constitution of 1923*. A digest prepared by S. Wirt Wiley:
  - I. *Regarding local Assns.*

It provided for the preservation of local autonomy, for the control of their gen. agencies by the local Assns., for the reciprocal responsibility of the Assns., for the moral and fin. support of those agencies, and for the eligibility to membership in a Nat. Council on the basis of local control as determined by the Internat. *Conv.*

## II. *Regarding the Natl. organization.*

1. It provided for a Natl. Council composed of 300 to 400 representatives of local Assns. elected for three-year terms by Electoral Districts, each district containing approximately 4,000 voting members, of which representation at least two-thirds must be laymen—with 21 members-at-large. Up to 31 secs. of the Council, the senior secs. of state and interstate organizations and the presidents of the Y.M.C.A. Colleges to have seat and voice but without vote.

2. It provided for at least annual meetings of the Natl. Council.

3. It provided that the Natl. Council be empowered to appoint such committees and subdivisions as it might determine, to define their field and function, to determine the policies they should follow, to approve their budgets and to devise ways and means of financing them,

to apportion the natl. budget to the local Assns.; to make provision for aux. assemblies of the various types of Assns. (e.g., student, railroad) for the purpose of formulating plans, policies, and programs for their respective depts. subject to the Council's approval; to establish state or interstate organizations where none existed, to assist and strengthen state organization, to approve the selection of senior state secs. and to withdraw such approval, to review the state and training agency budgets, and make recommendations, to review and report regarding the efficiency of any state organization upon the request of 20 per cent of the local Assns. in its area; to extend through its regional organization Assn. work where and while local and state organizations were unable to function effectively; to suggest goals and ideals of work to local Assns. and state organizations; to represent the Assns. in all natl. and internat. relations; to initiate work in other lands and co-operate with natl. coms. in such lands; to hold property and funds; to employ necessary personnel and to *enact all necessary legislation to carry out the foregoing powers.* (Whenever state organizations are mentioned, interstate organizations are also implied.)

4. It provided for an administrative set-up consisting of a Gen. Bd. of not less than 25 members selected from members of the Council; a Home Div., a Personnel Div., and a For. Div. each composed of 27 members, not necessarily all Council members, but with due regard to representation of geog. areas and types of Assns., each Div. to create such subdivisions and appoint such coms. as might be necessary to discharge its responsibilities.

## III. *Regarding the state and interstate organizations.*

It provided that they should be elected by the local Assns. through thoroughly democratic processes; that the Natl. Council should commit to them as rapidly as could be done effectively its entire supervision of local and intrastate work; that they should be responsible for the development within their areas of the natl. policies and programs established by the Natl. Council; that each state sec. when selected jointly by the state organization and the Natl. Council should become the exec. of both within the area concerned and that each state organization should review and might make suggestions concerning proposed Natl. budgets.

## IV. *Regarding co-operation of staffs.*

It provided for a Natl. Secretarial Cabinet under the gen. oversight of the Gen. Bd., composed of the gen. sec., the chief exec. of each principal com. or other subdivision of the Natl. Council including the regional exec. sec., the senior state sec. and the presidents of the Y.M.C.A. Colleges; for a regional cabinet in each region composed of the regional exec. and the senior state secs.; and for stated conf. of groups of Natl. and state specialist secs.—all for the purpose of ensuring the unity and efficiency of the secretarial forces of these agencies.

V. *Regarding the settlement of differences.*

It provided for a Judicial Bd. of 9 members to be elected by the Natl. Council for three-year terms, 6 laymen and 3 employed officers, to interpret the constitution, advise as to the interrelations and scope of any agency, to compose differences involving the construction of the constitution or any action of the Natl. Council, and upon the request of both parties to decide controversies, bring about conciliation, clear up misunderstandings, define responsibilities, and promote harmony. The decisions of the Bd. were to be final, subject only to review by the Natl. Council upon petition of the aggrieved parties.

VI. *Regarding other matters.*

It provided for continuation of the historic union with the Assns. of Canada through the Internat. Conv.; for the continuance of the provisions for initiative and referendum voting by the local

Assns., and for the amendment of the constitution by two-thirds vote of the Council itself, at any regular meeting provided prescribed prior notice had been given. (The power to enact legislation and to amend the constitution itself gave the Natl. Council very large undefined powers checked only by the provision for referendum to the local Assns.)

79. *Assn. Men*, XLIX (Dec., 1923), 160.

80. For a summary of developments to this point, see *Assn. Forum*, VI (Jan., 1926), 6-10.

81. R.W., *The First Field Work of the I.C.*, II, 509; Letter, R.W. to R.C.M., Feb. 17, 1887; C.B. to R.W., Feb. 25, 1887 (Bowne Lib.).

82. *Conv.*, 1913, p. 58.

83. For the operation of the system in the mid-1920's, see Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 199ff., and Mott, *op. cit.*, III, 433-38.

84. *Home Work Bulletin*, IV (Jan.-Feb., 1930), 1.

85. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, IX (July-Aug., 1935), 3; Gamble's comments on the development may be seen in *Assn. Forum*, XIV (July, 1933), 20-21; *YB*, 1933, pp. 5-6; *YB*, 1935, pp. 47-48.

86. *YB*, 1939, pp. 100-1.

87. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 148. It is said that the "old guard" considered taking over the home work also, on the ground that the "democratic idea" embodied in the Council had failed; letter, E. M. Best to C. H. Hopkins, Nov. 12, 1950 (author's files).

88. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, VI (Mar., 1932), 1-2.

## Footnotes to Chapter 11

1. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 113.

2. *YB*, 1941, p. 29.

3. For Assn. work in the Spanish-American War, see *YB*, 1941, pp. 29-32; *YB*, 1899, pp. i-xl; C. E. Crissey, *Amer. Y.M.C.A. War Service* (typescript, thesis, Springfield Coll., 1917), pp. 43-53; B. C. Pond, *The Army and Navy Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, 1935, Bowne Lib.), p. 111; issues of *Men* for the duration of the War; "The Army and Navy 'Y.M.C.A.,'" by Albert Shaw, in *The Amer. Monthly Review of Reviews*, XVIII (Nov., 1898), 529-37. *A Brief History of the Army and Navy Section of the Y.M.C.A. Assn. of Secs. and*

*Related Hist. Data* (pam., ca. 1948, Bowne Lib.).

4. *Men*, XXIII (July 2, 1898), 817.

5. A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), pp. 103-4.

6. *YB*, 1899, p. 77.

7. See, for example, F. E. Sickels, *Fifty Years of the Y.M.C.A. of Buffalo* (1902), pp. 101-2; E. C. Worman, *History of Brooklyn and Queens Y.M.C.A., 1853-1949* (typescript, 1949), pp. 117-18.

8. Russell Thompson, *The Y.M.C.A. of Cleveland* (1901), pp. 122-23.

9. A. W. Hunton, *William Alphaeus Hunton, a Pioneer Prophet of Young Men* (New York: Assn. Press, 1938), pp. 44-47.

10. *Ten Years with the Army and Navy* (New York: Internat. Com., 1909).

11. Gen. references on the bldg. movement of this period: Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-26; *YB*, 1947, pp. 120ff; *Assn. Men*, XXIX, Dec., 1903, special bldgs. number; Conv., 1910, pp. 78-80; annual statistics in the Year Books.
12. M. C. Williams, *The Early History of the Work of the State Exec. Com. of the Y.M.C.A. of Ohio, 1867 to 1912* (typescript, ca. 1930, Bowne Lib.), p. 71.
13. C. S. Bishop, *L. Wilbur Messer, an Appreciation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), pp. 47-48.
14. O. E. Pence, *The Professional Boys' Worker* (New York: Assn. Press, 1932), p. 2.
15. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, p. 126.
16. An extreme example was the inclusion of a swimming tank in a bldg. for a Chinese city where no water supply was available.
17. I. B. Rhodes, "The Development of Dormitories in the Y.M.C.A.'s in the U. S." (mimeo. MS., Internat. Com., ca. 1935, Bowne Lib.), p. 8.
18. For the Rosenwald bldgs., see G. R. Arthur, *Life on the Negro Frontier* (New York: Assn. Press, 1934), and A. W. Hardy, *A Study of the Organization and Operation of Rosenwald Y.M.C.A.'s for the Period 1917-1927* (M.A. thesis, Ohio State Univ., 1928).
19. Arthur, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-40.
20. Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
21. C. T. B. Goodspeed, et al., *Loring Wilbur Messer, Metropolitan Gen. Sec.* (Chicago: Y.M.C.A., 1934), pp. 145-53.
22. The comment of A. G. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79, on Fisher's administration is of value.
23. For a good program summary, see *Assn. Men*, XXIX (Sept., 1904).
24. *Assn. Men*, XXXVIII (Oct., 1912), 15.
25. For a contemporary summary of Springfield's contributions to Assn. phys. work, see *Assn. Sem.*, XXI (June, 1913), 342-54; see also L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), Ch. III and Index under "J. H. McCurdy"; *Assn. Sem.* is a very important source.
26. *Assn. Men*, XXVIII (July, 1903), 474; (Aug., 1903), 511-13; XXIX (May, 1904), 353-55; XXXI (May, 1906), 349-50.
27. *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Aug., 1911), 483; XXXVII (Dec., 1911), 134; XXXVII (May, 1912), 392-93.
28. *Assn. Men*, XXXV (Nov., 1909), 52-53.
29. *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Feb., 1911), 212; XXXVI (Sept., 1911), 537-38; XXXVIII (Mar., 1913), 279-80.
30. *Assn. Men*, XXXVIII (Dec., 1912), 130.
31. *Assn. Men*, XLI (May, 1916), 445; see XLII, the Oct., 1916 issue devoted to phys. work.
32. For biog. data on E. M. Robinson (1867-1951) see Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-82; *Assn. Men*, XXVI (Oct., 1900), 25; R.C.M., *Life*, p. 413; Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-45; Conv., 1922, p. 69. Robinson's *The Early Years: The Beginning of Work with Boys in the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1950) has little biog. information but reveals a good deal of its author's character; H. W. Gibson, *Twenty-five Years of Organized Boys' Work in Mass. and R. I.* (Boston: 1915), Ch. 8.
33. *YB*, 1901, p. 259.
34. *Assn. Men*, XXVI (Aug., 1900), 391.
35. *Assn. Men*, XXVII (May, 1902), 334.
36. Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 142ff. and Index under names of boys' work leaders; *Assn. Sem.*, XV (1906-07), 1, 45, 85, 124, 205, 241, 284; XIV (Jan., 1906), 146-55; XVI (Oct., 1907), 27-31 etc.; XX (Apr., 1912), 345.
37. *Assn. Men*, XXV (Mar., 1900), 198.
38. *Assn. Sem.*, X (Nov., 1901), 8 etc.; X (July, 1902), 9; *Assn. Men*, XXXII (Dec., 1906), 93-94.
39. *Assn. Men*, XXXV (Oct., 1909), 63; XXXIII (Mar., 1908), 260-61; XXXIV (Oct., 1908), 10; Conv., 1910, p. 153.
40. Conv., 1913, pp. 67-69; *YB*, 1914-15, pp. 264-66; *Report of the Second Annual Conf. of the Y.M.C.A. Community Boys' Work Secs.*, Garden City, L. I., N. Y., Feb. 7-11, 1915 (Bowne Lib.); F. H. T. Ritchie, *Community Work of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1917), Ch. I.
41. For boys' work program in 1916, see *Assn. Men*, XLI (Mar., 1916), entire issue; also C. C. Robinson, *The Wage-Earning Boy* (New York: Assn. Press, 1912).
42. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 109; *Assn. Men*, XXXIX (Feb., 1914), 244.
43. The Chapman Club is usually said to have been organized in 1889. Sources are inadequate, but according to an official hist. sketch prepared in 1939, the club was first begun during the school year 1889-90. The following quotations are there given from the *Chapman Courier*, Feb. 22, 1890:  
 "Some of the young men of the High School and town have formed a Bible class which meets from 9:00 o'clock to 10:00 o'clock on Thursday evenings at the rooms of its members. This is a move in the right direction and will be a help to the boys."  
 By late spring of that year every boy



in the school had signed with the organization.

Oct. 4, 1890:

"As previously announced, the young men of Chapman and the High School met in the A.O.U.W. Hall on Thursday evening to organize a Y.M.C.A. E. E. Helms, assistant State Secretary failed to reach town, but the young men went right ahead, appointed a committee to draft a Constitution, and a committee on membership to report at a called meeting. Twenty-seven handed in their names as candidates for membership.

"The object of the organization is the religious, social and physical development of the young men of Chapman and the High School. If properly conducted, it will be the means of doing much good in the community. It is wholly unsectarian, the object being to induce men to become better. It takes the place of no Church, but merely works to get men ready to join the Church of their choice. The social and physical will also receive proper attention.

"All who have the good of the Community at heart whether Christian or not are cordially invited to join."

The following week this item appeared:

"A joint Y.M.C.A. was organized by the young men of the High School and city last week. The object is a good one and will no doubt receive the financial support of every merchant in town." [This meeting also elected a delegate to the state convention to meet the next week.]

*Program, Founder's Conf., Fiftieth Anniversary of Chapman Hi-Y Club* (pam., 1939, Bowne Lib.), pp. 5-6.

44. *YB*, 1899, pp. 27, 35; *YB*, 1900, p. 15; E. M. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-10; *Constitution for a Y.M.C.A. in a Prep. School* (pam., Internat. Com., 1899), p. 3.

45. Minutes, Internat. Com., Jan. 17, 1907, pp. 63-64; Oct. 10, 1907, p. 162; for Porter's subsequent career in the stud. dept., see Ch. 16. The author is indebted to Dr. Porter for information and critical comment.

46. *Report of the Commission on the Relation of the Assn. to High School Boys to the Thirty-fifth Conf. of the Assn. of Employed Officers of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A.*, Omaha, 1909. This contains Porter's prophetic address which was widely influential in convincing the brotherhood of its responsibility to the high school boy.

47. E. M. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *The Hi-Y Manual* (New York: Assn. Press,

1926), p. 24. The author is indebted to L. K. Hall for material help in this section.

48. There was also numerous pam. "helps"; consult Bowne Lib.

49. For a summary of boys' work program see Pence, *The Professional Boys' Worker*, pp. 2-9.

50. *Assn. Men*, XXXV (Mar., 1910), 242. This article is by C. E. Heald, Natl. Y.M.C.A. boys' work sec. for England.

51. This section is based on Doggett, *op. cit.*, 147-48 and W. D. Murray, *The History of the Boy Scouts of America* (New York: Boy Scouts of Amer., 1937).

52. Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

53. *Assn. Boys*, I (June, 1902), 65-66.

54. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

55. *YB*, 1899, pp. 23-25; *YB*, 1900, pp. 18-19.

56. *Assn. Men*, XLI (May, 1916), special education issue.

57. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, p. 116.

58. J. E. Moorland, "The Y.M.C.A. among Negroes," *Journal of Negro History*, IX (Apr., 1924), 135-36.

59. Hunton, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50, 54, 57-58.

60. *Assn. Men*, XXV (Sept., 1900), 438.

61. *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Apr., 1911), 307.

62. Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

63. *Assn. Men*, XLII (Feb., 1917), 267; see also the biog. by his wife, described above.

64. R.W., *Early History of the County Work of Y.M.C.A.'s* (typescript, 1911, Bowne Lib.), p. 378.

65. R.C.M., *History*, p. 229.

66. Conv., 1916, pp. 43-44; *YB*, 1919, p. 555.

67. *Assn. Men*, XXVII (Jan., 1902), 146-47.

68. *YB*, 1906-07, p. 17.

69. *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Aug., 1911), 488.

70. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-34.

71. *Assn. Men*, XXX (Oct., 1904), 3-4; XXXIII (June, 1908), 458.

72. *Assn. Men*, XXIX (May, 1904), 362.

73. R.C.M., *op. cit.*, p. 216.

74. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (Mar., 1908), 264-67.

75. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 396-98.

76. *Assn. Men*, XXXV (Sept., 1910), 501; XXXVII (June, 1912), 466.

77. See C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1940), Ch. XVIII; also, John Hutchinson, *We Are Not Divided* (New York: Round Table, 1941).

78. Conv., 1916, pp. 50-54.

79. R.C.M., *History*, p. 219; *Assn. Men*, XXXI (June, 1906), 400; XXXIII (Apr., 1908), 314-16, 332; Conv., 1916, pp. 80-81.

80. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

81. Important gen. sources for town and



- country work are: R.W., *op. cit.*; L. J. Cochrane, *County Work of the Y.M.C.A.* (M.A. thesis, Columbia Univ., 1917, Bowne Lib.); *Rural Manhood*, I-XIV (1910-1923); *YB*, 1912-13, pp. 328-29; *Conv.*, 1913, p. 34; O. E. Pence, *A Study of Y.M.C.A. Strategy in Small Towns and Rural Communities* (pam., 1950, Bowne Lib.).
82. *Assn. Men*, XXXVIII (Oct., 1912), 10; (Dec., 1912), 114.
  83. *Assn. Men*, XL (Dec., 1914), 117-21.
  84. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (Aug., 1908), 507-11.
  85. *YB*, 1910-11, p. 26.
  86. *Assn. Outlook*, VIII (May, 1899), 186.
  87. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, p. 87.
  88. Doggett, *op. cit.*, p. 145, etc.; *Assn. Sem.*, XVI (May, 1908), 293; (June, 1908), 344ff; XXV (Dec., 1916), 97; *Assn. Men*, XLI (Oct., 1915), 1.
  89. S. W. Wiley and Florence Lehmann, *Builders of Men, A History of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A., 1866-1936* (1938), pp. 146-47.
  90. G. K. Shurtleff *Memorial* (Cleveland: Y.M.C.A., 1909), pp. 16-17, 19-20; L. L. Doggett, *History of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922), p. 210, footnote.
  91. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (Feb., 1908), 223-24.
  92. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (June, 1908), 429.
  93. M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), Ch. VI.
  94. *Assn. Men*, XLII (July, 1917), 543.
  95. The official source of information on the Y.M.C.A.'s war service is the two-vol. work, ed. by Frederick Harris, *Service with Fighting Men* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922), which is generally reliable except for its account of the organizational aspects of the story. Katherine Mayo, "That Damn Y" (Boston: Houghton, 1920) is readable, generally accurate, and, on the whole, objective. In 1920 the Internat. Com. published a *Summary of World War Work of the American Y.M.C.A.* which gives a good bird's-eye picture of the vast reach of the program. In writing this account the considerable archives collected by the War Historical Bureau of the Y.M.C.A. which remain in the Bowne Lib. (much of this material was destroyed) were utilized. These will be indicated in succeeding footnotes.
  96. The telegram has not been recovered, which would seem to validate Mott's memory that he sent it while somewhere "on the road." It is described in *Answer of the Natl. War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A. to the Report of the Asst. to the Inspector General, A.E.F.* (typescript, Oct. 14, 1920, Bowne Lib.), IX, 4.
  97. *Ibid.*; see also the Minutes of the conf.; *YB*, 1941, p. 37; J. R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. IV: *The Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), pp. 743, 753; Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 487 (see footnote 95).
  98. Sources differ as to this date; some give it as April 26.
  99. *Answer of the Natl. War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A.*, III, 19 (see footnote 96).
  100. *Ibid.*, X, 18.
  101. *Ibid.*, IX, 119.
  102. These summaries are based on the excellent short statements in *YB*, 1941, pp. 43-46. The sources listed in footnote 95 should be consulted for details.
  103. B. C. Pond, compiler, *Brief Hist. Statement concerning the Natl. War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A. of the U. S.* (typescript, 1919, Bowne Lib.), II, 17-23; see also Harris, *op. cit.*, I, 335-58.
  104. *YB*, 1941, p. 44; G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas; or, The Re-Education of Sherwood Eddy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), pp. 128ff.
  105. *Summary*, p. 62 (see footnote 95).
  106. Pond, *op. cit.*, II, 37A; *Summary*, pp. 76-84.
  107. *Summary*, pp. 85-86 (see footnote 95).
  108. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94; Harris, *op. cit.*, I, 380-83.
  109. *Conv.*, 1919, pp. 125-27.
  110. *Assn. Men*, XLIV (Mar., 1919), 536; (June, 1919), 760-61.
  111. See A. P. Stokes, *Educ. Plans for the Amer. Army Abroad* (New York: Assn. Press, 1918); *YB*, 1918, pp. 22-23; *YB*, 1919, pp. 63-64, 72; Harris, *op. cit.*, II, Ch. XXXIV.
  112. *Assn. Men*, XLIII (Nov., 1917), 209.
  113. See H. C. King, *The Religious Program of the Y.M.C.A. with the Amer. Expeditionary Forces in Europe* (Paris: Amer. Y.M.C.A., Religious Work Dept., 1918).
  114. Only about 700 were recruited from regular Y.M.C.A. staffs. The maximum number in service at any one time was 7,000.
  115. *Conv.*, 1919, p. 321; see also E. C. Carter's *Report to the Commander in Chief of the Y.M.C.A. with the A.E.F.* (mimeo. MS., Paris, Apr. 16, 1919, Bowne Lib.), p. 42: "Though the Chief Secretary issued the first call for women workers in July, 1917, only a few score American women arrived during the Summer and Autumn of that year. By the Spring of 1918 the work of the women was regarded so indispensable by the Army as well as by the Y.M.C.A. because of the

- remarkable achievements of the small company of women workers in the preceding months that the Association issued through Dr. Mott an appeal for 1,000 women to be recruited by September 1st. . . . No single factor has contributed so much to the influence of the Association upon the Army as the presence of this large company of magnificent American women. The service which they have rendered is beyond praise." Army reactions to the women's work may be seen in Brigadier General John J. Bradley's *Report of Investigation of Y.M.C.A. in the A.E.F.* to the Inspector General, A.E.F. (typescript, G.H.Q., A.E.F., office of the Insp. Gen., France, 14 July, 1919, Bowne Lib.), II, 263-65; the quotation in the text is from p. 310; it continued: "The work of the women seems to have been universally popular and many officers and men during this investigation have expressed themselves as believing that a larger portion of the Y.M.C.A. work would have been better managed had it been controlled by women." Hall and Sweet, *op. cit.*, Ch. VII is based upon careful exam. of the War archives cited in this section.
116. See, for example, Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 206-26.
  117. After clearing this matter with President Wilson in Aug., 1918, Mott went on his vacation without apparently delegating to his staff specific responsibility to see the matter through; see letter, Wilson to Mott, Aug. 30, 1918 (Mott personal files); *Answer of the Natl. War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A.*, IX, 165ff. (see footnote 96).
  118. Harris, *op. cit.*, II, Appendix XII (see footnote 95); *Assn. Men*, XLIV (Mar., 1919), 544-45; XLV (May, 1920), 549.
  119. *YB*, 1941, pp. 41-42.
  120. Letter, E. C. Carter to Colonel Alvord, June 21, 1917 (in *Answer of the Natl. War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A.*, III, 19).
  121. Bradley, *op. cit.*, I, 24ff. (see footnote 115); graph, *Ibid.*, II, 219.
  122. *YB*, 1941, p. 41; Harris, *op. cit.*, I, 484.
  123. *Summary*, pp. 200-3 (see footnote 95).
  124. Statistics for this graph were obtained from Bradley, *Report of Investigation*, I, 159 and II, 163.
  125. M. F. Egan and J. B. Kennedy, *The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War* (New Haven: Knights of Columbus, 1920), I, 260.
  126. *Ibid.*, I, 366: In the great War Fund campaign the K. of C. agreed "to change their budget from fifty to thirty million dollars, which should be their quota of the funds; they also agreed to truncate their slogan and make it simply 'Everybody Welcome.' But the Knights did not for one moment recede from their policy of making no charge for services or goods."
  127. Bradley, *Report of Investigation*, II, 296-97. Asso. leaders have been extremely temperate in their criticism of the propaganda directed against the Y.M.C.A. by Rom. Cath.; see for example, Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Eddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-73.
  128. "Review of the Report of the Inspector Covering the Operations of the Y.M.C.A.," by Charles G. Dawes and George VanHorn Moseley, May 10, 1923, sent to J. R. Mott under covering letter of Oct. 12, 1923 from Adjutant General Robert C. Davis (Bowne Lib.).
  129. Bradley, *Report of Investigation*, II, 224.
  130. "Review of the Report of the Insp.," p. 3 (see footnote 128).
  131. *Ibid.*; for a compilation of Y.M.C.A. rebuttals to these criticisms, see Mott, *Addresses and Papers*, IV, 808-29.
  132. See *YB*, 1941, pp. 52-53.
  133. Letter, H. P. Lansdale to J. W. Cook, Mar. 9, 1920.
  134. See, for example, Hall and Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 73: Martha McCook, daughter of the chm. of the first army and navy com. of the Internat. Com. was "turned down not too kindly and *very* firmly" when she first applied at "347" for war service and was told that "the Amer. Y.M.C.A. would never come" to using women on their staff, even if the Brit. had found them helpful. This was in Apr.; not until Aug. was the policy changed.
  135. Bradley, *Report of Investigation*, II, 171.
  136. *Answer of the Natl. War Work Council of the Y.M.C.A.*, X, 32.
  137. Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 627; *Assn. Men*, XLVI (June, 1921), 455-56.
  138. *Assn. Men*, XLVII (Jan., 1922), 197; Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 357.
  139. Letter, Brigadier General George VanHorn Moseley to Major General James G. Harbord, Sept. 30, 1922 (Bowne Lib.).
  140. "Review of the Report of the Insp.," (see footnote 128).
  141. Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80.
  142. *Hist. Records N. Y. City Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, archives N. Y. City Y.M.C.A.), p. 8.
  143. Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-203; see also, B. W. Tallman, *A History of the Mich. State Y.M.C.A.* (mimeo. MS.,

- 1947, Bowne Lib.), pp. 53-55; A. G. Studer, *Almost a Century, History of Detroit Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, ca. 1949), pp. 183-85; L. E. Cobb and H. D. Maydole, *A Brief History of the Organization and Development of the Monmouth Co. Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), p. 9; *Assn. Men*, XLIII (July, 1918), 880-84.
144. *Assn. Men*, XXVIII (Sept., 1903), 570-72.
145. Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIV.
146. *Assn. Men*, XXVII (Aug., 1902), 481-82; N. R. Best, *Two Y Men, David A. Sinclair and Edwin L. Shuey* (New York: Assn. Press, 1925), pp. 89-91.
147. R. W. Braisted, *In This Generation: The Story of Robert P. Wilder* (New York: Friendship Press, 1941), pp. 102, 143ff; for examples of Mott's evangelistic approach at this time, see his *Addresses and Papers*, Vol. II: *The World's Student Christian Federation*, pp. 579ff., and Vol. VI: *Selected Papers and Addresses on Evangelistic, Spiritual, and Ecumenical Subjects, and the Outreach of Life and Influence*, pp. 1-71.
148. *Assn. Men*, XXV (Oct., 1909), 4-6.
149. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 271-73, and *History*, pp. 183-84; *Assn. Men*, XXVII (Aug., 1902), 491-93.
150. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-58.
151. *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Mar., 1911), 241-42, 251-52; XXXVII (June, 1912), 433-38; XXXVIII (1913), 231, 345, 408-9, 570; *Conv.*, 1913, pp. 64-65.
152. Knebel, *op. cit.*, p. 159; *Assn. Men*, XXX (Apr., 1905), 301-7.
153. *Assn. Men*, XLII (June, 1917), 503-4; Eddy, *op. cit.*, Ch. VIII.
154. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-29; *Assn. Men*, XXX (Oct., 1904), 3-4.
155. *Assn. Men*, XL (May, 1915), 412-13; XLII (May, 1917), 453.
156. *Assn. Sem.*, XXII (1913-14), 89, 131, 161, 281ff; XXIII (May-June, 1915), 285-92; *YB*, 1915, p. 353; *Conv.*, 1916, p. 58.
157. *Assn. Sem.*, XIV (1905-06), 146, 224, 248; XV (Feb., 1907), 181-87; (June, 1907), 335-45; XXI (Apr., 1913), 257-72.
158. *Assn. Men*, XXIX (Oct., 1903), 1-5; *Assn. Sem.*, XV (1906-07), 17, 62, 165ff.
159. *Assn. Sem.*, XIX (May, 1911), 315-29.
160. *Assn. Sem.*, XXV (Oct., 1914), 21-32.

## Footnotes to Chapter 12

1. W. E. Garrison, *The March of Faith; The Story of Religion in America Since 1865* (New York: Harper, 1933), pp. 273-74; see also S. G. Cole, *History of Fundamentalism* (New York: Harper, 1931).
2. Garrison, *op. cit.*, Ch. XVIII; C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1940), Ch. XII.
3. W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth, and Decline* (New York: Scribner, 1945), Ch. VIII.
4. W. M. Horton, "The United States," in *Christianity Today*, ed. by H. S. Leiper (New York: Morehouse, 1947), p. 397.
5. L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), Ch. VIII; *Conv.*, 1916, pp. 144-50.
6. *Assn. Sem.*, XVI (Oct., 1907), 4.
7. Letter, G. I. Babcock to H. P. Andersen, Jan. 24, 1907 (For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.).
8. Letter, H. P. Andersen to G. I. Babcock, Feb. 23, 1907 (For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.).
9. *Assn. Men*, XLI (Sept., 1916), 661ff.
10. *Assn. Men*, XLI (Feb., 1916), 233ff.
11. *Assn. Men*, XL (Sept., 1915), 635.
12. G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas; or, the Re-Education of Sherwood Eddy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), p. 162.
13. *Assn. Men*, XLIV (Sept., 1918), 35.
14. See, for example, Eddy, *op. cit.*, p. 177; *Assn. Men*, XLII (June, 1917), 503.
15. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 143.
16. Letter, C. S. Bishop to H. P. Lansdale, Oct. 20, 1921 (City Gen. Secs. Assn. archives, Bowne Lib.).
17. *Conv.*, 1919, pp. 14-15.
18. *Assn. Forum*, IV (Apr., 1925), 15.
19. The conclusion is inescapable that this modification was kept from the general knowledge of the Amer. Movement. It has required extreme effort to obtain a copy of either the Mexican or Philippine documents. One was found in the confidential files of the John R. Mott World's Student Christian Federation archives in the Yale Divinity School Lib. and the Mexican statement (in Spanish) obtained from the archives of the Assn. of Mexico City, through the courtesy of Mr. C. M. Davis, assoc. gen. sec. The extensive collections of the Bowne Lib. yielded neither document nor clues. No mention of the matter was ever made in any published material of any kind, save

- for Messer's critical article on the Philippine basis, which is discussed in Ch. 17.
20. Letter, E. M. Best to the author, Nov. 10, 1950.
  21. Reprinted in *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Jan., 1934), 4-8, 14-16, 18-22.
  22. Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-64; the statement was published in leaflet form and in *Natl. Council Bulletin*, X (Sept.-Oct., 1936), 4; see also A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), pp. 239-40.
  23. See also S. W. Wiley, *History of Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the U. S.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1944).
  24. *Assn. Men*, XLII (Jan., 1917), 184.
  25. For characteristic examples, see *Assn. Men*, XLI (Apr., 1916), 351ff.
  26. *Assn. Men*, XXXIV (Feb., 1909), 218; *YB*, 1910, p. 14; Conv., 1910, pp. 85-89; in conf. with the author, Dr. Mott recounted a significant example of his early co-operation with the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the first of these organizations, through its pres. and founder, J. L. Houghteling.
  27. Conv., 1913, p. 35; *YB*, 1914-1915, p. 350; Conv., 1916, p. 189.
  28. For the history of the Federal Council, see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, Ch. XVIII; John Hutchison, *We Are Not Divided* (New York: Round Table, 1941).
  29. Wiley, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.
  30. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
  31. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
  32. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32.
  33. *Assn. Sem.*, XV (June, 1907), 322; XVII (Mar., 1909), 250.
  34. *Assn. Men*, XXXII (Aug., 1907), 487.
  35. See Wiley, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
  36. J. R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. II: *The World's Student Christian Federation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), pp. 440ff. and Index.
  37. For the hist. background of this movement, see Hopkins, *op. cit.* For details of the Y.M.C.A. and public affairs, see G. M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the Y.M.C.A.: 1844-1944* (New York: Assn. Press, 1948).
  38. Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 71; quoted from Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
  39. Fisher quotes the creed in full, pp. 72-74; see also Conv., 1919, pp. 20, 193-201.
  40. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2.
  41. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (July, 1908), 468.
  42. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (Feb., 1908), 222.
  43. *Assn. Sem.*, XVI (Oct., 1907), 23; *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (Feb., 1908), 223-24.
  44. *Assn. Men*, XXXI (1905-06), 252, 304, 345; XXXIV (Feb., 1909), 213; *Assn. Sem.*, XIV (1905-06), 22, 49, 85, 129, 182, 205, 285, 349, 364.
  45. Eddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.
  46. *Assn. Forum*, VII (Oct., 1926), 16-17, 19; *Assn. Men*, XIII (May, 1928), 403.
  47. Letters, H. P. Lansdale to several city secs., May, 1921; L. C. Haworth to H. P. Lansdale, May 25, 1921; A. G. Bookwalter to H. P. Lansdale, Mar. 25, 1921; A. H. Whitford to H. P. Lansdale, Dec. 4, 1920 (City Gen. Secs. Assn. archives, Bowne Lib.).
  48. *Hundred-Year Book*, 1929; *Home Work Bulletin*, I (Jan., 1927), 4.
  49. *Assn. Men*, LIII (Mar., 1928), 305; LV (Jan., 1930), 207; *Assn. Forum*, XI (Oct., 1930), 17-18.
  50. *Christian Century*, XLII (Sept. 24, 1925), 1170-72; commented on in *Assn. Forum*, VI (Oct., 1925), 13.
  51. *YB*, 1925, pp. 359-60.
  52. *Home Work Bulletin*, III (May-June, 1929), 8.
  53. *Assn. Forum*, II (Jan., 1922), 81-85.
  54. J. Q. Ames, *Social Adjustment through the Y.M.C.A.'s*, Monogr. No. V, *The Changing Y.M.C.A.* Series (Chicago: Y.M.C.A. Coll., 1927), p. 35.
  55. Letter, E. T. Colton to H. E. Fosdick, Nov. 22, 1926 (For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.).
  56. Letter, H. E. Fosdick to E. T. Colton, Nov. 28, 1926 (For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.).
  57. *Assn. Forum*, XI (Jan., 1931), 14-16.
  58. R. W. Bullock, *Survey of the Work of Y.M.C.A.'s among Colored Men and Boys* (pam., 1938, Bowne Lib.), quoted by W. D. Weatherford, *The Colored Y.M.C.A., the Interracial Com., and Related Subjects* (typescript, 1950, Bowne Lib.), p. 46.
  59. *YB*, 1936, pp. 38-39.
  60. Weatherford, *op. cit.*, p. 54 (see footnote 58).
  61. *Assn. Forum*, XV (Oct., 1934), 21-23; XVI (July, 1935), 22; XVI (Jan., 1936), 21-23.
  62. *Assn. Forum*, XV (Oct., 1934), 12-13, 20; *YB*, 1934, pp. 213-14; *YB*, 1935, pp. 78-80; *Natl. Council Bulletin*, XII (May-June, 1938), 3.
  63. *Assn. Forum*, XXI (Nov.-Dec., 1940), 12.
  64. *Assn. Forum*, XXI (Apr., 1940), 19-20.
  65. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-66.
  66. E. C. Torrence, *A Study of Assn. Viewpoints and Policies on Social Problems* (M.A. thesis, Y.M.C.A. Grad. School, Nashville, 1934, Blue Ridge Lib.).
  67. A. E. Hugg, *An Hist. Study of the Development of Public Affairs Education in the Y.M.C.A.* (M.A. thesis, Springfield Coll., 1942, Bowne Lib.), pp. 106-7.
  68. *Organization and Legislation of the*



Second Annual Meeting of the Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the U. S. A., Washington, D. C., Oct. 27-29, 1925 (pam., 1925, Bowne Lib.), p. 51.

69. *Home Work Bulletin*, I (Jan., 1927), 4.
70. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, X (Jan.-Feb., 1936), 4, 6; (Mar.-Apr., 1936), 6.
71. *YB*, 1939, pp. 105-9.

## Footnotes to Chapter 13

1. A. J. Gregg and Charlotte Himber, *From Building to Neighborhood* (New York: Assn. Press, 1938), pp. 7, 12; the first quotation is from *Assn. Forum*, VIII (July, 1927), 11.
2. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), pp. 154-55; this summary is from *Report of the Commission on an All-Round Program* (Assn. of Employed Officers, 1924).
3. See Paul Super, *Outline Studies of Some Fundamental Principles and Tested Policies of the N. Amer. Y.M.C.A.'s* (New York: Assn. Press, 1920), and *What Is the Y.M.C.A.?* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922); J. A. Urice, *The Theory of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922).
4. Summary from Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56; see also *Discussions and Summaries of the Third Gen. Assembly of Workers with Boys*, Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A. (New York: Assn. Press, 1926); see also G. B. and G. H. Watson, *Case Studies for Teachers of Religion* (New York: Assn. Press, 1926).
5. A. J. Gregg, *Group Leaders and Boy Character* (New York: Assn. Press, 1927).
6. H. S. Elliott and A. J. Gregg, *Trends in Boys' Work of the Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1926).
7. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, B (Oct. 4, 1926), 5.
8. *Christian Citizenship*, VI (Dec., 1926).
9. *Assn. Men*, LV (Mar., 1930), 312-13; see also G. B. Watson, *Some Accomplishments in Summer Camps* (New York: Assn. Press, 1928); *Christian Citizenship*, V (Apr., 1926); H. S. Dimock and C. E. Hendry, *Camping and Character* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929).
10. The author's experience as a counselor and asst. dir. of the State Y.M.C.A. camp of Conn., Camp Hazen, under the stimulating leadership of F. A. Stanley of the state staff, provided personal verification of the ideas here reflected.
11. *Assn. Forum*, X (Apr., 1930), 1-2, 24.
12. C. Y. Freeman, Jr., *The Organization and Structure of Boys' Work in the Y.M.C.A. in N. A. in 1932* (M. A. thesis, Y.M.C.A. Grad. School, Nashville, 1932, Blue Ridge Lib.).
13. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
14. *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Oct., 1933), 9-11, 20.
15. *Assn. Forum*, XIX (July, 1938), 6-9.
16. S. W. Wiley and Florence Lehmann, *Builders of Men, A History of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A.: 1866-1936* (1938), pp. 270-71; *Assn. Forum*, XV (Oct., 1934), 1-4.
17. For another example of an Assn. dropping the fee basis, see *Assn. Forum*, XV (Oct., 1934), 5-7.
18. *Christian Citizenship*, IX (Sept., 1930).
19. *Assn. Forum*, VIII (Oct., 1927), 10.
20. B. W. Tallman, *A History of the Mich. State Y.M.C.A.* (mimeo., MS., 1947), Bowne Lib., p. 70.
21. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, IX (Nov.-Dec., 1935), 8, 10.
22. *Home Work Bulletin*, I (Dec., 1926), 15.
23. *Assn. Men*, XLV (Feb., 1920), 372, (Mar., 1920), 422.
24. *The Educ. Dept. of the Natl. Council . . . Organization and Functions, Program for 1925* (typescript, Bowne Lib.).
25. P. E. Williams, *The Y.M.C.A. Colleges* (mimeo., MS., St. Louis: Y.M.C.A., 1938, Bowne Lib.), p. 26.
26. *YB*, 1939, p. 64.
27. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
28. *Assn. Men*, LII (Mar., 1927), 311; *Assn. Forum*, XVI (July, 1935); XVII (Jan., 1937), 10.
29. *Assn. Forum*, XVII (Apr., 1937), 12; *YB*, 1939, pp. 61-64.
30. *Era*, XVIII (May 26, 1892), 654, 658-59.
31. *Assn. Outlook*, IX (Apr., 1900), 189.
32. L. E. Cobb and H. D. Maydole, *A Brief History of the Organization and Development of the Monmouth Co. Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.).
33. *Assn. Men*, XL (Jan., 1915), 215.
34. *YB*, 1917, p. 18; *YB*, 1919, pp. 125, 332-33.
35. *Assn. Forum*, I (Oct., 1920), 19; Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-49; S. W. Wiley, *Communityizing the Association* (pam., New York: Assn. Press, 1923).
36. *Home Work Bulletin*, I (May, 1927), 6.
37. Frank Ritchie, ed., *A Community Message to the Brotherhood*, No. 7: *The Story of Fifteen Cities* (pam., New York: Assn. Press, 1924).
38. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

39. Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-48.
40. *Assn. Forum*, X (Jan., 1930), 3-5, 14-15.
41. Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.
42. *Assn. Forum*, XIX (Apr., 1939), 19-20.
43. *Assn. Forum*, XXI (Jan., 1940), 13-14.
44. *Assn. Men*, XLVII (Feb., 1922), 268-69.
45. *Assn. Forum*, VI (Jan., 1926), 23-24.
46. *Home Work Bulletin*, I (Mar., 1927), 3.
47. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, VI (Feb., 1932), 7.
48. *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Oct., 1933), 9-11, 20.
49. *YB*, 1939, pp. 71-73.
50. This section is based on M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), Chs. IX-X. See also J. Q. Ames, *Cooperation Between the Y.W. and the Y.M.C.A.'s*, Monog. No. VIII, *The Changing Y.M.C.A. Series* (Chicago: Y.M.C.A. Coll., 1929). The conclusions stated in this section are further supported by Elizabeth Harllee, *History and Trends of Work for Women and Girls in the Y.M.C.A.* (M. A. thesis, Y.M.C.A. Grad. School, Nashville, 1934, Blue Ridge Lib.); E. F. Martin, *Women in the Y.M.C.A.* (M. A. thesis, Y.M.C.A. Grad. School, Nashville, 1936).
51. *Assn. Men*, XLIX (Sept., 1923), 23; LI (Sept., 1925), 13.
52. *Assn. Men*, LI (June, 1926), 474; see also a memo. prepared by Henry Israel, Natl. town and country sec., in 1932: "Descriptions of Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. Activities . . . Jointly Planned and Executed" (Bowne Lib.).
53. From minutes of meeting of Inter-Assn. Council of the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. of the U. S. A., Sept. 21, 1925 (Bowne Lib.).
54. H. N. Shenton, dir., *Reconnaissance Study Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. Relations in the Field in the U.S.A. 1930* (typescript, Bowne Lib.).
55. For discussion of these matters, see *Assn. Forum*, XII (July, 1931).
56. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
57. G. W. Keitel, ed., *A Topical History of Y'sdom, 1920-1945* (Harrisburg: Y's Men's Club).
58. *Assn. Men*, XVI (Dec., 1930), 170-71; *YB*, 1936, p. 60.
59. *YB*, 1918, pp. 79-80; *Assn. Men*, XLIV (Nov., 1918), 228.
60. E. C. Worman, ed., *Working with Organized Labor, a Study of Y.M.C.A. Practice and Policy* (New York: Assn. Press, 1944), p. 11.
61. *Assn. Men*, XLV (Oct., 1919), 75; *YB*, 1919, p. 557.
62. *Assn. Men*, XLV (Aug., 1920), 742.
63. *Assn. Forum*, I (Oct., 1920), 23.
64. *Assn. Forum*, II (Oct., 1921), 38-40.
65. *YB*, 1921, pp. 15-16.
66. *Assn. Forum*, VI (Oct., 1925), 11, 14-15; W. L. Miller, *A History of the State Y.M.C.A. of Conn.* (mimeo., MS., New Haven: 1949), pp. 51-52.
67. *Assn. Forum*, XII (Oct., 1931), 9-11, 19; XIV (Apr., 1934), 7-11.
68. *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Apr., 1934), 10-11.
69. *Assn. Forum*, XVII (July, 1936), 14-16.
70. *Assn. Forum*, XX (July, 1939), 9-10.
71. Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200, 256-57.
72. *Assn. Men*, LIII (Feb., 1928), 263.
73. *Assn. Forum*, I (Jan., 1921), 62-63.
74. *Assn. Forum*, II (Apr., 1922), 102; IV (Jan., 1924), 59; V (July, 1924), 21.
75. *YB*, 1925, p. 16.
76. *Assn. Forum*, V (Jan., 1925), 17.
77. F. E. Leonard and G. B. Affleck, *A Guide to the History of Phys. Educ.* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), pp. 327-28.
78. *Assn. Men*, XLVIII (Apr., 1923), 384; H. F. Kallenberg, *Program of Health Educ. for Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1922).
79. This section is largely based on Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 166ff., 253.
80. *YB*, 1947, pp. 156ff.
81. Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 183ff., 245.
82. Conv., 1922, pp. 129-132; *Assn. Forum*, III (Oct., 1922), 46-47; *Home Work Bulletin*, I (Nov., 1927), 3.
83. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, IX (Jan.-Feb., 1935), 6-7; XII (Oct.-Nov., 1938), 6; *YB*, 1936, pp. 48-49; *Assn. Forum*, XVIII (Apr., 1938), 14-15; XIX (Apr., 1939), 23-24.
84. J. W. Ogg, "Why a Y.M.C.A. Building Service Is Needed" (typescript, Jan. 26, 1950, Bowne Lib.).
85. Letters exchanged between the Y.M.C.A. and the gov. officials are in *YB*, 1941, pp. 54-59; see also *YB*, 1920, pp. 22-23. For details of the work for the armed services, see B. C. Pond, *The Army and Navy Y.M.C.A.* (typescript, 1935, Bowne Lib.).
86. Conv., 1922, pp. 163-65.
87. *Report on a Survey of the Internat. Com. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of N. A.* (New York: 1923, Bowne Lib.), p. 212.
88. *Assn. Forum*, XI (Jan., 1931), 23.
89. *YB*, 1939, pp. 81-82.
90. G. A. Arthur, *Life on the Negro Frontier* (New York: Assn. Press, 1935), p. 252.
91. *Assn. Men*, LII (Feb., 1927), 255; LIV (Feb., 1929), 259.
92. *Report of the Com. on a Study of Sec-*

- retaries' Salaries (mimeo. MS., 1928, Natl. Council treasurer's office), p. 12; see also YB, 1936, p. 39.
93. *Assn. Forum*, XI (Jan., 1931), 17-20.
94. *Assn. Forum*, XI (Jan., 1931), 14-16.
95. *Assn. Forum*, XIII (July, 1932), 20-21.
96. *Assn. Forum*, IX (Oct., 1928), 19-20.
97. R. W. Bullock, *A Survey of the Work of the Y.M.C.A.'s among Colored Men and Boys* (pam., 1938, Bowne Lib.), p. 15.
98. YB, 1928, p. 16.
99. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, XI (Sept.-Oct., 1937), 4.
100. A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), p. 175.
101. O. E. Pence, *A Study of Y.M.C.A. Strategy in Small Towns and Rural Communities* (pam., 1950, Bowne Lib.), p. 9. This section is based chiefly upon Pence's highly competent study.
102. *Assn. Forum*, I (Apr., 1921), 96 II (July, 1921), 29.
103. *Assn. Men*, L (Dec., 1924), 165; Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-50.
104. *Assn. Men*, XLVIII (Oct., 1922), 58-59.
105. YB, 1936, p. 60.
106. A. L. Swift, Jr., *The Y.M.C.A. and the Community* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), p. 19.
107. Knebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-21.
108. *Findings of the Joint Conf. on Natl. Policies*, Aug. 12-16, 1931, Ithaca, N. Y. (mimeo. MS., 1931, Bowne Lib.).
109. Wiley and Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 293ff.
110. *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Apr., 1934), 7-9, 11; XV (Apr., 1935), 5-6, 17; M. G. Ross, *The Toronto Y.M.C.A. in a Changing Community, 1864-1940* (M. A. thesis, Univ. of Toronto, 1947), pp. 148ff.
111. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, VIII (May-June, 1934), 4; (Sept.-Oct., 1934), 2; YB, 1936, pp. 6-11; *Natl. Council Bulletin*, XI (Jan.-Feb., 1937), 9; XIII (May-June, 1939), 3.
112. *Assn. Men*, XLVIII (Oct., 1922), 60; YB, 1925, p. 16.
113. *Assn. Forum*, VII (Apr., 1927), 11, 19.
114. *Assn. Forum*, X (Oct., 1929), 1-2, 17-18.
115. See Chapter 17, this History.
116. *Assn. Forum*, V (Apr., 1925), 4-5.
117. Letter, J. E. Manley to J. R. Mott, May 20, 1921 (For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.).

## Footnotes to Chapter 14

1. J. R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. II: *The World's Student Christian Federation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), p. 54.
2. Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934), Ch. XX.
3. C. S. Ward, *The Intensive Financial Campaign* (New York: Assn. Press, 1916), p. 3.
4. M. C. Williams, *The Growth of a Great Idea* (typescript, 1935, Bowne Lib.), pp. 3-4. The following account is largely based on Williams' sketch.
5. Letter, C. G. Baldwin to F. E. Burgess, Nov. 8, 1915 (Bowne Lib.).
6. W, XIV (Sept. 1, 1888), 267.
7. *Era*, XVII (Feb. 12, 1891), 104.
8. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8; see, for example, *Era*, XX (Sept. 27, 1894), 4.
10. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15; *Assn. Men*, XXX (June, 1905), 425; *Assn. Men*, XXXI (May, 1906), 354.
12. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
15. *Assn. Men*, XXXI (July, 1906), 448.
16. *Statement of Facts*, Vol. II, *Historical* (typescript, archives, N. Y. City Assn.), p. 7; *Assn. Men*, XXXIX (Jan., 1914), 169.
17. For details of C. S. Ward's methods, see his two pamphlets, *The Short Term Building Campaign* (New York: Assn. Press, 1907), and *op. cit.*; J. Q. Ames, *The Financing of Y.M.C.A.'s*, Monogr. No. VI, *The Changing Y.M.C.A. Series* (Chicago: Y.M.C.A. Coll., 1927), pp. 22-47.
18. Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
19. Mott, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV: *The Y.M.C.A.*, p. 797.
20. Conv., 1919, p. 466.
21. *Assn. Forum*, VI (July, 1925), 6-7.
22. Report letter, E. L. Mogge to J. A. Urice, Dec. 20, 1930 (Bowne Lib.).
23. E. L. Mogge, *The Annual Current Expense Canvass of a Local Y.M.C.A.* (pam., New York: Assn. Press, 1936); and misc. materials in Bowne Lib.
24. C. S. Bishop, *L. Wilbur Messer, an Appreciation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1931), pp. 189-90.
25. *Assn. Forum*, I (Apr., 1921), 92-94.
26. *Assn. Forum*, I (Jan., 1921), 56-57, 58-59, 60-61.
27. S. W. Wiley and Florence Lehman, *Builders of Men, A History of the Minneapolis Y.M.C.A.: 1866-1936* (1938), Part

- II, Ch. IV; S. W. Wiley and E. J. Couper, *The Community Fund and the Y.M.C.A.* (1923, Bowne Lib.).
28. *Report of the Community Chest Commission of the Natl. Council of Y.M.C.A.'s*, Oct. 22, 1925 (Bowne Lib.).
29. Ames, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59 (see footnote 17).
30. I. B. Rhodes, *Contribution Support of the Y.M.C.A.'s in and out of the Com-*

*munity Chests, 1929-1935* (pam., New York: Assn. Press, 1935), p. 19.

31. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need; A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1939), p. 171.
32. Unfortunately, limitations of space and time have eliminated from this chapter the consideration of further aspects of Assn. finance in this period.

## Footnotes to Chapter 15

1. T. G. Soares and C. K. Ober, *The Y.M.C.A. Secretaryship, a Significant Life Calling* (pam., New York: Assn. Press, 1919), pp. 3-4.
2. R. C. Lancaster, *Professional Recruitment in the Y.M.C.A.*, paper presented to the C.O.A.P., Niagara Falls, 1950 (mimeo. MS., Bowne Lib.).
3. This paragraph based on *Hundred-Year Book*, 1909; see also O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need: A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1939), pp. 130-32.
4. Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 6, cited from Minutes of a "Conf. in the Interest of Securing and Training Men," Buffalo, N. Y., Feb. 4, 1903; see also *Assn. Sem.*, XI (Feb., 1903), 187.
5. *Assn. Men*, XXXV (1909-10), 370, 380, 457; Conv., 1913, p. 67; C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent, Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), pp. 152-53, 160 f., 166.
6. O. E. Pence, *This Unceasing Quest, a Chronology . . .*, paper presented to the C.O.A.P., Niagara Falls, 1946 (mimeo. MS., Bowne Lib.); the study cited is Neal V. Maricle, *The Fellowship Training Plan* (New York: Assn. Press, 1938).
7. L. L. Doggett, *A Man and a School* (New York: Assn. Press, 1943), pp. 123-25.
8. Pence, *op. cit.*
9. Conv., 1916, pp. 5, 121-28; Conv., 1919, pp. 131f., 662ff.; Conv., 1922, pp. 9, 257; *Assn. Forum*, I (July, 1920), 15; X (Apr., 1930), 17-20.
10. *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Apr., 1934), 5-6, 13.
11. *Assn. Forum*, VIII (Apr., 1928), 17; IX (Apr., 1929), 14; XI (Apr., 1931), 8.
12. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12.
14. *Assn. Sem.*, XIII (Apr., 1905), 241; XIV (June, 1906), 321-23; Doggett, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-23.
15. *Assn. Men*, XLV (Dec., 1919), 246.
16. This section is based on various documents in the archives of George Williams Coll., chiefly J. R. Austin, *A History of the Y.M.C.A. College—Chicago, Lake Geneva* (thesis, Y.M.C.A. Coll., Chicago, 1915); S. M. Duvall, *George William College. The Biog. of a College* (typescript, 1939); several documents compiled by Watson Boyes, historian of George Williams Coll. Camp. The author is especially indebted to Dr. Boyes and to President Coffman for many courtesies, in return for which the brief sketch in the text of this History is woefully inadequate.
17. W. D. Weatherford, *The Training Program of the Southern Y.M.C.A.'s* (paper prepared for this History; typescript, 1950, Bowne Lib.).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
19. *Assn. Men*, LI (Oct., 1925), 59.
20. L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), pp. 245-47.
21. See Robert C. Beale, *The Story of Silver Bay* (mimeo. MS., ca. 1936, Bowne Lib.).
22. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (1907-08), 500, 601.
23. Ober, *op. cit.*, p. 151 (see footnote 5).
24. Weatherford, *op. cit.*; see also Ober, *op. cit.*, p. 156; *YB*, 1913, p. 319; *Assn. Men*, XXXVI (Oct., 1910), 38; XLIII (Oct., 1917), 125; LI (Oct., 1925), 59.
25. *Report of Commission on Personnel to Conf. of Assn. of Employed Officers, Lake Geneva, Wis., 1921* (Bowne Lib.).
26. *Extracts from Discussions*, Annual C.O.A.P., Pocono Manor, Pa., 1928.
27. *Digest of Discussions*, Annual C.O.A.P., Asbury Park, N. J., 1929, pp. 21-25.
28. *Assn. Forum*, XV (Apr., 1935), 18-19; XVI (Oct., 1935), 14.
29. *Assn. Forum*, XVIII (July, 1937), 13.
30. *Assn. Forum*, XXI (Sept., 1940), 13-14.
31. *Assn. Forum*, IV (Jan., 1924), 54-55.
32. E. C. Jenkins, "Professional Educ. for the Secretaryship" (statement by the Pres. to the Corporation of the Y.M.C.A. Coll., July 8, 1926).



33. *Assn. Forum*, X (July, 1929), 9-10.
34. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, p. 133.
35. *Conv.*, 1925, pp. 9, 73; *Assn. Forum*, III (July, 1922), 17; IV (July, 1923), 16-17; *YB*, 1923, p. VIII.
36. *Assn. Forum*, X (Apr., 1930), 11.
37. *Natl. Council Bulletin* X (Jan.-Feb., 1936), 7.
38. L. K. Hall, *Work Begun* (New York: Assn. Press, 1940), p. 154.
39. O. E. Pence, ed., *Advance, A Challenge to Professional Capacity* (New York: Assn. Press, 1934), p. 137.
40. *Men Working*, Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Conf. of A.O.S., Silver Bay, N. Y., 1936, p. 110.
41. H. S. Dimock, "The Marks of a Profession," an address delivered before the Fifth N. Amer. Assembly of Y.M.C.A. Workers with Boys, Lake Geneva, Wis., 1937 (Bowne Lib.).
42. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, pp. 188-89.
43. *YB*, 1916, p. 12; *Conv.*, 1916, p. 23.
44. Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

## Footnotes to Chapter 16

1. H. M. Philpott, *A History of the Student Y.M.C.A., 1900-1941* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1947). The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Dr. Philpott for permission to use this excellent study; without his research this chapter could not have been written, yet Dr. Philpott must not be held responsible for its many shortcomings. The author is likewise deeply indebted to Dr. David R. Porter for invaluable aid in this chapter and at other points in the History.
2. C. P. Shedd, *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements: Their Origin and Intercollegiate Life* (New York: Assn. Press, 1934), p. 303; Ch. 19 describes Mott's early life and the beginning of his Y.M.C.A. career.
3. J. R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. III: *The Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), p. 91; see also Philpott, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-36.
4. George Stewart, Jr., *Life of Henry B. Wright* (New York: Assn. Press, 1925).
5. Glenn Clark, *Touchdowns for the Lord—the Story of "Dad" A. J. Elliott* (St. Paul: Macalester Park Pub. Co., 1947).
6. "Down and Out and Up Again": E. C. Mercer's Experience (pam., New York: 1914, Bowne Lib.).
7. *Era*, XVII (Sept. 24, 1891), 596-97; *YB*, 1891, pp. 30-31.
8. *Era*, XVII (Oct. 1, 1891), 612; Mott, *op. cit.*, III, 185ff.
9. Mott, *op. cit.*, III, 190ff., 193ff.
10. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 64; *YB*, 1899, pp. 32-34; for examples, see Mott, *op. cit.*, Vol. II: *The World's Student Christian Federation*, p. 55; for the widespread interest in the teachings of Jesus at this time, see C. H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in Amer. Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1940), Ch. XII.
11. Philpott, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.
12. The principal sources for the history of the World's Student Christian Federation, upon which this account is based, are: John R. Mott's W.S.C.F. archives in the Yale Divinity School Lib.; Ruth Rouse, *The World's Student Christian Federation. A History of the First Thirty Years* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1948); Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. II; L. D. Wishard, *The Beginning of the Students' Era in Christian History* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.), esp., pp. 160-64; Suzanne de Dietrich, *Cinquante Ans d'Histoire: La Fédération Universelle des Associations Chrétiennes d'Etudiants (1895-1945)* (Paris: Editions du Semeur, 1945); there are valuable incidental references to the W.S.C.F. in R.C.M., *Life*; see also Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934).
13. Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
14. Report of J. B. Reynolds at the end of his European tour, Jan. 9, 1891; cited by Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
15. Report letter, "The Formation of the W.S.C.F.," from John R. Mott, Constantinople, Oct. 4, 1895 (Bowne Lib.). Quoted in Rouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.
16. Mott, *Addresses and Papers*, II, 263-76.
17. *Ibid.*, II, 288-301.
18. *Ibid.*, II, 416-27.
19. *Men*, XXII (Apr. 10, 1897), 898; Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 119ff.
20. R. C. Mackie, "Introduction" to Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
21. Mott, *op. cit.*, III, 95.
22. See, for example, Mott, *op. cit.*, II, 54.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 69, 78-79, 101, 138.
24. See, for example, Gale Seaman, *Statement concerning Evangelistic Campaigns. Speaker, Raymond Robins* (typescript, 1917, Bowne Lib.); *Assn. Men*, XLII (Nov., 1916), 95.

25. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-67.
26. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 102. For the program of a leading stud. Assn. in these years, see, for example, *The Record of the Yale Univ. Chr. Assn.*, beginning in 1901.
27. *YB*, 1908-09, p. 20; *YB*, 1909-10, p. 21.
28. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-300.
29. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 106; see also M. J. Exner, *Facts relating to Sex Educ. in Colleges and Universities* (pam., New York: Internat. Com., 1915), and *Problems and Principles of Sex Educ., a Study of 948 Coll. Men* (pam., New York: Assn. Press, 1915).
30. *Assn. Men*, XXXV (1909-10), 31, 78.
31. *Era*, XVI (Sept. 18, 1890), 564.
32. Shedd, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
33. *YB*, 1892, pp. 28-30; "Conf. of Coll. Assn. Pres." (MS., John R. Mott Collection, Yale Divinity School Lib.).
34. *Era*, XVIII (1892), 788-89, 818-20, 851-52, 881-82; W. D. Weatherford, *History of the Student Y.M.C.A. in the South* (memo. prepared for this history; typescript, 1949, Bowne Lib.), pp. 13-14.
35. R. C. Mildram, *A Study of Religion in the Independent Schools* (New York: Assn. Press, 1950).
36. Philpott, *op. cit.*, pp. 110ff.; see also *Assn. Sem.* (XXII (July, 1914), 365).
37. *Assn. Men*, XXXIII (Mar., 1908), 269-70.
38. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
39. This section is based on Philpott, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV.
40. *YB*, 1919, p. 66.
41. *Conv.*, 1919, p. 249.
42. *Conv.*, 1922, p. 59.
43. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
44. See *Educ. Adequate for Modern Times*, Discussions and Proposals of the Natl. Stud.-Faculty Conf. on Religion and Educ. (New York: Assn. Press, 1931).
45. S. W. Wiley, chm., *Report of the Commission on Student Work of the Natl. Council of Y.M.C.A.'s* (typescript, 1942), pp. 38-39 (both this vol. and the vol. of extensive survey data, gathered by the commission for this report, are in Bowne Lib.).
46. C. S. Campbell, chm., *Report to the Leaders of the Stud. Y.M.C.A.'s . . . from the Ad Interim Com. of the Natl. Council of Stud. Assns.*, June 6, 1927 (pam., New York: publ. by the Com., 1927), p. 6.
47. *After Fifty Years 1877-1927* (New York: Stud. Div., Natl. Council of Y.M.C.A., 1927).
48. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
49. *Organization of Stud. Chr. Work, a Report of the Natl. Commission on Consultations about Stud. Chr. Work*, Mar., 1934-Mar., 1935 (Bowne Lib.).
50. S. W. Wiley, chm., *What of the Future of Student Y.M.C.A.'s?* Report of the Commission on Stud. Work to the Natl. Council of the Y.M.C.A.'s, Oct. 24-26, 1941 (pam., New York: 1941), p. 18 (for full report, see footnote 45).
51. Report letter, W. A. Visser 't Hooft to Amer. friends, Apr., 1933 (Yale Divinity School Lib.); quoted by Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
52. Report letter, A. J. Elliott, Feb. 28, 1931 (Yale Divinity School Lib.); quoted by Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 408. At this time, D. R. Porter was emphasizing as an essential part of the basic message and the central task of the Movement "a living God, revealed in Jesus Christ"; see Porter, *The Basic Message and the Central Task of the Stud. Chr. Movement* (pam., New York: 1931).
53. Philpott, *op. cit.*, p. 443.
54. Actions of the Natl. Intercollegiate Chr. Council, 1941, pp. 1, 2.

## Footnotes to Chapter 17

1. J. R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott*, Vol. III: *The Y.M.C.A.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947), p. 261.
2. Basil Mathews, *John R. Mott, World Citizen* (New York: Harper, 1934), p. 119.
3. *Supplement for the Morning Star* (Mannipay, Ceylon, 19th Dec., 1895, Bowne Lib. and World Service archives); also Mott's Report letter, No. 10, Mar. 24, 1896, World Service archives, and Mott, *Addresses and Papers*, Vol. II: *The World's Student Christian Federation*, pp. 381-84. (Materials cited are in Bowne Lib. unless otherwise noted.)
4. Letter, Louis Hieb to R.C.M., Feb. 1, 1897. (Letters cited in this Ch. are from For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.)
5. Mott, *op. cit.*, II, 385ff.
6. The For. Work archives contain most of the corresp. between Eddy and others from this date until 1918, a rich source, together with other such files, for further research.
7. *YB*, 1897, p. 40.
8. C. E. Fleming, *The Foreign Work of the Y.M.C.A.* (thesis, Internat. Y.M.C.A. Training School, 1910, Bowne Lib.), p. 38; *Men*, XXII (Nov. 14, 1896), 462.

9. *Report of the Natl. Council of Y.M.C.A.'s of India and Ceylon* to the Tenth Natl. Conv. at Calcutta, Nov. 23-27, 1920 (Calcutta: 1920), pp. 77-86.
10. J. R. Mott to G. S. Eddy, July 25, 1905; see also G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas; or, the Re-Education of Sherwood Eddy* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), pp. 96ff.
11. *Assn. Men*, XLII (Aug., 1916), 610; see also *Report . . . India and Ceylon*, pp. 93-97 (see footnote 9).
12. *Assn. Men*, XXIX (May, 1904), 375; XXXI (May, 1906), 362; see also F. J. Michel, *A Study of the Conditions and Needs of European R.R. Men in India, 1905* (pam., Calcutta: Indian Natl. Council).
13. *YB*, 1913, p. 322; *Rural Work in India and Ceylon* (pam., Internat. Com., 1914); Conv., 1916, p. 188; *Report . . . India and Ceylon*, pp. 105-10 (see footnote 9).
14. *YB*, 1903-04, p. 27.
15. H. A. Popley, K. T. Paul, *Christian Leader* (Calcutta: 1938); *Assn. Forum*, X (Apr., 1930), 3-4, 22-23.
16. Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.
17. *Men*, XXII (June 12, 1897), 1089.
18. R.C.M., Family League Letters, II, May 24, 1903 (Bowne Lib.); *Assn. Men*, XXVIII (July, 1903), 451-52.
19. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 424ff.; *Assn. Men*, XXX (Dec., 1904), 116-17; XXXII (Dec., 1906), 115-17.
20. J. T. Swift, "The Visit of Mr. John R. Mott . . . to Japan," *The Japan Evangelist* (Yokohama), IV (Feb., 1897), 145-46; most of the issue is devoted to descriptions of various aspects of Mott's visit.
21. Mott, *Addresses and Papers*, Vol. VI: *Selected Papers and Addresses on Evangelistic, Spiritual, and Ecumenical Subjects*, p. 398; this point was clarified by Dr. Mott in conversation with the author.
22. Minutes, Internat. Com., Subcommittee on Work in For. Mission Lands, Apr. 7, 1897; Swift's letter of resignation, Jan. 6, 1898, also his letter to the Com., Mar. 26, 1898 (Bowne Lib.).
23. *YB*, 1899, pp. 48-50; *Men*, XXIV (Oct., 1898), 43-44; *Assn. Men*, XXV (Nov., 1899), 48.
24. Minutes, Internat. Com., Subcommittee, Apr. 7, 1897 (see footnote 22).
25. *Assn. Men*, XXV (Aug., 1900), 373; XXVIII (Dec., 1902), 105-7; XXXI (Feb., 1906), 188; see also *Verling Winchel Helm* (Tokyo: published by the Internat. Com. secs. in Japan, 1907).
26. *The Red Triangle in Japan* (pam., Tokyo: ca. 1920, Bowne Lib.); *The Japanese Y.M.C.A. Movement* (pam., 1922, Bowne Lib.).
27. *Assn. Men*, XXX (May, 1905), 354; (Aug., 1905), 496-97; Conv., 1907, p. 45; R.C.M., Family League Letters, II, Feb. 7, 1907; G. M. Fisher, *Japanese Young Men in War and Peace*, (pam., Internat. Com., ca. 1904).
28. D. W. Lyon, *The First Quarter Century of the Y.M.C.A. in China, 1895-1920* (Shanghai: 1920), p. 3.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Letter, D. W. Lyon to L. D. Wishard, Aug. 28, 1895; at this time Lyon had received 55 replies to 140 letters sent out.
31. For data concerning Robert Reed Gailey (1869-1950), see D. W. Lyon's "Notes" (footnote 32); his letters in the For. Work archives; biog. data in Bowne Lib.
32. D. W. Lyon, "Notes on the Early History of the Chin. Y.M.C.A.'s" (unpublished MS, in English, 1935). In writing this sketch, Lyon quoted from his own earlier hist. study publ. in D. MacGillivray, ed., *A Century of Protestant Missions in China, 1807-1907* (Shanghai: Amer. Presb. Mission Press, 1907), pp. 597-608; a copy of this paper is in the bound volume of Lyon's, *Reports and Letters on China, 1895-1910* (typescript, Bowne Lib.), pp. 354ff.
33. From citation at Princeton, June 14, 1949; biog. data on Edwards in the Bowne Lib. consists of personnel record and article in *Central Parkway Y.M.C.A. Broadcaster* (Cincinnati), IV (July, 1943), 11-12.
34. For data on Lewis, see biog. records in Bowne Lib.; *Cleveland Red Triangle*, July 8, 1929 and Sept. 30, 1929; there is an exaggerated and inaccurate sketch of Lewis in Vol. E, *Natl. Cyclopedia of Amer. Biog.* (New York: J. T. White, 1938).
35. *YB*, 1901, p. 76; see also Lyon, "Notes," pp. 32ff. (see footnote 32).
36. For biog. data on Brockman, see his *I Discover the Orient* (New York: Harper, 1935); Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97; *YB*, 1901, p. 77; A. G. Knebel, *Four Decades with Men and Boys* (New York: Assn. Press, 1936), pp. 57-58, 183-84; G. S. Eddy, *I Have Seen God Work in China* (New York: Assn. Press, 1944), pp. 68ff.; Brockman's letters in the For. Work archives; *Assn. Men*, LV (Dec., 1929), 159; C. K. Ober, *Exploring a Continent: Personal and Associational Reminiscences* (New York: Assn. Press, 1929), pp. 119ff.; *Christian Work in Colleges and Mr. Moody's*

- Connection with It (pam., Internat. Com., ca. 1892).
37. Eddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90 (see footnote 36).
  38. Lyon, *The First Quarter Century . . .*, p. 4.
  39. YB, 1901, pp. 75-79.
  40. K. S. Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 91-98.
  41. For data on Robertson's work, see Brockman, *op. cit.*, Ch. IX; Eddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 74ff., 100; *Assn. Men*, XXXVII (Dec., 1911), 98.
  42. Brockman, *op. cit.*, pp. 168ff.; Eddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97; Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas*, p. 113.
  43. Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
  44. Lyon, "Notes," pp. 34-35 (paragraphing added; see footnote 32). The author is indebted to Mrs. Lyon for the use of this material. The viewpoints contained in it were confirmed in conf. with Dr. Lyon, in 1948. The wealth of material available on the development of the Y.M.C.A. in China makes it a tantalizing one for research beyond the limitations of this History.
  45. *Assn. Men*, XL (June, 1915), 464; J. E. Manley, ed., *Outline Studies in the World Work of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the U. S. and Can.* (New York: Internat. Com., 1919), p. 45.
  46. Data from For. Work archives, M. A. Clark corresp.
  47. YB, 1908-09, p. 25; Conv. 1913, pp. 228-29; Mott, *op. cit.*, II, 490-98.
  48. *Foreign Mail*, XII (Jan., 1905), 15-17; (July, 1905), 86-90.
  49. *Foreign Mail*, XI (Oct., 1904), 114-15; Report letter from E. Hubbard, Mar. 31, 1904, in *Reports of Foreign Secs.*, 1890-1904 (typescript, Bowne Lib.).
  50. *Assn. Men*, XLII (Jan., 1917), 199.
  51. YB, 1908-09, p. 25.
  52. Manley, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49 (see footnote 45); *Foreign Mail*, XVI (May-June, 1909).
  53. *Foreign Mail*, 1910-11; *Reports of For. Secs.*, 1912 (typescript, Bowne Lib.), pp. 783-85.
  54. *Reports of the Conf. of Secs. and Phys. Directors and First Continental Conv. of the Y.M.C.A.'s of S. A.*, May 29 to June 5, and June 6 to 9, 1914, Montevideo, Uruguay (Montevideo: 1914), p. 67.
  55. F. A. Gaylord, "Breaking into Russia," pp. 107-22, in F. W. Ober, ed., *James Stokes, Pioneer of Y.M.C.A.'s* (New York: Assn. Press, 1921); E. T. Colton, *Forty Years with Russians* (New York: Assn. Press, 1940), Ch. I, also pp. 80-81, 126ff.
  56. Paul Super, *Those Earlier Years, 1880-1921* (typescript autobiography), pp. 144, 149ff., 232-33, 242. The author is grateful to Mrs. Super for the loan of this document and permission to use it. See also Mott, *op. cit.*, II, 364-65.
  57. J. M. Groves, "The Basis of Membership in the Y.M.C.A. in the Philippine Islands" (typescript ans. to editorial by L. W. Messer in Chicago Y.M.C.A. *Official Bulletin* (Apr., 1913) accompanying a letter from Groves to Messer, Apr. 14, 1913 (copy in Bowne Lib.; original in J. R. Mott Collection, Yale Divinity School Lib.).
  58. Minutes, Internat. Subcommittee on Work in For. Mission Lands, May 9, 1896; Letter, L. D. Wishard to R.C.M., Aug. 13, 1896 (Wishard corresp. files, For. Work archives, Bowne Lib.).
  59. Personal scrapbook of J. S. Tichenor for this period (Bowne Lib.); Mott, *Addresses and Papers*, II, 484-86.
  60. *Outline Studies*, p. 40 (see footnote 45).
  61. *Reports of Foreign Secs.*, 1909 (typescript, Bowne Lib.), pp. 378ff.
  62. Davis and Jacob arrived in Constantinople in Oct., 1910, but devoted four months to language study and preparation for the W.S.C.F. conf.; *Reports of Foreign Secs.*, 1911, pp. 621-36; Mott, *op. cit.*, II, 512-14; D. A. Davis, "Forty Years Emergency Service with the Y.M.C.A. in Europe," paper presented at the meeting of the Exec. Com. of the World's Com. of Y.M.C.A.'s, Mainau, July 7-12, 1949.
  63. Conv., 1916, p. 370. The figures given for the no. of secs. under the For. Dept. at any one time vary so widely that they can be used only with great care. This would appear to be near the maximum no. under the Com. for this period. See also YB, 1915-1916, pp. 21, 299ff.
  64. YB, 1906-07, p. 28.
  65. YB, 1908-09, p. 25.
  66. *Proceedings*, Conf. on the World-wide Expansion of the Y.M.C.A., Held at the White House, Oct. 20, 1910, pp. 7-9.
  67. "The White House Conference," unsigned article, probably by Fisher, in *The Pioneer* (Tokyo), VI (Mar. 1, 1911), 2.
  68. YB, 1912-13, p. 332.
  69. Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 136ff.
  70. YB, 1901, pp. 29-31; C. K. Ober, *op. cit.*, p. 141 (see footnote 36).
  71. R.C.M., *Life*, pp. 433-34; during this period personnel were frequently interchanged between the stud. and for. depts., making exact definition of portfolios virtually impossible half a century later.
  72. Eddy's call to the secretaryship for Asia is contained in letters from Mott to him, Aug. 20, 1910 and Eddy to Mott, July 26,



- 1910, etc. See Eddy's autobiography, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas*, pp. 88-89, and, also, speeches at the testimonial banquet at the time of his retirement, *Assn. Forum*, XI (Jan., 1931), 5-13.
73. Letter, G. S. Eddy to J. R. Mott, Apr. 25, 1916, in *Records of the Development of the For. Work Home Base Organization, Internat. Com. of Y.M.C.A.'s*, Oct. 1, 1912-Dec. 31, 1919 (typescript, Bowne Lib.), pp. 38-40.
74. Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.
75. See, for example, Notes of the conf. of Internat. secs. held in Japan, China, and India by John R. Mott during his Oriental tour, 1901-02 (typescript, Bowne Lib.).
76. Conv., 1916, pp. 19, 81-84.
77. *YB*, 1900, p. 21; *Men*, XXIV (Dec., 1898), 13-14.
78. Letter, E. M. Robinson to J. R. Mott, Dec. 5, 1902 (Bowne Lib.); O. E. Pence, *The Professional Boys' Worker* (New York: Assn. Press, 1932), p. 5.
79. E. T. Colton, "Fundamental Problems in For. Work Promotion," paper read before a For. Work Conf. in Chicago, Mar. 1, 1915 (Bowne Lib.).
80. Conv., 1916, pp. 364-96.
81. O. E. Pence, *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need: A Study of Institutional Adaptation* (New York: Assn. Press, 1946), p. 114.
82. Conv., 1913, p. 49.
83. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 3 (see footnote 62).
84. For a brief survey see *YB*, 1921, pp. 47-58. Unfortunately, no history has been written of these significant developments, either singly or collectively.
85. For data concerning Super, see footnote 56 and the second half of the autobiography, *Twenty-five Years with the Poles* (typescript, unpublished, property of Mrs. Super, to whom the author is grateful for its use); see also the obituary of Super in the *New York Times*, Mar. 18, 1949. Super was the author of three books on Poland and the Poles, and four on the Y.M.C.A.
86. Super, *op. cit.*, p. 29. (By permission of Mrs. Super.)
87. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
89. Letter, Max Yergan to F. V. Slack, Mar. 6, 1936, and biog. data in Bowne Lib.
90. *The Jerusalem Y.M.C.A.* (1933), pp. 48-49.
91. *Assn. Forum*, XII (Oct., 1931), 1-4; quoted by Pence, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
92. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
93. D. S. Hatch, *Up from Poverty in Rural India* (Bombay: Oxford, 1932) and *Further Upward in Rural India* (Bombay: Oxford, 1938). See also various pamphlets in Bowne Lib.
94. G. S. Eddy, *A Pilgrimage of Ideas*, pp. 128ff.; Y. C. James Yen, *The Mass Educ. Movement in China* (pam., Peking: 1925, Bowne Lib.); *Assn. Men*, LIV (July, 1929), 493.
95. *Internat. Survey of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.'s* (New York: 1932), p. 321. For the Indian Coll. of Phys. Educ., see, for example, *Prospectus 1936-37* and *Vyayam* (Madras), III (Apr., 1932), 4-7 (Bowne Lib.).
96. *Assn. Forum*, V (Apr., 1925), 1-3.
97. *Assn. Forum*, XI (Oct., 1930), 9-11.
98. *Assn. Forum*, XIV (Apr., 1934), 16-17.
99. *Assn. Forum*, XVIII (Oct., 1937), 14-15.
100. *YB*, 1939, p. 54.
101. Pence, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.
102. *Findings of the Joint Conf. on Natl. Policies held at Cornell Univ. . . . 1931* (mimeo. MS., Bowne Lib.), p. 14.
103. R.C.M., Family League Letters, II, May 19, 1905.
104. *Assn. Forum*, XI (Apr., 1931), 5-7.
105. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, VI (Apr.-May-June, 1932), 2; VII (Dec., 1933), 5.
106. Letter, J. R. Mott to E. S. Turner, June 9, 1915.
107. The findings of three internat. confs. held by Mott and other Y.M.C.A. leaders with Orthodox leaders at Sofia in 1928, Kephissia (Athens) in 1930, and in Bucharest in 1933, were approved by the World's Conf. at Mysore in 1937; they may be found in a booklet published by World's Com., Y.M.C.A.'s, in Geneva, entitled *Objectives, Principles, and Programme of Y.M.C.A.'s in Orthodox Countries*.
108. Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

## Footnotes to Chapter 18

1. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (Sept.-Oct., 1948), 7-8, 18-19.
2. *Assn. Forum*, XXII (Jan.-Feb., 1941), 16; (Sept.-Oct., 1941); XXIII (Nov.-Dec., 1942), 5.
3. *Assn. Forum*, XXIV (Mar.-Apr., 1943), 17.
4. *Assn. Forum*, XXVII (Sept.-Oct., 1946), 7-8, 21.
5. *YB*, 1945, pp. 25-30; André Vulliet, *The Y.M.C.A. and Prisoners of War*, Prelimi-

- nary Report of the War Prisoners Aid, Y.M.C.A. during World War II (New York: Internat. Com., 1946); J. E. Manley, *Administration and Relationships of War Prisoners Aid of the Y.M.C.A. in the U.S. during World War II* (typescript, ca. 1947, Bowne Lib.).
6. *Assn. Forum*, XXV (Nov.-Dec., 1944), 1, 2.
  7. *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 22, 1950, Sec. 6, p. 1.
  8. Cablegram, E. E. Barnett to W. E. Speers, reported to Internat. Com. subcommittee, Sept. 26, 1947. The message also pointed to the importance of "accessibility for lay consultations and suitable rendezvous for increasingly numerous nationwide, worldwide Y.M.C.A. people visiting New York. . . ."
  9. Natl. Council, Y.M.C.A.'s, *Statement of Factors Involved in Area Organization within New England*, with special consideration to combining initially Mass., R. I., and Conn., as drafted by Joint Com. of Laymen. . . . (1949, Bowne Lib.).
  10. Goodwin Watson, *A Comparison of "Adaptable" versus "Laggard" Y.M.C.A.'s* (New York: Internat. Com., 1946).
  11. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (May-June, 1948), 4-6, 19-20; G. L. Heathers, *Young People and World Citizenship* (New York: Assn. Press, 1950).
  12. O. E. Pence, *Present-Day Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the U.S.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1948).
  13. M. G. Ross, *Religious Beliefs of Youth* (New York: Assn. Press, 1950).
  14. *Assn. Forum*, XXVIII (Sept.-Oct., 1947), 4-7, 23-24; XXIX (Jan.-Feb., 1948), 17-23; (Sept.-Oct., 1948), 15-16; (Nov.-Dec., 1948), 2, 23-24.
  15. *Assn. Forum*, XXVIII (July-Aug., 1947), 4-11.
  16. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (May-June, 1948), 13-14, 16.
  17. *Assn. Forum*, XXVII (Nov.-Dec., 1946), 7-8; XXVIII (Jan.-Feb., 1947), 5-7, 22-23; (Mar.-Apr., 1947), 14.
  18. O. E. Pence, *A Study of Y.M.C.A. Strategy in Small Towns and Rural Communities* (pam., 1950, Bowne Lib.).
  19. M. R. Hall and H. F. Sweet, *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record* (New York: Assn. Press, 1947).
  20. Natl. Council, Y.M.C.A.'s, *Women and Girls in the Y.M.C.A.* (pam., 1946, Bowne Lib.).
  21. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (July-Aug., 1948), 7-8, 17.
  22. *Assn. Forum*, XXVI (Sept.-Oct., 1945), 4-5, 22.
  23. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (May-June, 1948), 7-8, 18-19.
  24. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, XXII (Nov., 1948), 1; (Dec., 1948), 7-10.
  25. *The Chicago Sun*, Apr. 26, 1945.
  26. *Ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1945. The resolution was passed Apr. 9, 1945.
  27. The College Board of Directors voted, May 20, 1942, to admit "not more than ten Japanese students . . . at present." The quota was not increased. Two years later the Chicago Assn. was maintaining a notable program for Nisei: *Assn. Forum*, XXV (May-June, 1944), 14-15.
  28. G. M. Fisher, *Public Affairs and the Y.M.C.A.: 1844-1944* (New York: Assn. Press, 1948), pp. 140-41; *Assn. Forum*, XXIV (July-Aug., 1943), 8-9, 21.
  29. *Negro Youth in City Y.M.C.A.'s* (pam., 1944, Bowne Lib.), p. 37; quoted by Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
  30. *Assn. Forum*, XXVII (July-Aug., 1946), 11-12.
  31. *Assn. Forum*, XXVII (May-June, 1946), 18-19.
  32. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (Sept.-Oct., 1948), 17.
  33. *Assn. Forum*, XXIX (Nov.-Dec., 1948), 8-9.
  34. *YB*, 1946, pp. 75-79.
  35. *YB*, 1950, p. 68.
  36. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
  37. *Assn. Forum*, XXX (Mar.-Apr., 1949), 6.
  38. See, for example, Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-24.
  39. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
  40. *Assn. Forum*, XXVIII (July-Aug., 1947), 21-22.
  41. Winifred Wygal and H. B. Ingalls, *Deep Are the Sources, A Bible Study Outline* (pam., New York: Natl. Intercollegiate Christian Council, 1946).
  42. Fern Babcock, *A Program Book—for Student Christian Assns.* (New York: Assn. Press, 1948), pp. 1-7, 27-39.
  43. *Natl. Council Bulletin*, XX (Jan., 1946), 6-7, 10, 12.
  44. Pence, *Present-Day Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations in the U.S.*, pp. 192-93.
  45. C. C. Noble, *Faith for the Future* (New York: Assn. Press, 1950), p. 10.

## Index

Figures in italics indicate the main treatment of a subject. City Associations, except for the large ones, are listed under City Associations. Student Associations are listed under Student Work. Most abbreviations are obvious. The following frequently appear: A.O.S., for Association of Secretaries; COAP, for Conference on the Association Profession; E.O.A., for Employed Officers Association; FCC, for Federal Council of Churches; IC, for International Committee; NC, for National Council; POW, for Prisoners of War; UWWC, for United War Work Campaign; WPA, for War Prisoners' Aid; WSCF, for World Student Christian Federation; WW I, for World War I; WW II, for World War II.

- Abolition, controversy over, 30, 51-52, 59-60, 64, 76, 77, 80, 81, 85ff
- Abbott, Lyman, 33, 384
- Ackley, S. A., 541
- Administration, of Conventions, 114; of first American Y.M.C.A.'s 39-42. *See also* Boards; Business administration; IC; NC; Organization; separate departments of work
- Advertisements, ethical aspects of in Y.M.C.A. periodicals, 391, 515
- Affleck, G. B., 575
- Alexander, B. G., 447
- Alexander, Charles, 508
- Alexander, Will W., 541
- Allen, Arn, 415 [491, 690]
- Allenby, Field-Marshal Viscount H. H., Amateur Athletic Union, 265
- American Bible Society, 735
- American Country Life Association, 588
- American Legion, and Sherwood Eddy, 536; surplus war work fund, 498, 577
- American Movement, aggressiveness of, 340-42, 694, 700; aggressiveness boys' work compared to English, 8, 146, 340; contrasted to European, 8; boys' work leadership in, 554; European contacts early, 57, 72; European Movements influenced by during WW I, 684ff.; exclusiveness of due to evangelical test, 368; fear of being imperialistic, 343, 357; foreign Associations affected by, 334, 658, 660-61, 669-70, 694. (*See also* Foreign Work); London Y.M.C.A., influence on, 15, 16; as member of world community, 699-700; and Paris Basis, 77-78; qualitative improvement of work (1920-1940), 693; reflecting new ideas post WW I, 550; world outreach early, 309-13; WW I, effect upon, 516-17; World's Committee affected by, 340-42
- American Physical Education Association, 269
- Americanization. *See* Immigrants
- Amusements. *See* Recreation
- Annual meetings, 31; of Confederation recommended, 61-62; of Conventions, 60
- Architecture. *See* Buildings
- Areas, beginnings of, 417; growing importance of, 719-20; organizing of, 446-49, 583; personnel service, 623; racial relationships, 727, 729; student work relationships, 648-49, 719-20; Weidensall's ideas for, 120, 136
- districts, conventions, 115, 126; executives replacing field staff, 431, 436
- regions, committees of, 438; conventions, 115; early regional promotion, 132-36. *See also* States
- Armstrong, R. M., 141
- Army and Navy Work, 208-10; (1898-1918), 453-56; (1920-40), 577-80, 681; Asia, 668; buildings, 209, 455, 484, 524, 577-80; Catholic members, 375; early work for Navy (1856), 26-27; places listed (1909), 455
- Army and Navy Department, as Armed Services department, 712; establishment of, 412, 454; expansion of work, 436; under National Council, 444; supervision controversy, 413, 425; survey of work (1941 *Year Book*), 713, 719
- Canal Zone, 579
- Civil War, 84-98; Ironsides Regiment, 84 effect on Associations, 42; Confederation dissolved by, 71, 80, 111; denominational jealousies affecting the Y.M.C.A., 361-62; on membership, 85; stimulation of new Associations, 105; on southern Associations, 94-98; unifying effects, 92
- United States Christian Commission, 71, 89ff., 209, 530; revivalism's effect on, 84
- Mexican Border War, 486
- Russo-Japanese War, 663
- Spanish-American War, 453-54, 472; as factor in finances of IC, 412; as stimulus to Association expansion, 419, 452, 671, 681
- World War I, 485-504, 683ff.; Army Educational Commission, 492, 555; criticism of canteens, 497-504; effect upon Association thinking, 516-17; effect upon foreign work, 683ff.; effect upon Negro work, 541; effect upon organization of the IC, 437;

- effect upon So. American work, 672; effect on student work, 639-42; European war work authorized by 1916 Convention, 436; Indian Y.M.C.A. work in, 661; Near East, 676; physical work, 459; railroad secretaries' work for, 477; religious work in, 530; secretaries, 609, training of, 613, 623; *Service with Fighting Men*, 571; United War Work Campaigns, 595, 599, 601, 641, 683, China's contribution to, 670; work in war industries, 478. *See also* National War Work Council; "Overseas Work;" POW
- World War II, 548, 578, 579, 688, 711-14; National War Fund, 713; Services compared with WW I, 712
- U.S.O., 580, 711 *passim*; as Associated Services, 712, 725. *See also* Displaced Persons; War Prisoners' Aid
- Arthur, William, 65, 72
- Ashmore, William, 297
- Association Forum*, 518, 523, 545, 619; reflecting trends in boys' work, 552, 554, 562, 713
- Association Men*, 137, 417, 441; Bible study number (1901), 504; and Catholic endorsement, 531; and Fundamentalism, 377, 380; as tool of IC, 429; internationalism, 547-48; liberal theology, 538; comments on NC, 445; public affairs, 534, 535; reflecting changing ideas of religious work, 590-91; reflecting religious climate (1902), 511; reflecting Y.M.C.A. stand on moral issues, 515, 517; sex education, 539; on state work decline, 419; women and girls' work, 564
- Association Monthly*, 123, 137, 150, 151, 157; and the Catholics, 374; foreign news, 309; membership basis, 367; prayer meeting topics, 182; rural work promotion, 224; student work, 273, 274
- Association Outlook*, 386
- Association Press, 377, 441, 483, 484, 505, 507, 548, 556; "Haddam House" books, 721; and The Religious Book Club, 721; Scope of work, 721; U.S.O. publications, 721; Y.M.C.A. Press, 482-83
- Association Seminar*, 415; liberalism of, 512, 535-36; Messer on metropolitan Associations, 421; on state work decline, 418
- Athletic League, *see* Physical Education
- Australia, 597; Mott's visit, 633, 661
- Autonomy
- local, 62, 65, 68, 145, 220, 431, 440, 443; regarding amusements, 199; like certain church bodies, 370; criticism of, 439; regarding interpretation of evangelical test, 367; and the supervision controversy, 421-24; wane of after 1900, 413; regarding women and girls, 565
- Canadian Movement, 427, 702
- foreign Movements, 333, 341, 356, 680, 687, 698; supervision from IC as threat to, 356
- Negro, 220, 224
- regions, 447
- student, 224, 646ff.
- states, 126; "states' rights," 146
- World's Alliance, 310
- Babcock, G. I., 513, 671
- Background, economic, political, religious, social (1851-65), 11-13; (1865-95), 101-3; (1900), 405-8; (1900-1940), 510-11; for the 1940's, 709-10; for the foreign expansion of American Y.M.C.A., 313-15; for student work, 272-73, 626
- Baker, James C., 644
- Ballard, Frank W., 88, 116, 117
- Baltimore Y.M.C.A., 21, 22, 83; first Association building in America, 36, 149, 152; Civil War, 88ff.; and community recreation, 484; Negro building, 458; Negro secretary, 219; railroad Association, 229; West Branch clubs for young men 1850's, 37
- Barbour, Clarence A., 505
- Barbour, James R., 488 [716]
- Barnett, Eugene E., 691, as general secretary, Basis of Membership, *see* Membership; Evangelical Test; Paris Basis
- Bassett, Franklin, 318
- Beach, Harlan P., early student Association China, 288, 330, 345 [615]
- Beale, Robert C., *The Story of Silver Bay*,
- Beecher, Henry Ward, 32, 33, 37, 87, 199, 376, 378
- Beecher, Lyman, 18
- Belgium, 714
- Best, Ernest M., 520, 521, 611
- Bible, 18, 25, 26, 45, 184, 238, 256, 517, 628-29, 642; distribution in Civil War, 89, 91, 95, Spanish War, 454, WW I, 492; Kansas Movement origin in Bible School, 351; Y.M.C.A. and Protestant interpretations of, 361, 366, 376, 379; student study course, 286
- Bill of Rights, 545
- Bishop, C. W., 422, 427
- Blaikie, William, *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So*, 253
- Boarding houses, 18, 29
- Boardman, John R., 480
- Boards, 728, 735; as reflecting contemporary business administration, 390, 393, 421-22; in China, 668, 670; control of (Philippines), 675; and Catholics, 513, 520; conservatism of, 390, 393, 538, 546, 729; early nature of, 49; their importance increased with advent of new buildings, 160; increasing control by, 111; of International Committee, 117, "business man's administration," 410; interracial character, 729; Japan, 325; as laymen, 393; liberalizing of membership, 521; members selected for prestige value, 139; metropolitan organizations, 420, 421;



- money-raisers, 165; nature of after Civil War, 110-11, 240; of directors, origins of, 40; in administration of program, 481; women members of, 566. *See also* International Committee; National Board
- Bookwalter, A. G., 447
- Boston Y.M.C.A., 47, 48, 49, 56, 72, 83, 168, 722, 739; work for Navy (1859), 27; account of Army work in Civil War, 89, 90; policies determined by Board of Managers, 40; building fund, 34; Confederation reactions, 57, 58, 64; classes of instruction early, 32; early facilities, 18; influence of, 23, 25; constitution used as an example, 39, 40; librarian employed (1852), 43, 44; library, 30; literary societies, 395; membership early, 19, evangelical test, 363; metropolitan organization, 420; Negro Association, 213; Northeastern University, 472, 556-57, 723, 724; origin (1851), 16-19, 21; pioneer in physical work, 249; early program, 18, 27, 29; public relations, (1852), 22; railroad Association, 229; welfare work of, 191
- Boston, Young Men's Christian Union, 22
- Bosworth, Edward I., 185, 534
- Writings: *Studies in the Teachings of Jesus and His Apostles*, *Studies in the Life of Jesus Christ*, 628
- Bowen, Anthony, 37
- Bowne, Jacob T., 138, 163, 170, 172, 175, 195, 412, 414, 420
- Bowne Historical Library, *see* Historical Library
- Boys' Work, 200-7, 436, 462-70, 550-55, 720, 722, 738; building facilities for, 457; building India, 660; China, 554, 669, 697; clubs, 636; community, 585, 589, non-equipment, 559-62; conferences and assemblies, 204, 464, 467, 468, 550, 554, 618-19, 638; county, 480; early contact with boys, 27, news boys, 27; evangelistic nature of, 182, evangelical test, 367; foreign countries, 342, 660, 679, 683, 697, support of foreign work, 681; and Luther Gulick, 207, 462-63; Honolulu, 350; joint work with student department, 466-67, 639; Negro secretary of IC, 474; older boys' work, 464; physical program, 573; standardized boys' work program, 463, 464; by students, 286, 466, 553-54; temperance and smoking pledges, 387, 388; World Assembly of Y.M.C.A. Workers with Boys, 703; World's Committee, 309, 703; World's Conference, Pörschach, 697, 702; as Youth Program, 722. *See also* Camping; Father and Son Movement; Publications
- Christian Citizenship Program, 537, 720; religious education emphasis in, 540; Helsingfors Conference, 540; *Christian Citizenship on a World Basis*, 547, 551
- educational philosophy, impact of new ideas, 550-55; conflict over, 550; confusion over purpose, 552; Estes Park Assembly, 550-51; leadership of in Movement, 463, 468, 550ff., 688; "project method," 550; secretarial part in, 550; "tests," 551
- employed boys, 463, 464, 478, 551
- Gra-Y, 553, 722
- Hi-Y, 467, 522, 551-55, 722; forerunners, 201, 464, 466; Negro, 582
- Junior Hi-Y, 722
- secretaries, Ellen Brown, first, 201; Sumner F. Dudley, 204; E.O.A. section, 606; Abel J. Gregg's leadership, 551ff.; leadership of (1920's), 618-19; C. C. Robinson, 464; E. M. Robinson, 204, 462ff., 554
- Tri-Hi-Y clubs, 564
- Youth and Government, 395, 554, 722
- Y-Indian Guides, 554, 722
- Boy Scouts, 253; origin, 468; Y.M.C.A. relationships, 468-69, 483; 522, 560
- Brainerd, Cephas (1831-1910), 70, 116, 222, 428, 679
- Biography: 117-18, 142; conservative position on social action, 392, 399; and the evangelical test, 363, 364, 368, quoted on evangelical test, 513; views on foreign work, 299, 320, 325, 331; and IC, 124, 215; close of his administration, 411, 416, 446; and the Kansas Movement, 351, 352, 353; and libraries, 195, 247; New York Y.M.C.A. leadership in, 106; plea for city missionary work, 27; quoted on young men's work, 113; and race issues, 219-20; on secretarial specialization, 290; on secretarial training, 171-72, 178; on slavery issue, supervision of student work, 292; on suppression of obscene literature, 384.
- Branches, boys', 205; community, 561-62; medical, 291; under metropolitan organization, 111, 420; Negro, 115, 211, 217, 472, 543, 582; New Utrecht Branch, Brooklyn, 149; and segregation, 37; West Branch, Baltimore, 37; Youth's Branch, Dayton, 201
- foreign language groups (U.S.A.), 220-24; Chinese, 180, 221, in Honolulu, 350; Dutch, 115, 221; French, 221; Japanese, West Coast, 221; Scandinavian, 221
- See also* "branches" under New York; German Work; Railroad Work
- Brandenburg, Earl W., and regional organization, 447, 448, 449
- Brandt, J. B., 161, 168
- British Movement. *See* Great Britain
- Brockman, Fletcher S. (1867-1944), 427, 432, 434, 487, 488, 628, 637, 666-70
- Biography: 667
- Brooklyn Y.M.C.A., 23, 25, 41, 63, 72, 611; buildings, 152, 158, 159; camping, 204; Civil War, 89; educational classes, 32, 196, 197; evangelicism, 161; gymnasium and physical work, 32, 33, 247, 263; librarian, 43; metropolitan organization, 420; Negro branch, 472, Negro building, 458; New

- Utrecht Branch, 149; first swimming pool, 154; welfare work of, 190
- Brooks, Phillips, 376
- Brown, Ellen, 201-2
- Brown, E. E., 557
- Brown, Elwood S., 697
- Brown, Henry Edwards (1839-1922), 215ff., 286, 378, 412; ecumenical nature of work in South, 373; Negro student work, 290, 291
- Writings: *Bible Prescriptions*, 184, 216; *Helps for Christian Workers*, 216
- Brown, I. E., 154, 167, 173, 177, 203, 264, 287, 292, 400; *Book of Y.M.C.A. Buildings*, 155, 157
- Brown, John, Jr., 572
- Bryan, William Jennings, 394, 395, 510, 514
- Buck, H. C., 697
- Budge, D. A., 319, 400, 661
- Buffalo Y.M.C.A., 22, 57ff., 383; boys' work, 201; building, 152; Central Committee, 67; Civil War work, 89, 90; and the Confederation, 63; foreign work support, 348; German work, 37, 223; librarian (1853), 43
- Buildings, 34-36, 148-61, 456-58, 575-77; Baltimore first, 36; as symbol of materialism, 515-16; chapels, 733; after Civil War, 105, 107, 109, in the South, 134; in depression (1930's), 589; following WW I, 503, problems of, 576; expression of four-fold purpose, 457; limitations, 560; location of, 34, 152ff.; as program, 456; as publicity, 482; as reflection of general evangelical work versus specific work for young men, 149-50; as rooms, 34, 110, 152
- architecture, 150-51; architectural services, 576; *Book of Y.M.C.A. Buildings*, 155, 157; post Civil War years, 36; features of, 154-56, 456, 457; for special groups, 156
- Building Bureau, 157, 431, 457, 576-77; Building and Furnishing Service, 725
- financing of, campaigns, 157-59, 456, 576; early methods of, 595; Financial Service, 577, 600-601, 725; "finangelists," 158-59; funds for buildings early, 34, 36, 151, 157; personal gifts, 157-58; methods of, 157-59, 456, 457, 576-77; Moody, 158-59; Rosenwald fund, 458; women's auxiliaries, 158. *See also* Finance
- influence of, 159-61; on attendances, 160; European Associations, 311; on membership, 159; on permanency of Movement, 159; on popularizing program, 160; on prestige, 160
- restaurants and cafeterias, 156, 192, 233, 457, 577; India, 338
- See also* Army and Navy Work; Boys' Work; Dormitories; Foreign Work; German Work; Gymnasiums; Negro Work; Physical Work; Railroad Work; Student Work
- Bureau of Records, Studies and Trends, 450, 471, 735; bureau of surveys, 438
- Burns, A. T., 535
- Burr, H. M., 377
- Burt, Frank H., 607, 608, 612
- Burwick, Jim, 231, 377
- Bushnell, Horace, 376
- Business administration, 39-42; of buildings, 577; "business man's administration" of IC, 410-11; Business Department of IC, 481; democracy in management, 526; efficiency of, 595-96; as institutionalizing Movement, 481, 726; in metropolitan organization, 420, 421; as pattern of business, 117, 389-90, 421-22, 481-82, 515-16; of program, 481; secretarial skill needed in, 161, 165
- Butler, Clement M., 23, 37, 55, 56
- Butterfield, Kenyon L., 492
- Cafeterias. *See* restaurants under Buildings
- Calhoun, C. K., 435, 447
- Calvert, Samuel M., 521
- Camp Fire Girls, 253, 564
- Camping, 204-7, 469-70, 463, 483, 551-53, 587, 612, 738, 739; Camp Dudley, 206; for displaced persons (WW II), 714; foreign lands, Asia, 669, 697, Europe, 694-95, South America, 672; impact of new ideas, 551ff.; religious emphasis, 469
- See also* Publications
- Canada, alternate membership basis, 520; Army and Navy, 208-9; Bible study, 183-84; boys' work, 204, 206, 464; buildings, 152; Confederation, 58; conservative religious outlook, 109; educational work, 197; foreign work, 319, 333, 359, 657-58, 683; Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance, 288, 304; Lake Couchiching, 616; London Y.M.C.A. influence on, 16; Maritime Provinces, 127; National Council of, 426-27, 611, agreement of relationships, 427; Ontario-Quebec, 419; peace promotion, 548; relation to National Board and IC in 1940's, 720; social liberalism, 546; University of Toronto, first student Association, 275, 289; student delegates Northfield, 303, influenced by Wilder, 305; student work, 625, 645; war services, WW I, 485, 490, WW II, 548, 711; and World's Alliance, 702 and World Youth Fund, 714; *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada—a Chronicle of a Century*, Murray G. Ross, 616; Y's Men's Clubs, 566
- cities, Halifax, 23; Kingston, 29, 32, 36; Oswego, 208; Ottawa, 217; St. John, 23; Stratford, 229. *See also* Montreal; Quebec; Toronto
- Carnegie, Andrew, 101, 390
- Carnegie, Dale, *Public Speaking, a Practical Course for Business Men*, 556
- Carter, E. C., 436, 636, 660, 661; war work, 485-93, and the criticism, 497-504, 516

- Catholics. *See* Roman Catholics
- Central Committee. *See* Confederation
- Ceylon. *See* Foreign Work
- Chamberlain, George W., 347, 348
- Chamberlain, Jacob, 300, 316, 336, 338, 343
- Chapman, J. Wilbur, 508, 511
- Character-building, 194, 200, 205, 520, 550ff., 558, 560, 572-74, 586, 587, 602, 693, 704, 738; books on, 483; as an educational process, 508-9, 518, 732; physical education as, 265, 267; tests, 574
- Charleston, S. C., Y.M.C.A., 23, 25, 29, 31, 32, 43, 62, 64, 83, 115, 191; building, 36; Civil War references, 85ff., Soldiers' Christian Association, 96; Negro Association, 211
- Chautauqua, 294
- Cherrington, Ben, 532, 644
- Chicago Y.M.C.A., 23, 47, 58, 178, 187, 482, 608, 726-27, 733; building, 149-50, 152, 155, 456, 457; community work, 559, branch, 562; educational work, 197, Central Y.M.C.A. College, 723; evangelicalism, 26, 83, 109, 180-81; *Heavenly Tidings*, 180; industrial program, 567; conservatism of lay leadership, 537; library, 30; metropolitan organization, 420, supervision controversy, 423; Negro building, 458; railroad work, 229; on Sabbath observance, 50; early secretaries, 161; the "Senate," 395; student medical work, 291; United Y.M.C.A. Schools, 557, 723-24; war services, Civil War, 84ff., WW I, 504; welfare work, 29-30, 109, 190-92; Yokefellows, 181. *See also* George Williams College; Dwight L. Moody
- Childs, John L., 635
- China. *See* Foreign Work
- Chinese work (U.S.A.). *See* Branches
- Christian Century*, 521, 538, 540
- Christian Citizenship Program. *See* Boys' Work
- Christian Endeavor, 241, 373
- Church Relations, 45-49, 361-62; (19th century), 369-75; (1900-1940), 527-32, 512, 519, 521, 525, 550, 552; (1940's), 710, 720-21, 734-36, 737-38; in Blue Ridge beginnings, 616; clergy, 40-41, 139, 162, 371, 508, 527, 529; community and nonequipment work, 484, 560-61, 585; criticisms, 529-30; early, 18, 37; in evangelistic work, 26, 84, 181, 182, 183, 505-7; finance, 40, 242; "general work" of Association as threat to, 69; German work, 222; *History of Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations*, 530; industrial work, 539; influence of Association on institutional churches, 161, 398; as affected by Kansas Movement, 350-54; liberal denominations and the Association, 547; meeting places in churches, 60, 63, 81-83; Men and Religion Forward Movement, co-operation with Y.M.C.A., 484, 506, 528; Negro pastors, 214; need for contact with churches, 130; *Present-Day Y.M.C.A. Church Relations*, 735; priority of churches as Y.M.C.A.'s basic tenet, 362, 372; Relation of the Y.M.C.A. to the Church, Commission on, 529-30; rural field, 480-81, 528, 583; student work, 289, 528, 629, 634-35, 640, 647, 649; war work WW I, co-operation with chaplains, 492, 498-504, POW work, 495, WW II 712. *See also* John R. Mott
- church unity, 47, 72, 105, 188, 325, 343, 361, 373, 519. *See also* Interdenominationalism
- evangelical test, 341, 367, 369, 375; as basis for church support, 362, 363, 367; as offsetting church opposition, 130; Y.M.C.A. and evangelical affiliations, 603
- Federal Council of Churches, 438, 478, 513, 514, 520, 521, 528, 538, 547, 588, 652; and the social gospel, 397, 532-33, 642; theological basis turned down by 1910 Convention, 415
- National Council of the Churches of Christ, 710, 735
- periodicals (church), *Advance*, 353; *Christian Advocate*, 371; *Christian Century*, 521, 538, 540; *Christian Watchman and Reflector*, 17; *Congregational Review*, quote on evangelical test, 364; *Observer*, 121-22
- World Council of Churches, 80, 653, 655, 704, 705, 714, 738; student contribution to, 280; WSCF contribution to, 634-35. *See also* Ecumenical Movement; "mission boards" under Foreign Work; Roman Catholics
- Cincinnati Y.M.C.A., 21, 37, 40, 58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 83, 161, 458
- Citizenship Education, 393, 395, 479, 537, 545, 547. *See also* Christian Citizenship Program under Boys' Work
- City Associations, 15-53, 418 *passim*, 722; background for Y.M.C.A.'s in cities, 6; Bible study, 645; boys' work, 466, 467; China, 667, 669, 670; city Association department, 433-36; General Secretaries Association, 438, 440, 581; evangelical test, 367; financing of (1900-1940), 594-604; foreign work support, 678; industrial work, 477; list of those organized (1851-53), 17, 22-23; NC, 445; Negro work, 582; nonequipment work, 560-62; public affairs interest, 395; railroad work, 231; religious work emphasis, 505; student interchange with, 276, 277, 283, 290; student work, 638; urban nature of Movement, 105; women members, 240
- list of Associations, Albany, 348; Alexandria, Va., 23, 27, 29; Andover, Mass., 83; Ann Arbor, 201; Atlanta, 458; Atlantic City, 482; Auburn, N. Y., 152; Bethlehem, 149; Bridgeport, 155; Burlington, Ia., 596; Cambridge, Mass., 155; Canton, Ohio,



- 596; Charlottesville, Va., 38; Columbia, S. C., 214; Columbus, 458, 557; Concord, N. H., 22, 64; Dallas, 598; Dubuque, Ia., 52; Duluth, 598; Freemont, Nebr., 227; Hackensack, N. J., 564; Harrisburg, Pa., 23, 92, 155, 172, 187, 211; Hartford, 22, 155, 197, 382; Holyoke, Mass., 564; Houston, 23; Indianapolis, 23, 31, 162, 458; Ionia, Mich., 201; Jackson, Mich., 253; Jersey City, 23; Jacksonville, Fla., 191; Johnstown, Pa., 191; Kansas City, 458; Knoxville, 47; Lancaster, Pa., 23; Lexington, Ky., 23, 58; Lincoln, Nebr., 598; Lockland, Ohio, 568; Lowell, Mass., 22, 23; Manchester, N. H., 23, 62; Marietta, Ohio, 597; Marshalltown, Ia., 564; Meriden, Conn., 204, 558; Milwaukee, 83, 155; Mobile, 29, 30; Natchez, 23; Newark, 23, 27, 36, 40-41, 42, 202, 383; New Brunswick, N. J., 23, 27; Newburgh, N. Y., 172, 420; New Haven, 37, 219, 553, 564; New London, Conn., 22; New Utrecht, N. Y., 149; Norfolk, 217, 219; Omaha, 119, 149, 564, 596, 598; Oswego, N. Y., 87; Peoria, Ill., 23, 58, 64; Pittsfield, Mass., 467; Portland, Me., 23, 58; Portland, Ore., 135, 180, 221, 557; Portsmouth, N. H., 22; Portsmouth, Va., 26, 50; Providence, 23, 464; Quincy, Ill., 23, 58; Raleigh, N. C., 191; Rochester, N. Y., 23, 397, 400, 564; Rome, N. Y., 175, 401; Schenectady, 155; Seattle, 135, 557, 562, 570, 596; Shoreham, Vt., 149; Springfield, Ill., 23; Springfield, Ohio, 23, 29; Springfield, Mass., 22, 58, 382; Syracuse, 564; Toledo, 233, 564, 566; Topeka, 476; Tulsa, 464, 559; Utica, N. Y., 165; Vicksburg, Miss., 191; Worcester, Mass., 22, 58; Youngstown, Ohio, 557. *See also* "cities" under Canada; individual listing of larger cities
- Civil War. *See* Army and Navy Work
- Clark, Myron A., (1866-1920), 491, 671  
Biography: 347-49
- Classes. *See* Educational Work
- Clement, Jesse, 59
- Cleveland Y.M.C.A., 23, 25, 58, 83, 89, 152, 228, 383, 397, 454, 507, 557, 608, 723, 724
- Cobb, George W., 228
- Cobb, Oscar, 57, 67 [593, 688]
- Coe, George Albert, 468, 508-9, 512, 535,  
Writings: *What is Christian Education?*, 519; *Social Theory of Religious Education*, 551
- Co-ed Work, stimulated by church groups, 373; emphasis (1920-40), 564-66; "general work" characterized by, 27; in physical programs, 574; trends (1940's), 722. *See also* "coeducation" under Student Work
- Coffin, O. Vincent, 126
- Coffman, Harold Coe, 612
- Colored Work. *See* Negro Work
- Colton, E. T., 627, 673, 679, 680, 681, 688; quoted, 540
- Colyer, Vincent, 88, 89 [ped, 417]
- Commercial Travelers, 236-37; work drop-Commissions, technique of IC (1912), 430 *passim*; on Army and Navy work, 578; on Association vocation, 623; for boys' work assembly, 468; on church relations, 529-30; on community chests, 602ff.; in educational department, 471; Fry Commission, on reorganization of IC, 431-34, 436; Hoyt Commission, WW I, 489; industrial, *Advance in Industrial Service*, 568; Interracial, 541, 542, 729; Macfarland Commission, "Perils and Weaknesses in the Work of the IC," 428-31; on Message and Purpose, 520, 590; Messer Commission on Foreign Work, 676, 678, 681-83, 689; on Negro work, 580; on physical work, *The New Physical Education in the Y.M.C.A.*, 572-73; on purpose, 518; railroad, 570-71; on religious program, 509, 735-36; on rural work, 583; on secretarial recruiting and training, 608, 609; on standard program, 549; in student field, 628-29, 640, 642, 644, 649, 650, 653, 734. *Toward a New Economic Society*, 543; on war work WW I, 502; on "conservation of war values," 572; on Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. relationships, 565; by Young Men's Council on Co-ed Work, 566
- Committees, 39, 40, 179; administration of program by, 481; of the Conventions, 112, 115; foreign work, 679; of IC, development of, 411, method of, 146; in student work, 281, 305 [abroad, 715]
- [Communism], effect on Association work
- Community Chest. *See* Finance
- Community Work, 483-85, 526-27, 535, 559-62, 550, 585-86, 589; boys' work as, 552, 559ff.; during depression (1930's), 543-46; early manifestations of, 190, 191, 193; interracial, 542-43; Minneapolis leadership in, 559-62; in "Overseas Work," 695; physical work, 573-74; Y.M.C.A. services as, 530
- nonequipment work, 431, 457, 464, 480-81, 522, 558-62; in cities, 559-62; co-operation with churches, 528; India, 696; as inter-agency co-operation, 560, 712; origins of, 558-59; in rural field, 559; studies (1940's), 720
- See also* Community Chest under Finance
- The Companion: organ of the Y.M.C.A.: a moral and miscellaneous periodical* (New Orleans), 41, 50, 59, 65, 73, 75
- Comstock, Anthony, 384
- Conard, P. A., 671
- Confederation of Y.M.C.A.'s of the U. S. and British Provinces, 22-23, 63-71; abolition as affecting, 51; Buffalo Convention (1854), 58-63; compared to IC, 112; constitution of, 61-62, 68; founded



- by Langdon, 54; New York opposition and later ratification of, 56-59, 63-64; origin, 55-58; quarterly publication authorized, 42; student Association, University of Virginia joins, 38; termination of by Civil War, 71; Washington, D. C. Association influence on, 55, 58
- Central Committee, 62-71; assuming authority (1863), 111; circular of, 63; Civil War action, 89; role defined, 64, 68; supervisory function of, 67, 68.
- See also "Confederation" under Conventions
- Conference on the Association Profession. See "organizations" under Secretaryship
- Conferences, studies on techniques, 720.
- See also "conferences" under Student Work
- Constituency. See Membership
- Constitutions, of the Confederation, 61-62, 68; Constitutional Convention, 441-44; early, 39, 40, 48, 56; model for local Associations, 128, 131; developments under the NC, 444-51, 647; student, 271, 281, 283 [tions, 80]
- Constitutional Convention. See Conventions
- Controversial Issues, 51-52, 82, 138, 139, 196, 199, 213, 401, 727-28; neutrality in, 536; difficulty of leading business men to take stands on, 390, 532, 536; *Watchman* attitude on, 379
- amusements, 114, 155, 381-82
- labor, 102, 227, 234-35, 237, 238-39, 390-91, 533, 536-38, 539-40, 567-69, 570-71, 642-44, 724; Y.M.C.A. conservatism towards in 19th century, 392, 396-97, 401, 402; labor speech 1916 Convention, 436; Y.M.C.A. and the labor movement, 569, 571; "zone of agreement" policy, 235, 401, 476, 478, 567-68, 570
- politics, Association affairs in, 52, 59, 129, 393-95, 507, 525, 535; Africa, 690; student conferences Japan, 334-77; of North and South, 55, 145; neutrality in, 59, 394, 395, 401, 535; "open platform" endorsed by Y.M.C.A., 544; "Youth and Government," 395
- public affairs (1850's), 51; 19th century, 391-402; 20th century, 525, 532-38, 543-48, 589, 642-44, 648, 726-32; literary societies as stimulus, 394-95; NC committee of (1935), 533, 545; statement of principals (1950), 730-32; prohibition, 388, 515, 538; Y.M.C.A. and suppression of vice, 384, 515; in young men's work, 563
- social gospel, 515, 520, 525, 529, 532-38, 544, 545-46, 592; books on, 635-36; conservatism of Y.M.C.A., 392, 393, 397, 400, 532; depression as arousing interest in, 563; Federal Council of Churches, 532-33, 438; Protestant ideas of reflected in Y.M.C.A., 361; railroad department, 570; *Studies in Social and Religious Engineer-*
- ing*, 545; social evangelism as influencing, 506-9; student interest in, 627, 629, 635-36, 639, 641-44, 654
- theology, 51, 353, 354, 376, 377, 379-80, 511-14, 520ff.
- See also Abolition; Internationalism; Peace; Race; Sex Education; Smoking; Temperance
- Conventions, development and influence of following Civil War, 105, 111-16; early discussion of, 60-62; and evangelicalism, 48, 181, 511; as sources of financial support, 359; first Y.M.C.A. conference in Asia, 344; lay nature of convention leadership, 43; (American), Great Britain's estimate of, 146; legislative body of the Movement, 115; methods of, 66; nature of, 115, changing of (1900), 413, 415-16, loss of democratic control, 415, under NC, 444-45; pattern set, 66; procedures, changes in (1913), 430-31; publication of proceedings, 138; publicity value of, 482; need for reform, 440; student, 294; and Sunday observance, 383; as training experiences, 171
- Confederation (1854-60), 1854 Buffalo, 57, 58-63; recommending of evangelical test, 363 1855 Cincinnati, 65-66; adoption of World's Alliance resolutions, 80 1856 Montreal, 42, 50, 66, 594; discussion of physical work, 33; action on primacy of church, 48; public affairs issue, 52 1857 Richmond, 66-67 1858 Charleston, S. C., 67 1859 Troy, 38, 68-70, 83, 85; action on controversial issues, 51-52; Paris Basis, 80, 363 1860 New Orleans, 71, 351; resolutions physical education, 33, gymnasiums, 50 1861 New York (special convention), establishment U. S. Christian Commission, 89-90
- International, 1863 Chicago, as northern gathering, 88, 111-12, 363 1864 Boston, 112, 116, 117, 119, 246, 311 1865 Philadelphia, as religious mass meeting, 112, 117, 200 1866 Albany, 182-83, 194, 363, 368, 381; the convention of new departures, 113, 114, 116 1867 Montreal, 111, 115, 183, 196, 211; action on temperance, 386 1868 Detroit, 119, 126, 213, 273, 363-64, 388; employed agent for Pacific Railroad work authorized, 119 1869 Portland, 118, 119-20, 123, 127, 132, 200, 213, 242, 273, 382; enactment of "evangelical test" of membership, 115-16, 364-67, 513 1870 Indianapolis, 181, 273, 276; agent for South, 132, 213

- 1871 Washington, 183-84, 595; nondiscrimination action, 214  
 1872 Lowell, 240, 275  
 1873 Poughkeepsie, 381, 385  
 1874 Dayton, 236, 243, 275, 310, 387  
 1875 Richmond, 111, 186, 214, 229, 275  
 1876 Toronto [no citation]  
 1877 Louisville, 194, 230; establishment of student work, 272, 278  
 1879 Baltimore, 131, 171, 188, 281, 311; adoption of name IC, 117  
 1881 Cleveland, physical work demonstration, 250 [tion, 117  
 1883 Milwaukee, 238; Act of Incorporation, 117  
 1885 Atlanta, 101, 131, 134, 157, 203, 216, 389  
 1887 San Francisco, 176, 251, 373  
 1889 Philadelphia, 218, 254, 264, 389; foreign work endorsement, 332-33, 355; Springfield Training School endorsement, 176  
 1891 Kansas City, 203, 220, 224, 254, 256, 264, 341, 348, 353-54, 358, 389, 420, 423  
 1893 Indianapolis, 197-98, 203-4, 206; President Harrison at, 390  
 1895 Springfield, 180, 210, 264, 377, 398, 453; end of an era, 411-12; triangle endorsement, 257  
 1897 Mobile, 207, 219, 634; "Bowne Historical Library," 414  
 1899 Grand Rapids, 224, 382, 412-13; supervision controversy, 424  
 1901 Boston, Jubilee Convention, 236, 269, 373, 375, 410, 413, 424, 462, 679, 730  
 1904 Buffalo, 428; formation of dominion committee for Canada, 427; "supervision issue," 413, 425  
 1907 Washington, debate over modification of "evangelical test," 414, 513-14  
 1910 Toronto, 421, 514  
 1913 Cincinnati, 427, 430, 436, 464, 509, 512, 516, 528, 529; approved plan regional executives, 447; establishment Building Bureau, 457  
 1916 Cleveland, 474-75, 478, 512, 559, 609, 640, 663, 676, 677, 680, 681, 689; Mott as general secretary, 436; war work authorized, 436  
 1919 Detroit, 438, 447, 517, 519, 547, 549, 570, 578, 580, 683-84; "occupation of field," 438; social creed of FCC endorsed, 438, 529, 532-33, 642; war work report, 502  
 1922 Atlantic City, 440, 520, 537, 539, 560, 570, 578, 581, 583, 646, 686, 687; Constitutional Convention recommended, 440; International Association of Y's Men's Clubs, 566-67  
 1925 Washington, 520  
 1931 Cleveland, 533, 588, 703, 727, new statement of purpose, 520  
 1951 Centennial (Cleveland), 738; *Faith for the Future*, 738-39
- Constitutional Convention, 1923, Cleveland, 441-44, 520; anticipation of, 426, 427, 440; Committee of Thirty-Three, 440-41; Mark Jones Report as background for, 441-42; the proceedings, 442-44; student attitudes toward, 647  
*See also* "meetings" under NC; State Work; World's Conferences  
 Cook, Jean Paul, 65, 74, 75  
 Cook, J. W., 435, 447  
 Corbett, D. W., 203  
 Cornell University. *See* "associations" under Student Work  
 "Corresponding Members," 117, 126, 128; of foreign lands, 309; Swift as for Japan, 320  
 Corsan, George, 461  
 Cotton, Arthur N., 466, 554  
 Counseling, 524-25, 587, 644, 720; Association Press and publication of books, 483; early manifestations of, 181, 192; educational department work in, 555, 557-58  
 County Work, 105, 134, 224-27, 449, 479-81, 559, 576, 583-85; church co-operation, 528; early evangelical nature, 182, 480; foreign work, 481, 679, 683, 695-96; foundations laid by Weidensall, 120, 128, 479; among Negroes, 474; *Rural Manhood*, 480; rural work study, 721; secretaries EOA section, 606; as Town and Country, 583ff.; Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. co-operation, 484-85. *See also* Publications  
 Coxhead, George T., 425  
 Cree, Thomas K., 133, 134, 135, 182, 214; influence on World's Alliance, 310-11  
 Cressy, Will M., 566  
 Criticism, 736-39; of compromising Protestant position, 521-23; by Catholics, 531; from churches, 362, 529-30; of conventions, 415; over discrimination, 213; by Hearst Press on pacifism, 548; of IC, 424, 428-30, 436; of materialism in the Association, 515-17; physical work, 573; of the secretarial profession, 619, 622; of social conservatism, 538, 540; from South following Civil War, 145; of student department, 647; war work WW I, 497-504  
 Crosby, Howard, 365, 371  
 Curry, Bruce, 645  
 Czechoslovakia, 684-85, 688
- Daniels, Josephus, quoted, 484 [536-37  
 Daughters of the American Revolution, Davis, D. A., 486 *passim*, 503, 516, 676, 684, 686; quoted, 694-95  
 Davis, Raymond J., 343  
 Dayton Y.M.C.A., 23, 162, 197, 201  
 Dean, J. W., 182  
 Debating. *See* Literary Societies  
 Debs, Eugene, 397  
 DeForest, John Hyde, 317, 662  
 Democracy, 111, 438, 439-40, 481, 483, 517, 639, 739; in boys' work and camping,

- 551-53; of Movement protected by actions of Confederation, 64; (1910), lacking at conventions, 415; need of in Movement, 440; in student department, 640, 642, 646ff.; in young men's work, 562. *See also* Autonomy; Group Work; IC; Membership; Supervision
- Denise, J. C., 119 [Life, 539]
- Dennet, Mrs. Mary Ware, *The Sex Side of Departments of IC. See IC*
- Depew, Chauncey M., 390
- Depressions, (1857-58), 29, 81, 82, 130; (1873), 101, 121, 130, 190-92, 225, 243, 275; (1893), 138, 156, 178, 223, 390, effect on foreign work, 324, 335, 358, increasing emergency services of IC, 416; (1907), 677; (1921), 684; (1930's), 414, 447, 450, 533, 543-46, 548, 558, 561-62, 567ff., 571, 577, 579, 586-90, 591; effect on boys' work, 551, city Associations, 419, Educational Council, 556, finance, 599, 600, 604, foreign work, 670, 690ff., 698-99, Indian work, 583, Negro work, 580-81, rural, 584; and the NC, 716ff.; and the secretaryship, 609, 612, 613, 618, 620, 623; as awakening interest in social issues, 563; and student interests, 652
- Detroit Y.M.C.A., 22, 56, 155, 156, 166, 197, 205, 229, 233, 472, 479, 557, 598, 600, 727
- Devereaux, James H., 228
- Dewey, John, 550, 688; *Quest for Certainty*, 519
- Dewey, Melvil, 414
- Dexter, Henry M., 16
- Dimock, Hedley S., 574
- Directors, secretaries as, 169. *See* Boards
- Directories, church, 46; early listing of European and American Associations, 42, 309
- Disarmament. *See* Internationalism
- Displaced Persons (WW II), 713 *passim*; programs for, 714
- Districts. *See* Areas
- Dodge, Cleveland H., 142, 541
- Dodge, Marcellus Hartley, 477
- Dodge, Mrs. William E., donor, 414
- Dodge, William E., Jr. (1832-1903), 106, 118, 277, 455
- Dodge, William E., Sr., 373
- Doggett, Laurence L., 176, 257, 418, 431, 468, 508, 509, 512, 592; retirement, 611; social ethics, 397; student volunteer, 298; *Man and a School*, 611
- Dole, Sanford B., 350
- Dormitories, 109, 149, 150, 155-56, 192, 233, 456, 457, 577, 579, 587 [534]
- Douglass, Walter C., 144, 167, 410, 425, 446,
- Drummond, Henry, college tour, 291, 301; at Northfield, 301, 379, 511
- Writings: *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 301; *The Greatest Thing in the World*, 301, 330
- DuCrowe, "Professor," 249
- Dudley, Sumner F., 204-6, 553
- Dulles, John Foster, 548 [73ff.]
- Dunant, Henri, World's Alliance part in, Duncan, Thomas, 23 [294]
- Dunn, Nettie, visitation student Y.M.C.A.'s, Dürselen, Pastor, 57, 74
- Dutch work (U.S.A.). *See* Branches
- Dyer, Charles E., 186
- Eagan, John J., 541
- Eastman, Charles A., 211
- Eato, E. V. C., 211
- Eckford, J. H., 563, manual on *The Young Men's Division*, 563
- Eckhoff, Martin, 631
- Ecumenical Movement, and the Y.M.C.A., 398, 657-58, 666, 699, 703-6, 738; aspects of in relation to Catholics, 374, 704; foreign work, 343, 372-73, 676; interfaith viewpoint, 733, 734-36; Langdon's interest in, 70, 412; Moody's part in, 188, 306; Mott's interest in, 433, 657, 705-6; nature of "Overseas Work," 695; student influence, 306, 308, 372, 646, 653, 655; WSCF as illustration of, 634; potentialities for, 72-75, 80-81, 84, 372-73. *See also* "church unity" and World Council of Churches under Church Relations
- Eddy, Sherwood, 163, 590, 607, 644, 645, 659, 660, 667, 679-80; estimate of Brockman, 432; of Mott, 434; as evangelist, 189, 508, 669, 678-79, 680, 730; religious leader, 511; quoted, 516, 517; and social gospel, 532, 536, 537, 539, 540
- Education, new concepts, 376-77, 508-9, 510-48, 516-19, 525-26, 549-93, 732, 736; effect on army and navy work, 579; Association Press publication of books, 483; boys' work, 463, 468, 550ff.; effect upon educational work, 555; foreign work, 693; opposition to, 550; effect on physical program, 254, 460, 573-75; as affecting Polish work, 688; and student work, 642ff.
- Educational work, 27, 195-98, 412, 423, 470-72, 525, 555-58 [492, 555]
- Army Educational Commission WW I, —classes, early, 32, 231; first evening, 196
- foreign work, 669, 679, 696
- industrial classes, 197, 217, 470, 558, 588; for immigrants, 479
- IC Department, adult education material, 544; *Association Educational Work for Men and Boys*, manual, 471; during depression (1930's), 587-88; establishment of, 198; outline courses on public affairs, 395
- Negroes, 474
- POW WW I, 495
- secretaryship, 471; EOA section, 606; and adult education, 611
- United Y.M.C.A. Schools, 471-72, 555, 556-58, 722-24; separation from Y.M.C.A., 723.



- See also Counseling; Lectures; Libraries; Literary Societies; Publications
- Educational Council, 556; *Adult Education for Social Need*, 544
- Edwards, Boyd, 466
- Edwards, Dwight W., 666
- Edwards, Richard H., 636
- Egypt. See Foreign Work
- Ehler, George W., 462
- Ellenwood, James Lee, quoted, 521 *passim*
- Elliman, Douglas L., 489
- Elliott, A. J. "Dad," 627, 652
- Elliott, A. Roland, 649 [688]
- Elliott, Harrison S., 464, 523, 550-51, 593.
- Employment, bureau, 18, 29, 96, 191, 192, 479, 558, 586; secretaries' EOA section, 606; student services, 636
- Endorsements. See Publicity
- England. See Great Britain
- Erskine, John, 492
- Esthonia, 688
- Ethics and Morality, 50-52, 84, 182, 380-91, 510-48; of amusement, 114, 155; business ethics reflected in Y.M.C.A., 389-91, 642; Christian ethics and the Y.M.C.A., 7, 301, 380-91; *The Code of Ethics of the Y.M.C.A.*, 400; Protestant, 199, 254, 259, 361; public affairs as expression of, 391-402; Puritanism, 7; of success, 396; social, 635-36, 637. See also Controversial Issues
- Europe, Associations aid New Orleans relief, 310; Belfast, Ireland, influence on constitution of Washington, D. C. Y.M.C.A., 40; Y.M.C.A. Movements contrasted with American, 340-42; Dublin Association, 72; early Associations, 74; exchange with American, 66, 73ff., 309-13; influence of American Movement on, 311-12, 341; joint consultations with American leaders on foreign work, 701; London correspondence with alliances of, 57; leaders in World's Alliance, 74; Movements affected by America during WW I, 684ff.; and American interpretations of the Paris Basis and evangelical test, 369; as products of pietistic evangelicalism, 8, 340-41; POW work, 493-97; student Movements, American influence on, 302, 630-31, Northfield, 306-7; theological conservatism following WW I, 518; Wishard's visits, 347; WW I co-operation with American Movement, 490, 491, 492; post WW II, 713 *passim*; *Young Men's Magazine*, Glasgow Y.M.C.A., 41. See also Displaced Persons; "Overseas Work"
- Evangelical Alliance, 75, 373
- Evangelical Test, 18-19, 39, 47, 48, 49, 62, 65, 80, 129, 130, 210, 362-69, 400, 516, 519-21, 528, 658, 693; as Association policy, 375, 376; attempts at modification of, 414, 415, 512-15, 520-21; Catholic countries, modification of, 680, Mexico City, 512-13, 671, Philippines, 519, 675, South America, 519, 672; Constitutional Convention discussion of, 442; enacted at Portland Convention (1869), 115; exclusiveness, 19, 237, 368, 375; foreign Associations, 314, 323, 333-34, 340-41, 356, 367; inadequacy of at end of 19th century, 402; India, 340, 341; Japan, 323, 334-35; and the Kansas Missionary Movement, 353, 354; and Paris Basis, 77-78, 80; state organizations, 132, 363, 367; statement of, 364, 366; student Associations, 274, 275, 277, 367; Wishard's comments on, 292; in student Y.W.C.A.'s, 292
- Evangelicalism, 112, 113, 225, 227ff., 511, 528, 590, 736; Associations related to, 45; background of Y.M.C.A., 4, 6, 7, 8; basis of work for Army in Civil War, 94, 97; in Canada after Civil War, 109; characterizing world-wide work, 702; decline, 732; "evangelization of the world in this generation," 297, 694; Charles G. Finney exponent of, 4, 13; in foreign work, 313ff., 657ff., Asia, 669, 678-79, diminishing of, 693; and fund-raising, 158-59; "gospel temperance work," 387; industrial, 477, 479; Kansas Missionary Movement as evidence of, 350-54; in New England, 134, 139; railroad work, 476; repudiation of, 518; social evangelism, 504-9, 635ff., 643-45, 693-94; Spanish War, 453ff.; state work characterized by, 130; tours in South, 132, 133; West, emphasis on after Civil War, 109; nature of Wishard's tour of foreign lands, 329-30, 340; WW I, as device in sex education, 517; "young men only" philosophy threatened by, 68ff. See also Foreign Work; Religious Work; "program" under Student Work; Sherwood Eddy; Dwight L. Moody; John R. Mott
- revivalism, Revival of 1857-58, 29, 42, 44, 45, 47, 81-84, 182; as program, 18, 26, 67, 68, 81, 161, 180-82; disappearance of after WW I, 518. See also Program
- Everett, Edward, 37
- Ewald, Charles J., 671
- Exchange of people, ideas and members, early methods of between American and European Associations, 56, 57, 72ff., 116, 235, 309-13; of secretaries, 701; tours, 311-13, 661; training of foreign secretaries in America, 668; World Services as channel of intercommunication, 699. See also "exchange" under Student Work
- Exner, Max, 539, 636, 637, 669
- Extension Fund, 244, 359
- Facilities, Army and Navy, 454, 576; through buildings, 150, 154-56; for physical work, 247; first rooms, 18, 34; secretaryship influenced by, 43; for special groups, 576, 578. See also Buildings; Libraries; Physical Work
- Failures, of Associations in 1850, 42; causes



- of, 129, 140, 193; following Civil War, 105; of German work, 224; student Associations, 651
- Farquhar, J. N., 660
- Farwell, John V., 46, 109, 149, 352, 390
- Father-and-Son Movement, 464, 554
- Fermaud, Charles, first secretary World's Committee, 311; American influence on, 311, 312, 672
- Finance (before 1900), 242-44; (1900-1940), 594-604; of Army and Navy work Spanish War, 453; for Army and Navy Association buildings, 455; budget reviewing committee appointed, 440; Catholic aid and opposition, 531; comparisons, IC and state, 419; of Executive Committee of the Conventions, 114; financial prosperity of the Movement 1900, 406, 409; between IC and local Associations, 429; metropolitan organizations' efficiency in, 421; Mott's ability in, 433; under the NC, 444, depression debt, 716-17; publicity methods of, 482; and religious ends of Association work, 390; as secretarial duty, 165; as tension in IC Canadian relationship, 427; WW I as stimulus to further support, 503. *See also* "financing" under Foreign Work; National War Fund and UWWC under Army and Navy Work WW I and WW II
- community chests, 585, 589, 596, 601-4, 716; appraisal of, 604; opposing views of Y.M.C.A. participation in, 601-4; problems of participation, 601-4
  - methods of, 242-44, 594-604; apportionment basis, 445; for buildings, 151, 157-59; by Building Bureau (1913), 457; campaigns, 158-59, intensive, 596-99, 603, "short-term," 158, "whirlwind," 596; by churches, 40; conventions as source of, 359; corporations, 234, 244, 475, 478, 567, 569; Day of Prayer, 285, 390; donors, 111, 118, 158, 209, 359, 414, 458, 472, 474, 476, 595, 615, 660, 665, 668, 673, 677-78, 690; evangelical motives for, 350ff.; extension fund, 244, 359; government aid (*see* Government); membership fees, 40; Moody, 158-59; parlor conferences, 244; percentage financing, 358, 431, 448, 450, 716-18 *passim*; regional responsibility for, 447; through rents, 149; by women's auxiliaries, 39, 158
- Financial Service Bureau, 600-601, 719, 725; capital fund campaign, 725; established 1919, 600; "measured service," 600; services to local Associations, 577, 600
- Finney, Charles G., 4, 5, 7-8, 13, 45, 182, 215
- First Associations. *See* City Associations
- Fisher, Galen M., 542, 663
- Fisher, George J., 459, 460, 461, 462, 534-35, 702
- Fisher, George S., and the Kansas Movement, 350-54
- Foch, Marshall, 503
- Foreign Education Committee, 317, 318-19; Northfield influence on, 300; as vehicle for sending first secretary abroad, 321, 326
- Foreign work, 309-60, 657-706; American influence on organization and program in foreign lands, 334, 341, 342, 343, 349, 357, 660-61, 669-70, 680, 682; "Association Volunteer League," 681; Associations in Asia prior to 1889, 288, 314, 323; background for, 313-15; early call from Japan, 300, from India, 300, 301, from Brazil, 301, from China, 345; Chinese Students' Christian Association (U.S.A.), 669; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students (1911), 629-30, 715; conferences American and foreign secretaries, 701; and the evangelical test, 367, 519, 693, modification of in Catholic countries, 680 (*see also* Mexico, South America, Philippines); expansion of after WW I, 438; fellowship training, 357, 668, 682; foreign delegates to World Conferences, 702; indigenous character of, 698 (*see also* Autonomy); *International Survey* of, 520, 592, 691-94, 697; as internationalism, 394-95, 547, 657ff., 690, 693-94; promotion of, 299-302, 679-83, methods of, 681; secretary, function of 20th century, 701, training programs, 623; student WW I, 641, foreign students WW II, 713, 715; summary (1916), 676-77; summer conferences, 606, 669; training of native secretaries, 680. *See also* Ecumenical Movement
- buildings, 347, 457, 677-79, 690; Buenos Aires, 677; Calcutta, 677; China, 669, 677; Havana, 671; Kyoto, 677; Madras, 338, 339, 343, 659, 660, 677; Manila, 674-75, 677; Mexico City, 677; Montevideo, 671; Osaka, 315, 323, 324, 677; Peking, 677; Rio, 671, 677; Russia, 673, 677; San Juan, 671; Seoul, 668, 677; Shanghai, 667, 677; South America references to, 349, 672, 677; Tientsin, 664-65, 677; Tokyo, 324, 329, 331, 332, 334-35, 358, 677
  - financing, 354-60, 681ff., 714-15; burden of, 345, 423; by Canada, 319, 359, 427; by donors, 328, 358, 359, 660, 665, 668, 673, 677-78, 690; effect of "Overseas Work" on, 689; effect of depression (1930's), 690-94; of foreign buildings, 677-78; furloughed secretaries part in, 659, 681; growth of budget, 418; local Associations, 299, 305, 317, 348, 359, 671, 678, 681; by Morse, 358; self-support, 333, 357, 680, 699; separate budget for, 333; support of foreign work as problem in Community Chest participation, 602; White House Conference (1910), 482, 677-78; WW I effect upon, 683ff. *See also* Governments; Dwight L. Moody; John R. Mott

- IC, department of, 331-33, 354-60, 449, 679-83, 690-91; Committee on Work in Foreign Mission Lands established, 333, 355; early conservatism towards, 299, 318, 320, 325, 331, 347; first foreign work secretary, 326; *Foreign Mail*, 360, 681; growing power of staff, 417; Messer Commission on Foreign Work, 676, 678, 681-83, 689; Mott, 417, 428, 432, 657 *passim*; under NC, 450, 691, 720; "Overseas Work" amalgamation with (1923), 684; relationships, 355-56; student influence on initiating foreign work, 670; supervision problems, 355-57
- mission boards and missionaries, 300-301, 316-21, 323, 325, 326, 329, 333, 428, 432, 433, 657 *passim*, 669, 678-79, 681-83; allocation of missionaries to Y.M.C.A. work, 670, 678-79; consultations over interpretation of "evangelical," 675; Foreign Missions Conference, 683; and the Kansas Missionary Movement, 350-54; mission schools reporting Y.M.C.A.'s (1887), 288; missionary request as prerequisite for, 316, 336, 344, 345, 347, 348, 668, 676; Mott's missionary contacts, 657ff.; Protestant background South America, 348; salary comparisons, 358; Wishard's missionary contacts, 345-46, 659; World Missionary Conference, 705
- origins, 189; in student work, 296-304, 316, 360, 629, 670; Wishard quoted on, 347. *See also* Foreign Education Committee
- philosophy of, avoidance of term "missionary," 355; early statement of (1889), 333; Kansas Movement as challenge to, 350; indigenous character of, 357; reiteration of basic, 354; after WW I, 684, 691-94, 699, 700
- program, 321-28, 333-34, 338-39, 349; (1920-40), 678-79, 694-99; boys' work, 463, 554, 679, 697; educational program, 471, 679; four-fold, 321-28, 333-34, 338-39, 349; physical education, 678, 696-97. *See also* individual countries
- student. *See* "foreign missions," SVM, WSCF, under Student Work
- tours, H. J. McCoy, 350; L. W. Messer, 681; Elbert B. Monroe, 319, 410; John R. Mott, world tours, 236, 633-34, 657-706; James Stokes, Jr., Egypt and Syria, 312; L. C. Warner, 658, 661; L. D. Wishard (1888), 297, 299, 302, 328-30, 338-47, 657ff.
- World Service (1920-40), 296, 689-99; contraction of (1930-40), 690-94; expansion of (1920-29), 689-90; program of (1920-40), 694-99; post WW II (1940), 709, 738; as world fellowship, 653, 694; as World Services, 714. *See also* Kansas Movement; John R. Mott; World Youth Fund
- Africa, 580, 675, 689, 715; Kansas-Sudan Movement, 351; WSCF, 633
- Burma, Wishard's visit, 346
- Ceylon, 658-59, Associations prior to American secretary's arrival, 344; *Bulletin*, Jaffna College Y.M.C.A., 344; first Y.M.C.A. conference in Asia called by Wishard (1889), 344, 658; student work Jaffna College, 287-88, 344, other student Associations, 344
- China, 664-70, 682, 683, 716; Army and Navy work, 579; Association periodicals, 665; Boxer uprising, effect on Association work, 668; boys' work and camping, 554, 669; call for American secretary, 345; educational work, 669-70; evangelistic campaigns, 508, 678; Mass Education Movement, 696; Mott's visit (1896), 634, 664; National Committee of, 680; Olympic team, 678; physical education, 669-70, 678; Princeton-in-Peking, 666; railroad secretary for 477; student work, 288, 344-45, 664; WW I Chinese Labor Corps, 490-91, 684, 696; Y's Men's Club Shanghai, 567. *See also* D. Willard Lyon
- Cuba, 671, 697
- Egypt, 346, 675-76, 689
- India, 300-301, 331, 333, 335-43, 436, 658-61, 698; Associations before 1889, 288, 312, 314, 315, 337, 338; boys' work, 660; National Committee of, 342, 680; physical education, 660, Y.M.C.A. College of Physical Education, 697; POW work, 495; railroad work, 235, 660; rural work, 481, 660, 695-96; SVM organization of, 659; WW I effects of, 485-86, 503, 666, 683; *Young Men of India*, 338, 658. *See also* David McConaughy  
British and American relations, 336, 337, 338, 340-41, 342, 659; different points of view on secretarial qualifications, 346
- Japan, 316-31, 333-35, 661-64; appeal for English teachers, 300; Army work reference, 209; background, 315; four-fold, 321-28, 333-34; Mott's visit, 634, 661-62; National Committee of, 680; Occupation government services, 713; Olympic team, 678; Osaka, 315, 323, 324, 677; POW work, 495; railroad work, 235; student work, 288, 333-34, 335, 682; student correspondence Sapporo Agricultural College, 281, 323, 347; student delegates Northfield, 305; student influence on WSCF, 631. *See also* J. T. Swift
- Korea, 666, 668, 678
- Mexico, 349, 671, 678, 697; modification of evangelical basis of membership, 512-13, 671; as precedent for other Catholic countries, 675; railroad Association, 236, 671
- Near East, 715, relief, 547; student work, 288, 676; Syria, 288, 346; war work, 491, 676; Wishard's visit, 346, 347, 676. *See also* Jerusalem
- Philippines, 674-75; Army and Navy

- work, 579, 674; camping, 697; Catholic constituency, 531-32; modification of basis, 513, 519, 675; Olympic team, 678
- Russia, 673-74, 702; "mayak," 673; POW work, 495, 496, 685; railroad work, 236; Root mission to, 487; Wishard's visit to, 346, 673; work in Harbin and Paris following revolution, 674; WW I, 487, 491-92, 684
- Siam, Wishard's visit, 345
- South America, 347-49, 671-72, 683, 697, 702, 715; alternate basis of membership, 519, 672; Catholic constituency, 531-32; Continental Committee (1914), 672, 680; Instituto Tecnico (1922), 672, 697; Argentina, 671; Brazil, 301, 347, 491, 671-72; Buenos Aires, 671-72; Chile, 671; Uruguay, 671
- Turkey, 347, 491, 676, 680, 694-95; student Associations, 288, 676, Robert College, 658, 676, 705
- Forerunners. *See* Young Men's Societies
- Forman, John N., student tour for missions, 298, 299, 316
- Forum Bulletin*, NC publication of public affairs material, 544
- Fosdick, Harry Emerson, 467, 540, 645
- Writings: *The Bible and the Social Problem*, 534; *The Manhood of the Master*; *The Meaning of Faith*; *The Meaning of Prayer*; *The Meaning of Service*, 505, 629; *The Second Mile*, 483
- Foss, Martin I., 459, 572
- Fourfold. *See* Program
- France, 684
- French work (U.S.A.). *See* Branches
- Fries, Karl, 302, 306, 311, 631
- Fry, Wilfred W., 431
- Gayley, Robert R., 666ff.
- Gamble, Cecil, 446, 448, 449, 565
- Games. *See* Recreation
- Garvie, James A., 210
- Gaston, Edward P., 349
- Gates, C. L., 447
- Gaylord, Franklin A., 673
- "General Work," 191, 193, 194; debate Convention 1859, young men's work versus general work, 68-70; deflecting from main purpose of work for young men, 84; early foreign work policy opposed to, 332, 660; Kansas Missionary Movement as example of, 350-54; unifying influence to Movement, 84; West prevalent in, 109
- George Williams College (Chicago Institute and Training School), 135, 175, 176, 177-78, 261, 395, 572, 603, 607, 610-12, 720
- Germany, 495, 713
- German work (U.S.A.). *See* Branches
- Gethman, Walter W., 685, 688, 703
- Gibson, Henry W., *Camping for Boys*, 469
- Gilkey, Charles W., 466, 607
- Gillett, Philip L., 668
- Girls. *See* Women and Girls
- Gladden, Washington, 371, 528; on amusements, 381; *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 185, 377
- Gladstone, Thomas H., 66, 72
- Gleason, George, 466
- Glover, John, 163
- Gompers, Samuel, 395 [702]
- Goodman, F. S., 185, 186, 504, 505, 546, 547
- Gordon, S. D., 141
- Gould, Helen Miller, 209, 455, 476
- Government (U.S.A.), Army and Navy work relation with, 455, 479, 577-79; Committee on Friendly Relations with Students, 715; co-operation with in promotion of Father-and-Son idea, 464; county work, 480; depression and co-operation with, 588-89; endorsement of Y.M.C.A. by, 436, 677-78; grant of land to Associations in Illinois, 402; nonequipment work and municipal agencies, 560; Panama Canal, 478, 479; social security promotion of by Y.M.C.A., 533; war services co-operation in Y.M.C.A. Civil War, 91-92; Mexican border, 486; Spanish-American War, 453; WW I, 487-93, and the criticism, 497-504, Inspector General's investigation, 498ff; World War II, 713. *See also* Army and Navy Work; "Youth and Government" under Boys' Work
- Governments (foreign), Association relations with Japan, 316, 317, 330; recognition of work of Associations, 671, 676, 688; support and backing of Association work, 349, 660, 669, 671, 673, 677-78
- Graham, Thomas W., 647
- Grant, George Monro, 365
- Grant, General U. S., 92, 139
- Gray, Dr. J. Henry, 660
- Great Britain, estimate of IC, 146; foreign work interest, 340, 343, 659; interchange with American Associations, 309-10; McBurney's influence on British Movement, 311; patterns of Association work compared to America, 337, 340-41; POW work and American co-operation, 493, foreign work, 701; relations to American Movement in India (*see* "India" under Foreign Work); student work influenced by Northfield Conference, 303; WW I work, 485, 490
- Greece, 684
- Gregg, Abel J., 593; quoted, 549, 551 *passim*; *Group Leadership and Boy Character*, 551
- Group Work, 524, 549-55, 558, 561, 563, 574, 585, 589, 591-92, 720, 732, 739; American Association for the Study of, 553; Association commitment to (1930's), 552; as character-building, 508-9; democratic aspect of, 553; group education, 612; "group process," 551; in Poland, 688,



- 694; *Group Leadership and Boy Character*, 551
- Groves, J. M., 674
- Guinness, Henry Gratton, 351-52
- Gulick, Luther (1865-1918), 34, 176, 246, 247, 481, 483, 512, 572, 660; *Biography*: 251-70, 458; on boys' work, 207, 462, 463; on dualism, 377; and the evangelical test, 368; on play, value of, 382; on sex and religion, 386; triangle invention as emblem, 195
- Writings: *Manual of Physical Measurements*, *Anthropometric Chart*, 459; *The Physical Directorship of the Y.M.C.A. as a Life Work*, 269
- Gymnasiums, 114, 150, 151, 154, 245 *passim*, 457-62; boys' work, 201, 202, 457; Brooklyn (1856), 32; Chicago, 109; Convention (1860) endorsement of, 50; reference Mexico City, 349; and women, 241
- Halbert, N. A., 81
- Hall, George A., 91, 127, 132, 140-41, 161, 163, 182, 208, 214
- Hall, G. Stanley, 269, 463, 512, 572
- Hall, Lawrence K., 523, 620-21
- Hall, Robert D., 475
- Halstead, Alfred, 263
- Hand-Book manual of procedures and program, 138-39, 154, 155, 157, 170, 172, 175, 190, 192, 207, 267
- Hanna, Delphine, 253
- Hanna, Mark, mentioned, 390
- Hansel, John W., 177, 612
- Hanson, Fred, 447
- Harbison, Ralph W., 602
- Hardie, Joseph, 133, 214, 219
- Harkness, Edward S., 512
- Harmon Awards, 581 [586, 691]
- Harmon, Francis, general secretary, IC, 449,
- Harper, William Rainey, 185; *Inductive Bible Studies*, 286
- Harper's Weekly*, 151; quote concerning Y.M.C.A. and physical work, 270; quote on religion, 391
- Harrison, President Benjamin, 329, 390
- Harte, A. C., 495, 660, 690
- Hartshorne and May, *Studies in Deceit*, 551
- Hastie, James L., 116
- Hatch, D. Spencer, *Up from Poverty*, 696
- Hawaii, Army and Navy work, 579, 674; Honolulu, 350, 608, 674, program (1890's), 350
- Haynes, George E., 472
- Health Education. *See* Physical Education
- Helm, V. W., 663
- Helme, George W., 58, 59
- Hepbron, George T., 266 [377]
- Herron, George D., 185; *The Larger Christ*, 116
- Hibbard, Carlisle V., 687
- Hieb, Louis, 658
- Hicks, C. J., 230, 235, 417, 428, 475, 673
- Historical Library, 70, 138, 412, 414-15, 717
- Hi-Y. *See* Boys' Work
- Hobbs, Bruno, 418
- Hodge, George B., 198, 395, 470-71; *Association Educational Work for Men and Boys*, manual, 471
- Hoffman, Conrad, POW work WW I, 495
- Holland, John, 58
- Home Work Bulletin*, 571; emphasis on work for young men, 563; reflecting new liberalism, 518-19, 554
- Hoover, President Herbert, 544
- Hopkins, Mark, *Outline Study of Man*, 254
- Howard, General O. O., 210, 364, 365, 370
- Hoyt, John Sherman, 489
- Hubbard, J. E., 671
- Hull, A. C., 672
- Hunton, William H. (1863-1916), 217ff., 454, 472, 474, 540, 582, 634
- Hurrey, Charles D., 672
- Hymns, 60, 82, 133, 365, 379
- Illustrated Christian Weekly*, 137
- Immigrants, work with, 220ff., 477-79, 528, 534, 558, 568, 585; Mexicans (U.S.A.), 583
- Incorporation, Act of, 117, 124
- India. *See* "India" under Foreign Work
- Indian work (U.S.A.). *See* Branches
- Ingersoll, Edwin D., 217, 229, 390, 416
- Industrial work, 227-39, 475-79, 524; (1920-40), 567-69; in 1940's, 724; Catholic members, 531; China, 697; classes, 197; Foreman's Club, 568; human relations conferences, 537, 539-40, 567, 616, 724; Industrial Management Clubs, 724; "Industrial Service" students, 567; Negro, 217, 474; shop meetings, 504, 597; standardized program, 567; student interest in problems of, 643-44
- Institute of Pacific Relations, 547
- Interdenominationalism, 4, 7, 26, 31, 82, 83, 105, 163, 182, 186, 188, 192, 228, 362, 370, 372-73, 512, 520, 527, 585; Association activities characterized by, 47; Civil War, 91, 139; in the Confederation, 59; as ecumenical, 704; foreign work, 319, 320, 528, 702; South American convention as demonstration of, 349
- International Board. *See* NC
- International Committee (Civil War to 1892), 205-47; (1892-1923), 409-51
- Chairmanships:
- Frank Ballard (of Executive Committee), 117
  - Cephas Brainerd (1867-92), 117
  - Elbert B. Monroe (1892-94), 410
  - Frederick B. Pratt (1894-95), 411
  - Lucien C. Warner (1895-1910), 411
  - Alfred E. Marling (1910-22), 428
  - James M. Speers (1922-32), 441
- and Canada, 426-27; committees of, 112, 115, 146, 411 (*see also* separate departments of the IC); departments, 409, 411,



- 417, 430, as causing supervision tensions, 423 *passim*, 429, departmental reorganization, 434, specialization, 419; as sub-committee of National Board, 720; Executive Committee, as interim body of the Conventions (1864), 116-18, 164; general secretaries of, (1869-1915) Richard C. Morse, 121; (1915-28) John R. Mott, 433, 434-49; and internationalism, 438, 547
- Locations:
- New York City Association, 116, 123
    - rented quarters, 142
    - 124 East 28th Street, NYC, 414
    - 347 Madison Avenue, NYC, 437, 718
    - 291 Broadway, NYC, 718
- methods of promotion, 136-39; name adopted (1879), 117; and NC, 444, 449, 450; regional promotion, 132-36; religious conservatism of, 514; secretaries of, 119-24, 141, 628, as "cabinet" of, 428, growing influence of, 411, 415, specialization of, 290, 410-11, 416, and the training schools, 512, 606, 616; and state work, 124-27, conflicts, 145-46, relationship problems, 350-54, 422-26, services to, 131-32; supervision, "advisor to supervisor," 141-46, by Brainerd, 117-18, 124, 128, 141, controversy over, 422-26, 428, "initiative and referendum," 415, methods of, 119-28, 131-32, 416 *passim*, problems of with rise of departments and secretaries, 413, student department part in, 646ff., Weidensall's appointment as, 119; and world-wide interests, appointment of "corresponding members" from abroad, 309, as pattern for World's Alliance, 310-11, sponsorship of European tours, 395 (*see also* Ecumenical Movement; Foreign Work; Student Work); WW I effects upon, 437-38, review of organizational needs, 438-41. *See also* Commissions; "IC" under Conventions; Finance; Public Affairs; Publications; Supervision; Surveys; Women and Girls' Work; separate departments of work
- International Survey of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.*, 592, 691-94, 697
- Internationalism, 438, 516, 533, 536, 545, 546-48, 592, 714-15, 734, 738, 739; foreign work as, 394-95, 547, 657ff., 690, 693-94, 695, 699; International Assemblies of Boys' Work, 554; international relations, 704; methods of, 547-48; in student movement, 308, 641, 644; Y's Men's Clubs, 566-67. *See also* Boys' Work; Peace
- Interpretation, the Y.M.C.A. as, becoming institutionalized, 726, 737; a Christian agency, 527, 735-39; a Christian educational Movement, 518-19, 553; at end of century, 736-39; expression of evangelical Christianity, 18-19, and of social evangelism, 504-9, 635ff., 643-45, 693-94; member of a world community, 700, 713ff.; as Protestant Agency, 735; reactionary, 728, 730, 737; religious organization in foreign work, 355-57; reflecting "business" ethics, 389; revealed by *International Survey* (1931), 592, 691-94; secular following WW I, 517, 523; social Christianity in student work, 635-36; social service agency, 521ff., 733; (1936) "What is the Y.M.C.A.?", 524-27. *See also* Evangelicalism; Protestantism; Purpose; Religious Work
- Interracial Commission, 541, 585
- Interracial Work. *See* Race [638]
- Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance, 291, Irving, George, 627
- Israel, Henry, 584
- Italy, 684, 713
- Jacob, E. O., 676
- Jacobs, B. F., 91, 181
- Jaffna College. *See* "Associations" under Student Work
- James, Philip L., 489
- Japan. *See* Foreign Work
- Japanese work (U.S.A.); work with Nisei, 726, 727. *See* Branches
- Jarvie, James N., 690
- Jefferson, Charles E., 511
- Jenkins, Edward C., 612, 619, 679, 680
- Jenks, Jeremiah W., *The Social Significance of the Teachings of Jesus*, 505
- Jerusalem, 346, 491, 690
- Jesop, William, 675
- Jesup, Morris K., 106, 118, 229, 384
- Jews, 368, 522, 673, 690, 733, 736; Jewish Welfare Board, WW I, 498, 499, 503, WW II, 712
- Johns, Ray, 584
- Johnson, F. Ernest, 592, 693
- Johnston, General George D., 215
- Jones, Stephen, 475
- Joy, Clyde R., 505
- Judd, Theodore F., 231
- Kaighn, Raymond P., 609
- Kallenberg, Henry F., 258, 261 [376, 423]
- Kansas Missionary Movement, 181, 350-54, Kellogg, Day Otis, 365
- Kellogg-Briand Pact, 548
- Kent, Charles Foster, 303
- Kilpatrick, William H., 550, 551, 593, 688; *Foundations of Method*, 551
- King, R. H., 447, 541
- Kirkbridge, Franklin B., 489 [545-46]
- Knebel, A. G., 447, 448; quoted, 426, 470, Knights of Columbus, relations with Y.M.C.A. WW I, 498, 499, 503, 531
- Knox, George William, 325
- Koehler, Frank O., 559 *passim*
- Korea. *See* Foreign Work
- Labor. *See* Controversial Issues

- Ladies Auxiliary. *See* "women's auxiliaries" under Women and Girls
- Lake Geneva. *See* "training" under Secretaryship
- Langdon, William Chauncy (1831-95), 23, 37, 40, 48, 49, 52, 193, 412  
 Biography: 54-55; and the Confederation, 64-65; ecumenical endeavors, 70; and the evangelical test, 367, 368, 521; statistics compiled by 1850's, 57; influence on founding of World's Alliance, 23, 73, 630; "young men" philosophy expounded by, 68-70, 113
- Lansdale, H. P., 438
- Latourette, Kenneth, quoted, 313
- Laymen, 106, 109, 110, 133, 139, 478, 480, 481, 518, 679; and campaigns, 596; at conventions, 170, 179, 415; as early leaders, 43; evangelistic work by, 81, 505, 506; in foreign lands, 668; (1920's) interest in new methods of work, 554; (1912) IC appraisal by, 429, 431; lay character of Movement, 511, 702; laymen's institutes, 186; (1930's), leadership of, 520; and the Laymen's Missionary Movement, 681; (1922) participation in study of IC, 440; place in 19th century Protestantism, 7-8; place of in movement (1941-51), 717, 720, 726, 728, 730, 735; place of in NC, 444, 618; as promoters of new Associations, 127-28, 129; Roman Catholic, 520, 531-32, 695; in rural work, 584; and secretaries' conference on foreign work, 701; and secretarial relationships, 169; and social gospel, 393; as voice of Movement, 353; WW I and place of, 502, 503, 530; at world conferences, 310; world tours of, 311-12. *See also* "tours" under Foreign Work
- Laymen's Missionary Movement, 528, 681
- League of Nations, 547
- Lectures, Courses, Lyceums, 18, 25, 31, 196, 233; China, 669-70; forums, 558, 587
- Lee, Robert E., 271
- Lee, Samuel Henry, 365
- Lee, William F., 116, 132
- Lewis, Robert E., 415, 464; China, 666ff., 682; Community Chests, 601
- Lewis, W. E., 141, 173
- Libraries, 18, 25, 30, 195, 202, 228, 231; Army and Navy, 455; boys', 202; and Brainerd, 195, 247; building provisions for, 151, 154; decline of, 195, 457, 470; early need for librarians, 43, Moody as, 161; foreign work, 323, 338, 673. *See also* Historical Library
- Limbirt, Paul M., 545, 611
- Lincoln, President Abraham, 85, 88, 91, 215
- Lindeman, Eduard C., 561
- Lippmann, Walter, *Preface to Morals*, 519
- Literary Societies, and debates, 31, 394-95, 401. *See also* Lectures
- Local Associations, 15-53, 106-11, 127-30, 418-22; and Army and Navy work, 454; conservatism of, 538, 540; as core of the Movement, 67; (1900-1940), finances, 594-604; (1940's), 716-17; independent character of, 62, 65; interest in labor problems, 396-97, 398; interracial practices, 728-29; liberal basis of membership, 519; methods of supervision of by IC and state committees, 127-29; metropolitan development, 420-22; mission study, 681; and the new ideas, 519; and the "open platform," 544; periodicals of, 138; public affairs, 546, 725, 730; relationships controversy, 422-26, 431, 440; religious emphasis, 507; (1940) and support of World Service, 691; WW I part in, 503-4; WW II, 713; and work with women and girls, 564-66. *See also* Autonomy; City Associations
- London, England, Y.M.C.A., as "Alma Mater," 21; compared to American Associations, 8, 19; Confederation Convention receives greetings from, 63; evangelicalism in, 4; founding of, 5; George Williams' part in, 4; Golden Jubilee, 6; influence on American Associations, 15, 16-17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 30, 36, 72, 81, 180; interchange of visitors with, 30, 56, 65, 66; rooms duplicated in American Associations, 34
- Loomis, Charles F., 547
- Louisville, Ky., Y.M.C.A., 23, 58, 63, 90, 219, 291; German work, 37
- Lovelace, Colonel C. W., 214
- Lowndes, C. D., 214
- Lowry, Samuel, 58ff.
- Lumbermen, work for, 237, 238, 477, 478
- Lyon, Judge Adrian, 440 [345, 664-70]
- Lyon, David Willard (1870-1949), 304, 305, Biography: 664ff.; quoted on developments in China, 670; *The First Quarter Century of the Y.M.C.A. in China*, 665
- McBurney, Robert Ross (1837-98), 189, 194, 199, 239, 268, 278  
 Biography: 82, 107-9, 142, 412; boys' work interest, 204; budget responsibility, 243; building and architectural interest, 151, 155, 457; Roman Catholics, 374; controversial issues, 199, 380, 382-83, 385, 388, 400; Conventions and International Committee influence on, 112ff., 118, 124; evangelical test, 237, 362-68; fourfold idea, 194; and foreign work, 339, 341-42, 355, 357, 358; and the Kansas Movement, 352, 353; librarian New York Association, 45; and metropolitan organization New York, 420; and priority of church, 372; on "secretarialism," 169-70, 422-23, 717; secretaryship, 161 *passim*, 283, on training, 318; simple religious emphasis, 378; World's Alliance influenced by, 310-12

- Writings: *Bible Teaching in our Associations*, 185; *Conversations of Jesus*, 184; *Historical Sketch of the Y.M.C.A.*, 123
- McCandless, J. W., 562
- McCloy, C. H., 573
- McConaughy, David, Jr. (1860-1946), 187, 235, 329, 331, 659-60  
Biography: 335-36; India, call to, 305, appointment, 333; relations to IC, 355, 356, 682
- McConaughy, James, 163, 187, 198; recruiting of secretaries, 318
- McConnell, Bishop Francis, 547
- McCook, John J., 236, 453
- McCormick, Cyrus, 458, 541
- McCormick, Richard C., 52, 70, 81
- McCosh, James, 299
- McCoy, Colonel Frank R., 487, 488, 503
- McCoy, Henry J., 135, 197, 350
- McCurdy, James H., 258, 263, 460
- McCurdy, John R., 573
- McDowell, William F., 514
- McKinley, President William, 394
- Macfarland, Charles S., 528
- Macfarland, Henry B. F., 428, 430
- Mackay, John, 592
- Magee, W. A., 141
- Mahan, Frank, 261
- Manley, John E., 448, 449, 548, 691; quoted on IC organization, 439 [578]
- Mark Jones Report, 441-42; armed services, 442
- Marling, Alfred E. (1858-1935), 428
- Marshall, J. H., 58 [Citizen, 705]
- Mathews, Basil, *John R. Mott, World*
- Mathews, Shailer, 511
- Membership, 5, 6, 19, 39, 49, 239-42; associate members, 5, 19, 39; basis of, 363-64, (1931) new basis, 519-20 (see also Evangelical Test; Paris Basis; Student Work); boys, 201, 462, new interpretations of, 552, 554; building as increasing, 159; campaigns, 483, 597; in city Associations, 439; Civil War effect upon, 85, 106; clergymen help in, 40; and control of policy, 40, 111; family, 485, 722; fees, 595; as finance, 40; in India, 339; interchange of privileges between Associations, 56; interracial nature of the world Movement, 547; labor, 571; male, 115; member-interest programs, 549, 574; middle and upper class, 6, 203, 239-40, 368, 449; need for democracy in policy-making, 481, 483; non-Protestant growth, 483; secretaries, EOA section, 606; segregation, 156, 220, 472, 475, 542, 543, 582, 727, Honolulu, 350; Studies (1940's), 720-22; WW I effect upon, 438; women, 39, 240, 485, 564-66; young men and boys, 527, rediscovery of, 562-64. See also Orthodox Church; Roman Catholics
- Men*, 137, 155, 206
- Mercer, E. C., 627
- Merchant Marine, 570
- Messer, L. Wilbur (1856-1923), 109, 137, 163, 172, 178, 400, 412, 435, 456, 458, 531, 535, 541, 567, 601  
Biography: 420; Messer Commission, 676, 678, 681; Movement leadership by, 420-22; and supervision controversy, 422-26
- Metropolitan Organizations, 111, 413, 415, 420-22, 481; and Community Chests, 601; Financial Service Bureau, 600; industrial program, 567; student work, 291, 301; and the supervision controversy, 422-26, 440
- Mexico. See Foreign Work
- Michener, C. C., 447, 474, 477
- Michigan, University of. See "Associations" under Student Work
- Midwest. See West
- Military Training, preparedness, and physical work, 459, 462, 468; student criticism of compulsory, 643
- Millar, W. B., 453, 681
- Miller, Francis P., 466
- Miller, H. Thane, 66, 142, 240, 365 [662]
- Miller, R. S., Jr., secretary to Japan, 334
- Miners, 238; Negro, 474, 477, 478; temperance work, 388
- Minneapolis, Y.M.C.A., 155, 162, 371, 504, 553, 562, 564, 597; as a community agency, 483-84, 559-62, Community Chest, 602; foreign work, support and interest in, 299, 305, 317; Leisure Time League, 588
- Mission Work. See "mission work" under Religious Work
- Mockert, Fritz, 302
- Modernism, 376, 736. See also Education, new concepts; Psychology; Theology
- Mogge, E. L., quoted, 599
- Monod, Wilfred, 306
- Monroe, Elbert B. (1837-94), 142, 319, 331-32, 410-11, 420
- Montgomery, D. W., 225
- Montreal Y.M.C.A., 16, 18, 20, 155, 161, 192, 459; Army and Navy work, 208; boys' work, 201, 203; Confederation, 64; educational work, 557; evangelical test, 48; "Y.M.C.A. and City Mission," early name of Association, 26; Young Men's Society, 17, 19, 21
- Moody Bible Institute, 185, 510, 511
- Moody, Dwight L. (1837-99), 7-8, 45, 46, 47; 91, 109, 135, 139, 171, 180, 181, 225, 240, 244, 377, 379, 412, 511, 667  
Biography: 162, 187-89; and Chicago Association, 149, 161, 187; ecumenical attitude of, 188, 306; evangelist, 113, 187, 352, 453, 454, 627; and foreign work promotion, 316, 317, 318; as a fund-raiser, 158-59, 595; and gospel temperance work, 387; in Great Britain, 187, 312; interdenominational character of revivals, 370; 19th century Protestantism, 376; and student work, 279, 285, Northfield Conferences, 188-89, 294, 295



- Moore, John F., 475, 476; *Story of the Railroad "Y,"* 231
- Moorland, Jesse E., 219, 472, 580
- Morals. *See* Ethics and Morality
- Moran, Hugh A., 466
- Morgan, J. P., 106
- Morgan, W. G., 263
- Morse, Oliver C., 176
- Morse, Richard Carey (1841-1926), 83, 150, 163, 172, 184, 222, 229, 231, 243, 411, 416, 427, 429, 615, 630, 678, 702
- Biography: 121-24, 432-33; and early foreign work, 317; Foreign Education Committee, 319, 326, foreign work, 341, 355, 358, 359, 665, 668; and the Kansas Missionary Movement, 352, 353; non-equipment work, 559; physical education interest, 268; and student work, 273, 278, 286, 289; tours of Maritime provinces and New England, 134; weaknesses of administration, 429, 430; World's Alliance influenced by, 310, 312, as member of World's Committee, 310; world tours, 661, 674; quoted, on American influence abroad, 341, 694, on evangelical test, 367, 369, on New York Association's influence on the Movement, 109, on state work, 419, on WW I and its effect on the Movement, 437
- Writings: *History of the North American Young Men's Christian Association*, 123; *My Life with Young Men*, 124, 433
- Morse, Verranus, 114, 118
- Moseley, General George V., 503
- Mott, John Raleigh, 163, 164, 182, 298, 424, 541, 607, 657 *passim*
- Biography: 433-34; and Canadian Movement, 427; church leadership, 433, 528-29, 657; discovery of Mott at Northfield, 188-89; ecumenical interests, 433, 657, 705-6; evangelistic interest, 189, 433, 505, 508, 518, 627, 669, Bible study, 591, product of revivalism, 182, religious leadership, 511, tours, 590; finance, 595, 599, fund-raiser, 433, 627; foreign work, as associate general secretary in charge of, 417, influence on, 435, 627, 629, 657 *passim*, 677; IC and NC, administration, 434-49, Constitutional Convention, 442, 443, 444, general secretaryship, 432, 445, 449, on weaknesses of the Movement (1912), 430, 431, 432; missionary interest, 303, 410, 433, 657ff., 679-81; Nobel Peace Award, 308; POW, 493, 683, 685; quoted, 704; Root Mission to Russia, 487; social problems, 536-38, 635-36; and Soderblom, 306; as student at Cornell, 284, 289, 290, 291, 295, 303, 306; student conferences Europe, 630, 657-58; student work, 303, 304-8, 625-39, 647, 650, 667, 682; and SVM, 433; student basis modification, 513; and World's Alliance, 702; World's Committee, member of, 433; world leader, 434, 516, 657ff.; WSCF, 412, 433, 630-35; world tours, 657-706; WW I, general secretary, NWWC, 486 *passim*, on criticism of canteens, 497-504
- Writings: *Addresses and Papers*, 705; *Confronting Young Men with the Living Christ*, 537; *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest*, 634
- Mumma, Levi B., 597
- Munhall, L. W., 131, 276
- Murray, William D., 468, 679
- Naismith, James, 258, 260, 261; *Basketball, its Origin and Development*, 260
- Nash, Augustus, 507
- Nasmith David, 5, 19-20, 123
- National Board, 583; as corporate body, 720; classification plan approval, 620; creation of, 450; and Social Security benefits, 610
- National Council, 444-51; (1928-40) administration of, 449-451; (1941-1951), 716-20; area organization, 446-49, 719; background for (*see* Constitutional Convention); classification plan ratified, 620; and Community Chests, 602; consulting members, 735; depression, effect of on industrial work (1930's), 568; financing of (1930's), 716-17; internationalism promoted by, 547; interracial policy, 542; laymen and secretaries, 618; (1933) local Associations, action regarding, 521; (1924) Mott general secretary, 445; move to 291 Broadway, 717-19; national general agency plan, 582; national services, support of as problem in Community Chest participation, 602; (1939) new statement of purpose incorporation into constitution, 521; "open platform" endorsement by, 543-44; (1920's) program material, 554; Public Affairs Committee, 533, 545; research and survey directors, 551; S. Wirt Wiley secretary of Home Division of, 559; student relationships with, 647-52, 719-20; women and girls' work, policy on, 565, 721; World's Committee, fuller collaboration recommended, 700-701; young men's work, 563. *See also* Finance—general board, 444, 447, 450; statement on philosophy of democracy, 545; peace, 548; and student relationships, 648
- general secretaries, (1924-28) John R. Mott, 445; (1928-32) F. W. Ramsey, 449; (1933-40) J. E. Manley, 449; (1941-) E. E. Barnett, 716
- International Board, 450, 699
- meetings, 1924 Buffalo, Mott elected general secretary, 445
- 1925 Washington, 520, 572, 578, 581
- 1929 Chicago, 581, 586
- 1930 Chicago, 448
- 1931 Cleveland, 520, 521, 588, 691
- 1933 Chicago, 588



- 1935 Niagara Falls, 604  
 1939 Detroit, 548  
 1942 Cleveland, 727  
 1943 Cleveland, 727  
 1947, Buffalo, 717  
 1949 Washington, 717, 718, 721, 722, 734  
 1950 Buffalo, 729  
*See also* Centennial Convention under Conventions
- National Council Bulletin, 538, 578, 721, 738; emphasis on world fellowship, 592; "open platform," 544-45
- national program services. *See* Program Services
- National services, 444, 445, 720; as affected by rising costs, 716; divisions, 719
- personnel services. *See* Personnel Services
- National War Work Council (WW I), 487, 497-504, 530, 541, 555, 577, 578, 579; and the student department, 641
- Neff, William H., 58ff.
- Negro work, 37, 211-20, 310, 458, 472-75, 540-43, 580-82, 727 *passim*; buildings, 156, 458, 580, 582; conferences, 218-19, 580, 581; ecumenical nature of H. E. Brown's work, 373; and the evangelical basis, 367; expansion fund, 716; first use of term, 415; W. H. Hunton, first Negro secretary of IC, 218; industrial, 478, 479, 568; IC secretary, Max Yergen, 580, 689; inter-racial work, 540-43; under NC, 444; and Rosenwald Fund, 458; 580, 582; rural, 583; secretarial training, 617; segregation, 156, 581-82 (*see also* "segregation" under Membership); supervision controversy, 425; unifying of Negro and white work (1920), 542, 728; during wars, Civil War, 89, Spanish-American War, 454, WW I, 491, 493. *See also* "Negro" under Branches; under Student Work
- Nevins, Allan, *The Emergence of Modern America*, quote on Y.M.C.A. and sports, 245
- New England, area supervision, 648; consolidation plan, vetoed, 446, 719; evangelistic emphasis on work, 134, 139-40, 182; regional summer training conference, 173; "religious canvass" as aid to churches, 370; student conferences, 294-95
- New Orleans Y.M.C.A., 22, 47, 58, 59, 64, 72, 213; Civil War, 85ff.; *The Companion*, 41; and Confederation influence, 22-23; and disaster relief, 30, 191, 310
- New York Y.M.C.A., 16, 22, 41, 45, 49, 111, 112, 420; branches of, Bowery, 155, 159, 192, 240, French, 221, German, 22, 37, 156, 221, 223, Harlem, 155, Negro, 115, 211, 472, railroad, Grand Central, 156, 229, 233, Pennsylvania, 477, Sloane House, 579, Uptown, 542, 562, West Side, 155, 671, Young Men's Institute, 251; building, 34, 123, 158, influence of, 150-54, Negro Association, 458, passing of "old Twenty-third Street building," 456; Confederation, opposed by, 56-59, 63-64, resolutions ratified by, 64, supported by, 70; controversies, abolition, 30, 51, 80, and labor, 396, work for suppression of obscene literature, 384; foreign work, support of early, 317; influence of, 24-25, 106, 109, 118, 132, 147; program and facilities, early classes of instruction, 32, employment bureau, 29, inclusion of physical in purpose, 246, 251, library of, 30, 195, classes, 196, medical student work in, 291, (early) physical work classes, 33, recreational features, 459, Twenty-third Street Branch, sex education, *Handbook for Young Men*, 385-86; revivalism, prayer-meeting revivals originated by, 81, depression affecting, 81, 82, 183, union prayer service, 29; war work, Civil War activities, 84ff., 209, WW I, 504, WW II, 713; and work for women and girls, 565; Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. joint financial campaign, 599; and the World Movement, 72, 76
- New Zealand, Mott's visit, 633
- Newman, L. F., 205
- Newsboys. *See* Boys' Work
- Niblo, William, donor, 195
- Nicene Creed, 521
- Nicolai, Archbishop, 662
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, 644, 645
- Niwa, Seijiro, first Japanese Y.M.C.A. secretary, 334, 357 [308]
- Nobel Peace Awards, Mott and Söderblom, Non-Christian Religions, Association attitude toward, 338-39, 660, 666, 690, 693-94, 696, 698, 733, 734-35
- Nonequipment work. *See* Community Work
- Northfield Conferences, 164, 165, 285, 630, 637, 705; for boys, 638; influence on student conferences in foreign lands, 344; and the Kansas Movement, 351-52; Moody's influence on, 188-89; 1886, 210, 293, 294-98, student missionary uprising, 296, 297, 298 1887, 291, 300-302, 347, 511, first calls from foreign lands, 300-301 1888, 302, 303-4, missionary emphasis, 303, SVM beginnings, 304, "Wilder bands," 304 [terest, 305 1889, 305-6, 330, foreign missionary in-1890, 306-8, European delegates, 306, ecumenical manifestations, 306 1891, reference to Brockman, 667 1893, Mott's leadership, 627 1895, 637-38
- Ober, Charles Kellogg (1856-1948), 134, 136, 162, 163, 308, 353, 417, 446, 637, 674, 679, 681
- Biography: 283, discoverer of secretaries, 420, 434; and the evangelical test, 369; "Fellowship Plan," 606-8, 618; mis-

- sionary promotion, 291, 299; student work, 286, 290, 291, 295, 303, 304-8
- Ober, Frank W., 137-38, 435, 596
- Obscene Literature, 539; suppression of, 52, 383-85, 515
- Olandt, Claus, Jr., 388
- Olympic Games, 459; American Olympic Association, 589; Far Eastern, 670, 678
- Organization, of the Confederation, 63ff.; of the National Movement after Civil War, 105-47; (1892-WW I), 409-51; (1940's), 716-20; of first American Y.M.C.A.'s 39-42, Boston constitution as example, 39; of IC, 117, 144, 410, 436, conventions, 111-16 *passim*, organizational structure as cause of tension, 440, reorganization, 438ff., WW I effect upon, 437, 438, of Constitutional Convention, 441-44; of metropolitan organizations, 420-22; of NC 444-51, study of reorganization, 717-20; need for democracy in Movement, 526; as reflection of "business," 102, 117, 162, 237, 240, 389, 421-22, 451, 515-16, 593, 717. *See also* IC and NC
- Origins of the Y.M.C.A., 3-8, 15-25
- Orr, Robert A., 159; foreign work interest, 299, 316; *The Association Bible Class: How Organized and How Taught*, 184, 186 [705]
- Orthodox Church, 532, 657, 662, 673, 695, "Overseas Work," after WW I, 577, 683-89, 694-95
- Pacifism. *See* Peace
- Page, Kirby, 644, 645
- Paine, Silas, 615
- Paris Basis, 77-80, 314, 363, 400, 513-14, 520, 675, 702; and evangelical test, 341, 368-69
- Parker, J. W., 435, 438, 481
- "Parlor Conferences," as finance, 244
- Paul, K. T., 660-61, 695-96
- Peabody, George Foster, 458
- Peace, 533, 545, 546-48, 563, 739; Association advocacy of, 52, 468; disarmament, 548, 703; efforts for during Civil War, 85-87; Spanish-American War, 515; student discussion of following WW I, 642-43; student interest in, 642-43, 648, 652, 655
- Peck, George G., 206
- Pence, Owen E., 450, 520-21, 604; quoted, 582; *The Y.M.C.A. and Social Need*, 472, 517, 569, 737
- Pentland, J. C., 598
- Periodicals. *See* Publications
- Perkins, R. R., quoted, 534
- Pershing, General John J., 486, 487, 488, 492, 497, 499, 500, 503, 536
- Personnel Research Federation, 588
- Personnel Services (NC), 450, 623-24; committee of, 623-24; "certification" of secretaries (*see* Secretaryship); Joint Committee AOS, 622; Official Roster of Secretaries, 623; Placement Review Conferences (annual), 623; personnel records, 623
- Petrie, George H., 16, 22
- Philadelphia Y.M.C.A., 23, 40-41, 43, 64, 71, 91, 146, 159, 187, 291, 335; building, 36, 149, 152; metropolitan organization, 420; Negro Association, 213, building, 458, secretary, 219; Pennsylvania Railroad, 477; *Pentecost; or the work of God in Philadelphia, A. D. 1858* published by, 83
- Philadelphian Society, 276, 666 [311, 312]
- Phildius, Christian, McBurney influence on, Phillips, A. F., 616
- Physical Work (1850's), 32-34, 106; (1865-1900), 245-70; (1900-WW I), 458-62; 1920-40), 571-75; (1940-51), 720, 725; early building provisions for, 151; (1930's) depression program, 587-88; foreign countries, 678, 683, Ceylon, 658, China, 669, 697, India, 339, 697, Dr. J. Henry Gray's influence, 660, "Overseas Work," 694, Russia, 673, South America, 671-72; Luther Gulick period, 251-70; purpose to include physical (NY), 106; recommended by 1860 Convention, 71; and sex education, 539; standardization trends, 459ff.; war work WW I, athletics in, 492, POW, 496. *See also* Olympic games
- Athletic League, 258, 264-68, 423, 461, 528, 568, 572, 585
- basketball, 258, 259-63, 459, 553, 573
- "body building," 249, 459, 573
- Christian, 245, 248; "Christianizing the gymnasium," 249-51, 461-62
- group games, 259
- gymnasiums. *See* Gymnasiums
- health education, 250, 462, 573, foreign work, 678, 696
- international department of, 176, 268-70; publications of, 460, *Journal of Physical Education*, 573, *The Triangle*, 256, 261
- lifesaving, 575
- pentathlon, 264, 459
- philosophy of, 32, 254-56, 459-62; new ideas, 509, 573-75
- swimming pools, 154-55, 457, 459, 575
- recreation movement, 259-64, 460, 483, 572; play, 461; POW, 496; public playgrounds, 483-84, recreational work, WW I (*see* War Work WW I). *See also* Recreation
- secretaryship, as community workers, 483; EOA section, 606; *The Physical Directorship of the Y.M.C.A. as a Life Work*, Luther Gulick, 269; as a profession, 246; Springfield Training School, and physical education, 176, 246, 251, 253, 254, 257-59, 460; training of, 257-59, 269, 611, 613
- triangle. *See* Triangle
- volleyball, 263, 573, 729
- Pierce, Lyman L., 596, 597, 661 [297]
- Pierson, A. T., missionary promoter, 296,

- Pittsburgh Y.M.C.A., 23, 29, 48-49, 58, 63, 162, 482, 602; building, 152, 160; community work, 559; rooms, 34 [32]
- Poland, 684-88; Catholic constituency, 531-  
Politics. *See* "politics" under Controversial Issues
- Pond, B. C., 579
- Pool, Reuben B., 195
- Porter, David R., 466, 467, 523, 638-49  
Biography: 636
- Portland Basis. *See* Evangelical Test
- Portugal, 491, 684; Coimbra University, 671
- Potter, Henry Codman, 112; emphasis on "whole man," 246, 371
- Pratt, Frederick B., 411, 470
- Prayer Meetings. *See* Religious Work
- Princeton Foreign Missionary Society, 288
- Princeton-in-Peking. *See* "China" under Foreign Work
- Princeton University. *See* "associations" under Student Work
- Prison work. *See* Welfare
- Prisoners-of-War Work, WW I, 493-97, 486, 548, 676, 683, 700, 702
- Program, (1850's) 25-36; (1865-95) 102, 110, 124, 179-244; (1898-1918) 452-509; (1920-40) 549-93; (1941-51) 720-26. *See also* separate departments
- buildings as, 109, 148-49, 456
  - education, new concepts effect on, 551ff.
  - four-fold, 106, 109, 111, 114, 123, 124, 140, 147, 151, 152, 161, 181, 188, 193-95, 393, 529, 739; ethical aims of, 380; in foreign lands, 312, 321-28, 338, 528, 673, 682-83; as reflected in buildings, 457
  - original, 18, 25-36, 55, 61; pioneer nature of early Association work, 192; *The Nature and Claims of Young Men's Christian Associations* (1856), 31. *See also* "revivalism" under Evangelicalism; Obscene Literature; Religious Work; Sunday Observance; Sunday Schools; Temperance; Welfare
  - Program Services, 435, 436, 438, 450, 539, 553-55, 558, 588; committee of, 523, work of, 554-55; (1930's) depression, 586ff., 729; "Program of Advance," 589; *Program Development Projects*, 554-55; program papers, 545, 645; public affairs material, 544-45, *Forum Bulletin*, 544, 547
  - WW I, effect upon, 516-17; POW work, 496; revealing new trends from Protestant religious organization to general welfare agency, 502, 549, 550  
*See also* Publications
- Prohibition. *See* "public affairs" under Controversial Issues; Temperance
- Promotion. *See* IC; NC; State and Provincial Work; Foreign Work
- Protestantism, 49, 50, 109, 156, 375-80, 421, 422, 451, 511, 519, 521-22, 527, 531, 589, 735, 737; background of Y.M.C.A., 19th century, 45, 177, 179, 199, 361; conservative and the Y.M.C.A., 375, 376; contribution to Y.M.C.A., 370; ethics of, 7, 254, 259, 361, 532; home missionary motive in early railroad work, 227; liberal, 504, 505, 693; manifestations of in foreign expansion, 313, 322, 325, 333-34, 335, 337, 348, (*see also* "mission boards" under Foreign Work); Moody as spokesman for, 139, 376; place of layman in, 7; as secretarial background, 162, 378, 379; tensions with Catholics, 709; WW I criticism, as factor in, 501, 502; Y.M.C.A. as product of, 3, 102, 361. *See also* Bible; Evangelicalism; Theology
- Psychology, 518, 525, 550-55; *Association Seminar*, 512; bearing on religion, 376, 377; boys' work leaders as interpreters of, 463; Movement leaders affected by, 509; physical education affected by, 254, 460, 574-75. *See also* Education, new concepts of (1920's)
- Public Affairs. *See* Controversial Issues; Ethics and Morality
- Publications, compilation of Movement data begun (1854), 138; of convention proceedings, 60, 64, 66, 138; by national services, 720; program material, 138, 485, 545, 550, 554, 647; public affairs, 730; on secretaryship, 172, 610-11, 620; World's Committee volume of essays, 114; *Centennial Guide to Y.M.C.A. Planning*, 730; *The Code of Ethics of the Y.M.C.A.*, 400, 621; *The Nature and Claims of Young Men's Christian Associations* (1856), 31; (WW II) *Y.M.C.A. Strategy in Wartime*, 713. *See also* Association Press; Bureau of Records; Commissions; Confederation (circular of); Hand-Book; Historical Library; Publicity; Secretaryship; Surveys and Studies; Year Book
- departmental, boys' work, periodicals for high school field, 467, *Association Boys*, 463, *Association Boys' Work Journal*, 554-55, *Boys' Companion*, 202, 204, 205, *Our Critic*, 204, studies, 463, tests, 551, *Boys' Work Imperatives*, WW II, 713, *Camping for Boys*, 469, *Christian Citizenship on a World Basis*, 547, *Group Leadership and Boy Character*, 551, *Medical Rules for Camp Life*, pamphlet, 454; county work, *Proposed County Secretary*, 225, *Rural Manhood*, 480, *The Y.M.C.A. in Town and Country*, 584; educational work, *Adult Education for Social Need*, 544, *Association Educational Work for Men and Boys*, manual, 471; foreign work, *Association Progress*, 665, 669-70, *Bulletin*, Jaffna College Y.M.C.A., 344, *China's Young Men*, 665, 669, *Chinese Intercollegian*, 665, *Foreign Mail*, 360, *Young Men of India*, 338, 658; physical work, 460, 725, *Basketball, its Origin and Development*, 260, *Home Dumb-Bell*



- Drill*, 459. *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So*, 253. *Journal of Physical Education*, 573. *Manual of Physical Measurements*, *Anthropometric Chart*, 459. *The New Physical Education in the Y.M.C.A.*, 573. *The Physical Directorship of the Y.M.C.A. as a Life Work*, 269. *The Triangle*, 256, 261; religious work, Bible study publications, 184, 286, 537. *Confronting Young Men with the Living Christ*, 537. handbook of methods, 505. *Religious Beliefs of Youth*, 721, 732. *Religious Effectiveness of the Associations*, 732; sex education, 483, 637. *Handbook for Young Men*, 385, series of articles by Gulick, 386. White Cross pamphlets, 386; student work, 628, 629, 634, 636, 644, 653. *The Message and Mission of the Student Y.M.C.A.* (1950), 734. *Program Book*, 734 (see also "periodicals" under Student Work); *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record*, 721
- periodicals, of local Associations, 41-42, 138. *The Christian Record* (Newark, N. J.), 42. *Heavenly Tidings* (Chicago), 180. *Young Men's Advocate* (Newark, N. J.), 393 (see also *The Companion*); of national organization (see individual listings of periodicals)
- Publicity, 40-42, 482-83, 720; for American Association ideas abroad, 312; buildings as, 107, 482, early emphasis on location, 34; church as agent for Y.M.C.A., 371-72, by Catholic approval, 375, by clergy, 527-28; Confederation circulars, 65; exhibits as, 139; in financial campaigns, 597, 600; improved by metropolitan organization, 421; lectures and classes as, 196; foreign work promotion, 360; methods of supervision, 128; methods of student Associations, 284; newspapers, 31, 83; for non-equipment work, 560-61; of physical education department, 459; public relations Boston (1852), 22; revivalism as, 182; testimonials, 139, 436, 482, 663, from foreign governments, 663; U. S. Christian Commission as, 92, 98; WW I citations, 493, from Army officers, 503. See also Publications; Presidents of U.S.A.
- Puritanism, in Y.M.C.A., 7
- Purpose, original, 17, 18, 25, 36, 50; debate over "general" versus young men, 68-70. See also "four-fold" under Program
- post Civil War, 102, 106-7, 124, 135, 180ff., 193-95; early inclusion of physical, 246; as ethical, 380; as misunderstood by churches, 362; statement of for preparatory school boys, 466, 467; student, 283-4
- post WW I, Christian emphasis "Overseas Work," 694; "Commission on Message and Purpose," 520; confusion over in boys' work with new ideas of education, 552; in departments of work, 568-72 *passim*; depression period, 586ff., 590ff.; new membership basis (1931), 519-27, 703; student, 627, 634-35, 646, 652
- post WW II, 726, 732-34; *Faith for the Future* (1951), 738-39
- Pycott, Thomas S., 311
- Quarterly of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the U.S. and British Provinces*, 123, 137, 169, 227, 372, 363 [73, 75, 80
- Quarterly Reporter*, 26, 29, 47, 50, 65, 66, Quebec Y.M.C.A., 23, 27
- Race, 211, 213, 214, 219-20, 275, 474, 525, 526-27, 533, 536, 540-43, 581-82, 642-43, 723, 725-29, 733, 739; Interracial Commission, 541, 585, 643; methods of race relations, 475, 547; student interest, 636-37, 641, 642-43, WSCF interracial aspects of, 634; Max Yergan's work South Africa, 689. See also "segregation" under Membership
- Railroad Work, 102, 115, 135, 227-36, 475-79; branches, 156, 229; buildings, 156, 233, 524; and Catholic membership, 375, 531; conservative nature of, 390-91, 508; Conventions, 570; effect of depression (1930's), 587; evangelical emphasis, 182, and the test, 367; facilities for, 233; foreign, 334, 671, 679, 683; International Conferences of Railroad Men, 230; libraries, 470; restaurants, 156, 457; secretaryship, 606, 617; supervision controversy, 423 *passim*, 476; supervision of under the NC, 444, 445; temperance work, 388; as transportation department (1920-40), 570-71, 719-20, 724; Union Pacific Railroad Mission, 227; Y.M.C.A. as official welfare agency for railroads, 570. See also Merchant Marine
- Ramsey, Fred W., 443, 690; general secretary NC, 449
- Randall, J. Herman, 512
- Recreation, early attitude toward, 50; (1860's), 114; controversy over, 199, 259, 381-82; building provisions for, 150, 154, 155; camping as, 469; community-wide, 572; gambling, 382; games, 199, 381-82, bowling alleys early report of, 33, 155, billiards, 459; gymnasiums as centers of, 33, 50; physical education as, 198, 199, 381; play, 267, 382, 461. See Physical Work
- Red Cross, 73, 89, 598, 599; WW I, 498
- Redding, Tracy W., 553
- Reed, David Allen, 175, 177
- Reform, Christianity as tool for, 392, 736. See also Abolition; Obscene Literature; Temperance
- Regions. See Areas
- Relief. See Welfare
- Religion, and the Y.M.C.A., 361-402; (1900-1940), 510-48; implications for social action, 545-46; liberalism, 635, 642; new



- concepts, 592; reemphasized by Mott, 434; IC commission, 529; re-evaluation in time of depression, 586; social Christianity, 693; subject of discussion in young men's work, 563; weakening place of in the Movement, 430
- Religious Education, 508-9, 518-19, 530, 592, 611-12, 732; boys' work, 468, 540; International Council of, 533, 588-89; Religious Education Association, Y.M.C.A. section of, 508, 528; student interpretation of, 629
- Religious Work (post Civil War), 180-89; (1900-1920), 504-9; (1920-40), 520ff., 590-93; (1941-51), 720, 732-34; in Army and Navy work, 455; in boys' work, 462; depression period (1930's), 587; effect of new concepts of education on, 590ff.; in foreign work, 338, 339, 679; physical work as, 245, 248, 249-51; POW, 495-96; values as permeating all activities, 551, 590. *See also* "program" under Student Work
- Bible classes, 18, 25, 27, 154, 183-87, 201, 205, 379, 464, 475, 479; 504, 508, 518, 551, 587, 591, 610-11, 732, 734; (1897) Bible study department of IC, 412, 504; foreign work, 323, 334, 339, 671; "topic parties," 184
- evangelism, 110. *See also* Evangelicalism
- laymen's institutes, 186
- mission work, 26, 27, 60, 61, 180, 210-11, 370, 475; on Pacific Railroad, 119
- personal work, 181, 281, 282, 504. *See also* "program" under Student Work
- prayer meetings, 18, 29, 67, 68, 81-84, 182-83, 504, Fulton Street, 81, 182; as convention device to avoid controversy, 365, 379; at conventions, 250; practice of, 518; day and week of prayer, day of as financial device, 244, for students, 628, 653, week of, 116, 142, 581, 592, 714, Japan, 334, India, 339, South America, 349
- Religious Work Department, of IC (1901), 186, 412, 504
- revivalism, 18, 26, 67, 68, 81, 180-82. *See also* Evangelicalism
- tent meetings, 26
- secretaries, EOA section, 606
- tracts, 26, 161, 180, 181, 208, 237, 238, 370; WW I, 492
- yokefellows, 181, 552
- See also* Publications
- Research. *See* Surveys and Studies
- Restaurants. *See* Buildings
- Retirement Fund. *See* Secretaryship
- Revivalism. *See* Evangelicalism
- Reynolds, James B., 302, 312, 347, 631
- Rhees, William J., 23, 59ff.; *Manual of Libraries, Societies, and Institutions in the United States and British Provinces of North America*, 31
- Rhodes, Ivan B., 604
- Richmond, Va., Y.M.C.A., 23, 25, 36, 47, 133, 156, 219, 727; camping, 205; Civil War, 85ff.
- Riis, Jacob, 395
- Rindge, Fred H., 568 [559, 560]
- Ritchie, Frank, nonequipment work, 464,
- Roberts, Albert E., 480, 584
- Roberts, Peter, 477
- Roberts, Robert J. (1849-1920), 176, 209  
Biography: 249-51, 258; *Home Dumb-Bell Drill*, 459
- Robertson, C. H., 669
- Robins, Raymond, 635
- Robinson, C. C., 464
- Robinson, Edgar M., 468, 469, 554, 681, 697, 702  
Biography: 462, 463; *The Early Years: The Beginning of Work with Boys in the Young Men's Christian Association*, 201, 204; quoted, 463
- Robinson, Stuart, 214
- Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 436, 441, 609
- Rockefeller, John D., Sr., 359, 455, 458, 678
- Roman Catholics, and the Y.M.C.A., 49, 368, 374-75, 522, 530-32, 657, 666, 709, 733, 736; ecumenical aspects of work with, 704; as evangelical, 675; membership basis in Roman Catholic countries, 512-13, 519, 671, 672, 675, 680, Mexico City, 512-13, Philippines, 513, 519, 675, Poland, 687-88, South America, 348, 519, 531-32, 672; National Catholic Community Service, U.S.O., 712; program for in European Associations, 695; student work, 705. *See also* Knights of Columbus
- Rooms. *See* Buildings
- Root, Elihu, 196, 436
- Roosevelt, President Franklin D., 436, 544
- Roosevelt, President Theodore, 414, 476, 479, 480, 482
- Roper, G. K., 571
- Rosebush, J. G., 443
- Rosenwald, Julius, 458, 472, 474, 475
- Ross, Murray G., *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada—a Chronicle of a Century*, 616
- Rouse, Ruth, 630
- Rowland, Levi (1837-1933), 44, 161, 168
- Rural Work. *See* County Work
- Russell Sage Foundation, 253
- Russia. *See* Foreign Work
- Sage, Mrs. Russell, donor, 414, 455
- St. Louis, Mo., Y.M.C.A., 23, 41, 58, 63, 90, 91, 568, 600, 724; German Branch, 223; metropolitan organization, 420; Negro Association, 213, building, 458; "United Y.M.C.A. Schools," 557, 724; "Y-Indian Guides," 554
- St. Paul Y.M.C.A., 90, 305, 317, 348, 598
- Salem, Mass., Y.M.C.A., boys' work beginnings, 200; literary society, 395
- Sallmon, William H., 661 [II, 712]
- Salvation Army, 189; WW I, 498, 499; WW
- Sanders, Frank K., 287, 305, 344, 658
- Sandham, Alfred, 161

- Sanford, George A., 205
- San Francisco, Calif., Y.M.C.A., 23, 27, 58, 64, 72, 83, 135, 149, 150, 159, 199, 482, 733; Buchanan Street Branch, interracial, 727; work with Chinese, 221
- Sankey, Ira D., 181, 187
- Sapporo Agricultural College, Japan, 281, 323; quote Wishard, 347
- Saunders, K. J., 660
- Sautter, Emmanuel, 490
- Sayford, S. M., 285, 627
- Scandinavian Work (U.S.A.). *See* Branches "School for Christian Workers." *See* Springfield College
- Scotfield, C. L., 377
- Scott, Charles R., 469
- Seashore, Carl, 512
- Secretaryship, 161-78, 589, 605-24, 720, 725-26, 728, 730; business-efficiency type, 165, 482, 610; changing leadership, 518, 593; and church relations, 371, 373, 610; classification plan, 609, 620; evangelistic, 181, 379; influence on European Movement, 311; liberalism of, 520, 538, 546; metropolitan, growing strength of, 422ff.; and new educational insights, 617; periodical (*see Association Forum*); Protestant background of, 381; (1945), requirements, 622; after retirement, 610; "secretarialism," 169-70, 415, 422-23, 430, 481, 605ff., 717; "Secretaries' Insurance Agreement," 170, 606; services to foreign secretaries (WW II), 713, 714, "Fellowship Fund," 713; specialization trend, 419; statistics on secretaryship, 605-6
- first paid executive, 161-168; John Wana-maker, first Association secretary, 43
- IC, 119-124; as "cabinet," 428, 435. *See also* IC
- organizations, Association of the General Secretaries of the Y.M.C.A.'s of the U. S. and British Provinces (1871), 162, 165, 168-69, 172; Association of Secretaries (AOS), 519, 565, 622, 720, 729; City General Secretaries' Association, 438; Conference on the Association Profession (COAP) (1912), 609, 623, 725, 731; Conference of General Secretaries, Physical Education, 268; Conventions, 115; Educational Secretaries Association, 471, 606; Employed Officers' Association (EOA), 432, 439, 519, 520, 534, 549, 609, 620, and the Messer Commission, 681, sections of, 458, 606; metropolitan general secretaries', 421, conference of, 422, 424; of Negro, 472, 474; physical directors, conference of, 459, 460; Weidensall's idea for secretaries' organization, 120
- origins of, 43-45; facilities' influence on, 43; libraries as affecting, 43
- professional, 102, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 168-71, 618-24; boys' workers, 201-2, 463, 467, 606, 618-19, methods for advancement, 468, as interpreters of new ideas in education, 550; town and county, 480, *The Proposed County Secretary*, by Robert Weidensall, 225; evolution of, 164; foreign work, 326, 336, 356-57, 682, function of for (20th century), 701; industrial, 475, 478, 479; Negro, 474, 543, 581; physical directors, 575; qualifications, 354, 439; railroad work, 233, 234, 475; religious secretaries' liquidation of, 592; types of for specialized groups, for departmental work, 162; *Advance, a Challenge to Professional Capacity*, 620; *Men Working*, 620; *Office, Qualifications and Work of the General Secretary*, 172; *Outline of Study for Young Men Desiring to Undertake the Work of the General Secretary*, IC publication, 172; *Work Begun*, 620
- recruiting of, 163-64, 606-10; "Fellowship Plan," 606-8, 618, appraisal of, 608; for foreign work, 356, 682; methods of, 607-8; problems of securing for nonequipment work, 561; in student department, example of, 303
- Retirement Fund, 609-10; Savings and Security Plan, 610
- Secretarial Bureau, 163, 607, 624
- training, 165, 171-78, 606ff., 610-18; "certification," requirements for, 618, 619, 622, 623-24, 725; conferences of secretaries as training, 169; federation of training centers, 610; fellowship plan, 607-8; in-service, 171-73, 357, 608, 725; IC and, 439, 674; Weidensall's ideas for, 120
- Colleges, schools and conferences: Asilomar, Calif., 617; Blue Ridge, 541, 567, 616-17; Chesapeake Summer School, Arundel-on-the-Bay, Md., 617; Columbia University, 614; Estes Park, 567, 616; Hollister, Mo., 617; Hot Springs, Ark., 617; Lake Forest, Ill., 617; New York School of Social Work, 614; Pacific Northwest, 135; Pacific Southwest, training of secretaries through Whittier College, 614; Seabeck, Wash., 617; Southern Secretarial Institute (1889), 134; Southern Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, Nashville, Tenn., 612-14, 616, 619, publication of, *Studies in Social and Religious Engineering*, 545-46; Union Theological Seminary, 614; Western Secretarial Institute, Lake Geneva, 567, 612, 614, beginning of, 135, 173, 385, summer school influence of Rauschenbusch, 536; Yale, 614. *See also* George Williams College; Silver Bay; Springfield College
- Departmental, Army and Navy, 456, 579; boys' work, for new methods of work (1920's), 550ff., Assembly of Y.M.C.A. Workers with Boys, 618-19, Estes Park (1925), 550-51, Lake Geneva, 553; educational, 471; foreign work,

- China, 667-68, 670, 680, fellowship training, 357, 668, 682, India, 680, Instituto Technico, South America, 672, 697; Springfield, training of Indian (American) secretaries, 475; of Negro, 218, 541; physical education, conference, Lake Geneva, 258, development of, 248, training of, 250, 251, 257-59, 269
- See also* "secretaries" under Student Work; Personnel Services; Women and Girls
- See, Edwin F., 185, 354, 425, 504, 508, 534
- Seerley, Frank N., 258
- Segregation. *See* Membership
- Sex Education, 385-86, 538-39, 637, 644; as controversial issue, 385; early program of, 385; methods of, 385, 517, 637; new ideas of, 386; "White Cross Army," 385. *See also* Publications
- Sheaff, Lang, 161, 229
- Shedd, C. C., 477
- Shedd, Clarence P., 73, 295, 614, 637
- Shelton, Don O., 511
- Shenton, Herbert N., 565
- Shipp, Fred B., 428, 443, 488
- Shipton, W. Edwyn, 25, 56, 63, 74, 76, 184
- Shuey, Edwin L., 197, 470
- Shultz, E. B., 644
- Shuman, B. A., 671 [558]
- Shurtleff, G. K., 165, 400, 425, 484, 507, 534, Siemsen, Johannes, 631 [614-16, 638]
- Silver Bay, 430, 456, 468, 471, 567, 568,
- Sinclair, David A., 201, 425, 546
- Slack, Frank V., quoted, 700
- Slavery. *See* Abolition
- Sloane, William S., 487, 488, 579
- Smith, Fred B., 505, 506, 507, 546, 675
- Smith, J. Gardner, 251
- Smith, Robert Seneca, 523
- Smith, Wilbert B., 689
- Smith, W. Hind, 184, 310, 340, 341, 346
- Smoking, early attitudes towards, 382, 388, 515, WW I effect on, 516-17
- Smyth, Thomas, address *The Nature and Claims of Young Men's Christian Associations*, 31
- Soares, Theodore G., 607
- Social Activities, 18, 36, 198-200, 587. *See* WW I; POW
- Social Agencies, Council of, 483-84
- Social Gospel. *See* Controversial Issues
- Social Policy, 532-48. *See also* Controversial Issues
- Social Security, 533, 610, 730; Old Age and Survivors Insurance, 610
- Social Service, 509, 534-35, 585-86, 587; Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis, 483-84; in depression, 543-46; foreign work, 666, 697; and secretaries after retirement, 610; Society for the Promotion of Social Service in the Y.M.C.A., 534-35; by students, 287, 483-84, 636, 641-42, 653; WW I revealing trends towards, 502; Y.M.C.A. as social service agency, 521, 524-27, 530. *See also* "nonequipment work" under Community Work; Welfare
- Söderblom, Nathan, 306, 704; Nobel Peace Award, 308
- Sorenson, Roy, 552
- South, 55, 111, 113, 115; activities, Civil War, 85-88, 94-98; buildings, 154; evangelistic tours, 182; industrial work, 477; post Civil War, 102, 132-34, 145, 211, 213, 214, 215; regional summer training conference, 173; Southern Interracial Committee, 540ff.; Southern Secretarial Institute, 134; Southern Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, 612-14; student, 303, 305, 636-37
- South America. *See* "South America" under Foreign Work
- Spanish War. *See* "Spanish-American War" under Army and Navy Work
- Spaulding, Frank E., quoted, 492
- Speer, Robert E., 298, 304, 352, 511, 518
- Speers, James M., 441
- Speers, William E., 548
- Spence, Adam K., 273
- Spencer, Selden P., 512, 514
- Springfield College, 163, 193, 197; and Catholic students, 375; training of foreign secretaries, 347, 357; founding of, 175-77, 611; influence on European secretaries, 312; and the new liberalism, 377, 512, 550, 611; and physical education, 246, 251, 253, 254, 257-59, 460, 462, 611; promotion of value of play, 382; sociology courses, 395; training of community workers, 483
- Springfield Republican, 199-200, 294, 297
- Sproul, J. Edward, 533, 555
- Stacy, E. E., 141
- Stager, Henry W., 228
- Stagg, A. A., 183, 258, 259, 303
- State and Provincial Work, organization of (1860-95), 124-27; (1895-1915), 418-19; in area organization, 447-49, 719; Associations, Connecticut first, 126, establishment of, 126-27, development of, 418-19, growth of, 130-32, partial list of, 419; committees, 441-42, and evangelistic test, 367, and interracial practices, 729, and secretarial recruiting, 607, 623, student supervision, 638-39, 646ff.; conventions and conferences, 115, 116, 126, 419, Connecticut industrial, 568, Massachusetts and Rhode Island Convention (1951), 735-36, New York State Convention, adoption of evangelistic test, 363, Northwestern Convention (1866), first state convention of Y.M.C.A., 126, student, 294, 306, 628; decline of, 413, 418; evangelistic nature of 181, 285; financing of, 242-43; IC relationships with, 130, conflicts, 145-46, Kansas Movement, 352-54, "supervision controversy," 423-25, 431, 434, 440; McBurney influence on, 107; NC relation-



- ships, 445; program, Army and Navy, 209, 453ff., boys' work, 204, county work, 225, 480, (Illinois DuPage Township, Mason County, 225, Nebraska, Pawnee County, 225, South Carolina, Edgefield County, 225), foreign work, endorsed by, 299-300, four-fold emphasis, 140, 193-94, immigrants work with in Pennsylvania, 479, interracial work, 541, (South Carolina) Negro Association reference, 213, physical work, 269, and student work, 274, 275, 281, 285, 290, 306, temperance, 387, WW II, 713, Y's Men Federation, Ohio, 566; promotional methods of, 139-41; publications, 138; secretaries, educational, 471, EOA section, 606, evangelistic, 285, Negro secretary on Virginia state staff, 474, Pennsylvania, first state secretary, 127; "states' rights," 146, 647-48; Y.W.C.A. co-operation, 564
- Statistics, 41, 193, Army and Navy department (1900), 454-55, 578 *passim*; Bible classes (1920's), 591; boys' work, 462 *passim*; buildings, 456; of city Associations, 419; compilation of data of Movement, 57, 138; Community Chest participation, 604; community work, 561; county and rural work, 583-84; educational work, 471, 472; of finance (1899), 412; foreign work (1916), 676, (1931) 690; industrial work, 475, 567; of metropolitan organizations, 421; of the Movement (1896), 410, (1902) 418, (1951) 725; Negro work, 580-82; physical education, 459, 572; railroad work, 475, 571; religious work (1903) 505; student work, 626, 638, 656; women and girl members first reported (1934), 565-66. *See also* Year Book
- Steiner, Edward A., 479
- Stevens, Abel (1815-97), 51; at World's Conference (1855), 76-80, 630
- Stewart, A. P., 37
- Stewart, George, 532, 645
- Stokes, Anson Phelps, 492
- Stokes, James, Jr., 106, 116, 142, 229, 436, 512, 673; part in spreading the American Association idea abroad, 312, 673
- Stone, Harry W., 415, 556, 565
- Stone, Walter L., 619
- Stone, W. S., 436
- Strong, Tracy, 562, quoted, 703
- Stuart, George H., 16, 44, 69, 70, 71, 75, 76, 85, 89, 111, 222 [734, 738]
- Student Work, 115, 271-308, 524, 625-56, —predecessors of, 20, 271, 276  
—in 1850's, 37-39  
—after Civil War to 1951, basis of membership, evangelical, 274, 275, 277, 367, personal basis (1907), 513-14, 520, liberalized basis (1922), 646; city Associations interchange with, 276, 277, 283, 290; colleges influenced by, 644; development of, 280-83; ecumenical character of, 306, 308, 372, 646, 653, 655, 704-5; evangelical nature of, 182, 275, 281-82, 284, 734; summary (1940), 655-56; Weidensall's pioneer work in, 120, 271-72, 273-76, 278, 279, 290, 291; Wishard's pioneer work in, 276-88, 289-98, advancing the student movement abroad, 302-3; WW I effect on, 639-42. *See also* John R. Mott; C. K. Ober
- Associations, Asia (1887), 288; Coimbra University, 671; Columbia College, 39, 301; Colombo, Ceylon, 659; Cornell University, 271, 284, 289, 293, 295, 298, 301, 359; Cumberland University, 37, 279, 298, 667; Dartmouth College, 289, 295, 301; Davidson College, N. C., 289; DePauw, 298; Hamilton College, 289; Hanover College, 275, 289; Howard University, 271, 275; Harvard University, 301; Iowa, University of, 261, 289; Jaffna College, Ceylon, 287, 344, 658; Johns Hopkins University, Levering Hall, 289; Lawrence College, Wis., 274; Michigan, University of, 38, 274, 293; Milton Academy, Wis., 37; N. Y. City Y.M.C.A., 271, 291; Oberlin College, 293, 298, 303; Olivet College, 271, 274; Park College, Mo., 298; Pennsylvania, University of, 649; Princeton University, 156, 276, 288, 298, 666; Robert College, Constantinople, 658; Rochester University, 271, 274; Syracuse University, 289; Tennessee University, 289; Toronto University, 275, 289; T'ung-chou, China, 288; Vanderbilt University, 279; Virginia, University of, 37-39; Washington College, Va., 271; Williams College, 301; Wisconsin, University of, 274; Yale University, Y.M.C.A., 289, 301
- buildings, 156, 288-89, 576, 626
- coeducational nature of, 284, 292, 293, 564, 649, 654; student meetings in Japan, 330; WSCF, 634. *See also* Y.W.C.A.
- conferences, 294-98, 305, 628, 637-38, 641, 645, 734; IC, WW I, 641; interracial, 636-37, 643; list of, Asheville, N. C., 637, California, 637, King's Mountain, Negro, 638, Lake Geneva, 637, Silver Bay, 638, University of Tennessee, 637, (*see also* Northfield Conferences); medical missionary, 287, 318; missionary nature of, 300; Negro, 218-19, 643; Northfield influence on, 189, 637; state and regional, 294, 641
- constitutions, 271, 281, 283, 292; as pattern for Japanese student Associations, 323
- department of, 276-79, 304-8, 625-39, 639-54; area relationships (1940's), 719-20; conference of (1914), 636; Council of North American Student Associations (1912), 629, 636; endorsement at 1877 Convention, 272; field council plan of organization, 642, 646; liberalism of, 377, 642, 646ff.; Mott's leadership, 304-8, 625-39, (*see also* John R. Mott); National Intercollegiate Christian Council (1935),



- 649, 654; relationships to IC, 626, 628, 636, 641-42; relationships under the NC, 444, 445, 646-48; social service secretaries of, 636; supervision by IC, 290, 299; and supervision controversy, 423 *passim*, 646-48. *See also* Publications
- European Movements, influence of Wishard and Reynolds, 302, 329, 347; American influence on European conferences, 630-31, Mott's influence on, 658
- exchange, foreign students at Northfield conferences, 300, 302, 303, 305, 306; deputations work American colleges, 301
- Negro, 216, 218-19, 271, 275, 278, 290, 291, 472, 580, 582, 651; conferences, 636, 638; integration into student department, 643, 648; participation in WSCF, 634; supervision, 638
- periodicals, *Association Bulletin*, Cornell, 296; *Bulletin of Jaffna College*, 344; *Chinese Intercollegian*, 665; *College Bulletin*, 281, 290; *Intercollegian*, 286, 629, 645; *The Student Volunteer*, 664
- preparatory school work, and high school, promoted jointly by student and boys' work departments, 466-67, 638; revivalism at boys' academy, Andover (1850's), 83
- program, 279, 280, 283-88, 635-39, 642-45, 734; Bible study, 279, 281, 282, 286, 628-29, 635, 637, 642, 645, 653, 734, courses, 504, in foreign lands, 300, leaders in (1920), 591, Northfield, 184, 294, 295, 303; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, 629-30; deputations, 274, 275, 277, 285, 286, 305, 306, 628, 653, for missionary promotion, 298, Wilder-Forman tour, 298-99, tours, social evangelism, 635; Industrial Service Movement, 478, 567; internationalism, 641, 642, 648, 653; interracial, 542, 641, 642, 652; missionary interest, 282, 283, 286, 629-30, 641-42; foreign missions, correspondence with Sapporo Agricultural College, Japan, 281, 323, 347, early supervision of foreign work, 333, 355, interest in, 291, 296-304, 316ff., 359, student work as core of, 682, student work in foreign lands, 287, 288, 330-48 *passim*, 658ff., 661, 671-2, 689, Wishard's conception of, 280ff. (*see also* John R. Mott; L. D. Wishard); personal work, 279, 281, 283, 652; prayer meetings, 279, 282, 642, Day of Prayer, observation of, 280, 282, 283, 284, 628, 653; relief, 636, 641, 643, 653, 655; religious work, 38, (1890-1915), 627-30, 641-42, 652-54, evangelism, 627-30, 635-36; revivals, 275, 281, 285, 305, student evangelism (1900) social gospel emphasis, 508, 635-36; social gospel, 536, 538, 540, 543, 627, 629, 635-36, 639, 641-44, 652 *passim*, 734, *Towards a New Economic Society*, commission report, 543; work with special groups, 290-94, immigrants, 479, Indians, 210, 290, 475, 583, German, 291, theological students, 291, 638, medical students, 291, 638; WW I, 642
- secretaries, 289-90, 640, 650; Luther Wishard first college secretary, 276, 289, 290; C. K. Ober and J. R. Mott, 303; recruiting of, 607; training of, 614
- WSCF, 291, 302, 347, 433, 591, 628, 638, 653, 661, 662, 663, 676, 715-16; founding of (1895), 630-35; Wishard part in, 625
- Y.W.C.A., joint projects with, 284, 484, 564; joint relationship with, 629, 647-49, 656; missionary interest of, 304; National Student Y.W.C.A., founding of, 293-94; Weidensall's part in, 275, 292-94; Wishard's part in, 292-94
- Student Volunteer Movement, 189, 289-99, 291, 301, 304, 305, 308, 433, 629-30, 642, 643, 652, 653, 656, 667; China, 669; as ecumenical manifestation, 372; "evangelization of the world in this generation," 297, 694; India, formation of, 659; promotion of, 305, 629; recruiting of foreign secretaries, 682; stimulus to foreign work, 360, 670; *The Student Volunteer*, 664
- Studer, A. G., 572, 600
- Studies. *See* Surveys and Studies
- Sturgis, Russell, 373
- Sullivan, Thomas V., 17
- Summer Conferences, idea for, 175. *See also* Student Work; "training" under Secretaryship
- Summerall, General C. P., 493
- Sunday, William Ashley, "Billy," 183, 508, 515, 537
- Sunday Observance, 50, 52, 65, 71, 230, 333, 382-83, 515
- Sunday School, 25, 27, 61, 181, 187, 353, 370; *Sunday School Times*, 27
- Super, Paul (1880-1949), 686 *passim*; "project method," 550; secretarial training, 610 *passim*; work in Honolulu, 674; *Fundamental Principles and Tested Policies of Y.M.C.A. Work*, 485; *Training a Staff*, 610
- Supervision, as function of Central Committee (1858, 67, 68; IC and supervision of Secretaries' Association, 169; and the Kansas Missionary Movement, 350-54; in metropolitan organization, 420-22; and the NC, 444, 450; of Negro work, 220; problems of in foreign work, 355, 356, 357; railroad work problems of, 230; state supervision evangelistic in nature, 130; of student work by IC, 274, 280, 638-39; "supervision controversy," 422 *passim*. *See also* IC, States and Provincial Work
- Surveys and Studies, 41, 193; boys' field, 463, 464, 551, 552; bureau of, 438; on Community Chests, 601, 603, 604; community study (Toronto), 41; community surveys, 526; of communities, early, 41; (1930) in depression, 586; as device for

- postponing decisions, 721; of discrimination, 727; in educational department, 556, 557; of "Fellowship Plan," 608; (1933) by Cecil Gamble, 446; by industrial department, 477, 568-69; of IC, 429, 431; of internationalism, urged by IC, 547; of interracial practice in the Y.M.C.A., 728; of Japan by Swift, 323; of libraries, 470; (1947) of NC organization, 717-20; need of in social service, 535; of Negro Y.M.C.A.'s, 542; of New York by Brainerd and McBurney, 107; for nonequipment work, 560; outline studies, interpreting new ideas, 550; of Panama Canal, 479; (biennial, 1914) report on religious program, 509; religious field, 732; Research Council (1941), 720; on social liberalism in secretaries and board members, 546; under NC organization, 445, 551, 720-21, development of tests, 551 (*see also* Commissions; Bureau of Records); of unoccupied foreign fields, 701; women and girls, 721; of world-wide Association Movement (1855), 65; rural, 721; *Public Affairs and the Y.M.C.A.*, 730; *Studies in Social and Religious Engineering*, 545; *Work Begun*, 620; *The Y.M.C.A. in Town and Country*, 584. *See also* International Survey
- Survey, 545; *Survey Graphic*, 545
- Sweet, William E., 532, 565
- Swift, Arthur L., 450, 551, 586; *The Y.M.C.A. and the Community*, 589
- Swift, John Trumbull (1861-1928), 377, 634, 661-63, 682
- Biography: 318, 331, 663; first foreign secretary of Y.M.C.A. to Japan, 300, 316, 326-28, influence on 1889 Convention, 331-33, return to Japan, 333-35, relationships with IC, 355-57; at Northfield, 305
- Swimming Pools. *See* under Physical Education
- Syria. *See* "Near East" under Foreign Work
- Taft, President William Howard, 482, 677-8
- Taggart, Samuel A., 127, 134, 359
- Tarilton, T. Henry, 63, 74; secretary of London Association, 5, 25 [422]
- Taussig, F. W., *Principles of Economics*, Taylor, Alfred, 113
- Taylor, George N., 349
- Taylor, Graham, 185, 194, 377, 635; influence on the Movement, 396, 398-400; quoted, 399
- Taylor, Mrs. J. Livingstone, 665
- Teachers' College, 550
- Temperance, 52, 156, 202, 209, 383, 386-88, 515; gospel work, 387; prohibition, 538, 644; student sponsorship of, 637, 644; Volstead Act enforcement of, 538, 644
- Tener, W. A., 674
- Testimonials. *See* Publicity
- Tests. *See* Boys' Work
- Theology, 48; churches desire for Y.M.C.A. to declare itself on, 362; conservative, 392, as noted in attempt to modify evangelical test (1910), 415; the evangelical test as statement of, 366; fundamentalism, 380, 510, 511, 512, 514, abandonment of, 521, Kansas Movement, 350-54; liberal, 185, 254, 504, 505ff., 510-12, 518-19, 538, in Japan, 334, "modernism," 376, 377, students inclined to, 286, 301; of liberal churches, 733-34; sectional rivalries, 423; theological background of the Y.M.C.A., 7, 45; Y.M.C.A. as reflection of Protestantism, 361, 375-80
- Thomas, Henry W., 211, 214
- Thomas, Norman, 544, 644
- Thorndike, Edward L., 611, 688
- Tibbetts, Arthur, 211, 475
- Tibbetts, George F., 671
- Tichenor, John S., 487, 675
- Tilghman, J. H., 458
- Tobias, Channing H., 580-82, 698
- Toronto Y.M.C.A., 23, 58, 64, 162, 599; Army work, 208-9; boys' work, 201; building reference, 152; community program, 561; "open platform," 544; on slavery issue, 60, 64
- Torrey, R. A., 185
- Tours, European (1897) as stimulating interest in public affairs, 395; Richard McCormick to Europe early, 72; H. J. McCoy, 350; Elbert B. Monroe, 319, 410; Thomas S. Pycott to Europe, 311; James Stokes, Jr. to Europe, 312; Lucien C. Warner world tour, 658, 661; "World 'Y' Tour," 697-98. *See also* "tours of Mott and Wishard" under Foreign Work
- Town and Country Work. *See* County Work
- Town Meeting of the Air, 545 [*passim*]
- Towson, C. R. (1863-1949), 477-79, 487, 567
- Tract Distribution. *See* Religious Work
- Training Schools. *See* "training" under Secretaryship
- Transportation. *See* Railroad
- Travelers' Aid, U.S.O., 712
- Traveling Men. *See* Commercial Travelers
- Trawick, A. M., 636
- Triangle, 195, 246, 256-57, 482, 485, 487
- Tri-Hi-Y. *See* Boys' Work
- [Truman, President Harry S.], 722
- Uhl, Erskine, 163, 175
- Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 51
- United Nations, 718; UNESCO, 715
- U.S.O. *See* Army and Navy Work, WW II
- U.S. Christian Commission. *See* "Civil War" under Army and Navy Work
- U.S. Commissioner of Labor, report of, 238
- U.S., Presidents of. *See* individual listings
- U.S. Sanitary Commission. *See* "Civil War" under Army and Navy Work
- Urban Movement, Y.M.C.A. as, 105, 129, 224

- Urice, Jay A., 450, 555
- Van Arsdale, W. W., 229
- Vanderbilt, Cornelius, Jr., 229, 233, 390
- Van Derlip, George M., 16-17, 22, 247
- Van Dis, J. A., 697
- Van Dusen, Henry P., 645
- Village Work. *See* County Work
- Virginia, Fort Monroe, pioneer Army work, 209, 455
- Virginia, University of. *See* "Associations" under Student Work
- Visser 't Hooft, W. A., 652
- Vocational Guidance, "Find Yourself," program, 464, 525, educational department pioneer in, 555ff.; rise of during depression (1930's), 587 [595]
- Voluntary Association, Y.M.C.A. as, 43, 527.
- Von Schluembach, Frederic (1842-1901), 222-23; support of work in Germany by Americans, 312
- Walter, H. A., 660
- Wanamaker, John, 43, 160, 312, 328, 389, 436, 595, 660, 668, 673, 678
- Wang, C. T., 670
- War Work. *See* Army and Navy Work
- War Prisoners' Aid, WW II, 713-14
- Warburton, G. A., 437; quoted, 534
- Ward, C. S., 447, 597
- Ward, Harry F., 644
- Warner, Lucien C. (1841-1925), 428  
Biography: 411; world tour, 658, 661
- Washington, Booker T., 458
- Washington, D. C., Y.M.C.A., 16, 22, 41, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 63, 72, 89, 150, 158, 161, 192, 208, 597; building fund plans, 36; Central Committee's first location, 62; constitution of, 40-41; influence on other Associations, 25, on the Movement, 23; W. C. Langdon co-founder, 54, 55, 56; library, 30, 43; mission stations (1859), 27; first Negro Y.M.C.A. (1853), 37, 211, 213, 458, Negro secretary, 219; and physical work, 246; program, early, 55
- Watchman, Bible study interest, 184, 185, 186; "body-building" promotion of, 250; boys' work advocacy, 202-3, 207; and church publicity, 371; conservatism in public affairs, 383, 387, in religion, 301; on controversial issues, 379; foreign news items, 309, 310, promotion foreign work, 316, 331; Moody's sermons, 188; as national official organ, 137; quote on evangelical basis, 362, 369; religious content of, 180; sex education, attitude towards, 385; student work news, 279-80
- Watkins, E. W., 236
- Watson, Goodwin B., 551
- Watson, John B., 472
- Weatherford, Willis D., 443, 541, 543, 613, 616, 627; quoted, 541-42; *Negro Life in the South*, 636
- Webster, Henry H., 183, 385
- Weidensall, Robert (1836-1922), 38, 158, 163, 193, 194, 259, 378, 438  
Biography: 120-21, 412; church relations, 361-62, 370; on fostering women's college Associations, 292; German work, 222; IC first field secretary, 119, 128, 162; and the Kansas Movement, 350, 351, 353; Midwest, 134; origin of idea area organization, 446; Paris Basis, 368; railroad work, 227, 477; rural work, 182, 224ff., 479, 480, 558; and the secretaryship, 168; South, 132, 214; state work, 130-31; student work, 120, 271-72, 273-76, 278, 279, 288; training of secretaries, 165, 171, 173, 177  
Writings: *First Field Work of the IC*, 228; *Man's Needs and Their Supplies*, 378; *The Proposed County Secretary*, 225
- Welfare Work, 26, 29, 30, 55, 91, 96, 109, 189-93, 397, 586; European aid to New Orleans, 310; in industrial department, 477; prisons, student work in, 286, 287, Y.M.C.A. co-operation with prison authorities, WW I, 496; railroad work, 570-71; students, 636, 641, 643, 653, relief, 634; WW I, chart of percentages of agency contributions, 499. *See also* "wars" under Army and Navy
- West, evangelistic emphasis, 109, 182; and fundamentalism, 350-54; Midwest, 102, reference to buildings, 154, state Associations developed, 130-31, 134; occupation of after 1900, 412; relationships, 415, 429; secretarial training, ideas on, 177; student summer conferences, 308; women active in early period, 241
- "Western Secretarial Institute and Training School." *See* George Williams College
- Wetmore, Benjamin C., 118
- Whipple, H. William, boys' work beginnings, 200-201
- "White Cross Army." *See* Sex Education
- White House, 139, 414, 482; conference (1910), 677-78; conference on Child Health and Care, 588
- White, J. Campbell, 343, 681
- White, J. Gustav, 614
- Whiteford, A. H., 400
- Wilder, Robert P., 288, 301, 303, 505, 658; missionary interests, 296, 297, 298; SVM, 304-5; student secretary India, 342; student work, 295; "Wilder Bands," 304; Wilder-Forman tour, 298-99, 316
- Wiley, S. Wirt, 447, 483, 484, 559-62, 608, 647, 650; quoted on evangelical basis, 519-20; *History of Y.M.C.A.-Church Relations*, 530, 531
- Wilkie, Thomas J., 162, 166
- Williams, A. B., Jr., 627
- Williams, George, 215, 310, 336, 414, 702; influence on Americans, 25; knighted, 6, 339; London founding, 4-6

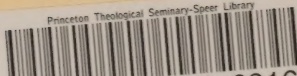


- Williams, H. O., 141  
 Williams, Miner C., 597, 600  
 Williamson, J. Rutter, 631  
 Wilson, J. Stitt, 644  
 Wilson, President Woodrow, 436, 482, 484, 486, 487, 497  
 Wishard, Luther D. (1854-1925), 163, 288, 388, 679, 715, 739  
   Biography: 272, 274, 276-79; foreign work, early promotion of, 316-17, 665, first secretary of department, 347, 354-60, tour (1888), 302, (*see* "tours" under Foreign Work); fostering women's college Associations, 292-94; mission interest, 630; opinion of Kansas Movement, 354; Silver Bay, 615; simple religious faith of, 378, 379; student work, 272, 276-88, 289, 290, 294, 295, 625, 630, abroad, 682; WSCF, 630 *passim*  
 Women and Girls' Work, 240-42, 564-66; board members, 566; NC policy toward, 565-66, 721; problems of, 240-42, 564-5; Y.W.C.A. relations, 564-66, (*see also* Y.W.C.A.); *Women in the Y.M.C.A. Record*, 721  
 —auxiliaries, 39, 92, 96, 234, 238, 241-42; boys' work promoted by, 202, 241, 350; as fund-raisers, 39, 92, 158, 241; India, 338, 339; of IC, 417, 455, 484; railroad work, 234  
 —donors, 209, 414, 455, 484  
 —as members, 39, 240-42, 564-66; excluded as delegates to IC convention, 115, 242; Honolulu, 350; for local Associations to decide, 242; Negro, 582; opposition to, 485; of railroad Associations, 571; statistics, first reported as members (1934), 565-66  
 —secretaries, 565-66, 609, Ellen Brown, first boy's work secretary, 201-2; in training schools, 612  
 —services for, 240-42, 259, 263, 485, 564-66; Tri-Hi-Y clubs, 564  
 —student work. *See* "coeducational" and Y.W.C.A. under Student Work  
 —war work, Civil War, 89, 92, 96; WW I, 485, 492-93, 501, 502-3  
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, reference, 387  
 Wood, Walter M., 564, 565  
 Wood, William, 246, 247  
 World Council of Churches. *See* "World Council of Churches" under Church Relations  
 World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.'s, 72-81, 310-13, 658, 699-703, 714-15, 716, 739; active European leaders in, Bruijn, M. Van Oosterwijk, 74, Cuénod, Charles, 74, 76, Laget, E., 74, Monnier, Edouard, 74, Monnier, Frédéric, 74, 77, Perrot, Max, 74; and the Confederation, 65, 80; foreign work relationships, 699; Geneva, Switzerland Y.M.C.A., role of in formation of, 73; influence of William C. Langdon on, 23, 54; interpretation of, 703; reference to forthcoming history of, 73; and War Prisoners' Aid (WW II), 713. *See* Paris Basis  
 —American influence on, as domination, 340-42; exchange of delegates, 310-11; financing of, 311; membership of Committee, 310; organization of (1855), 310; organizational set-up of, 310-11; program of, 310  
 World's Committee, 168, 658, 697, 714; administration of POW work, 495, 700; American members of, 310, 684, 685; boys' work beginnings, 309, 554; co-operation in work with immigrants, 478; establishment of (1878), 310; fear of domination by American Movement, 340-42; Charles Fermaud as first secretary, 311; Kansas Movement as violation of pledge to, 354; David McConaughy's contact with prior to India, 336, 337; reaffirmation of Paris Basis, 514; request American Movement take stand on rearmament, 548, 703; relation to foreign work, 329, 340; relationships with American Y.M.C.A. (20th century), 699-703; sponsorship of Wishard's world tour (1888), 302; and the triangle, 257; WW I, 490 *Fifty Years' Work Amongst Young Men in all Lands*, World's Committee publication (1894), 114  
 World Conferences, McBurney's influence on, 107, 114, 310-11; other American secretaries' influence on, 310-11;  
   1855 Paris, 73-80; American role in, 51, 310; foundations of, 73; Paris Basis, 77-78;  
   1858 Geneva, 81  
   1862 London, 81, 85  
   1865 Elberfeld, 182  
   1867 Paris, 183  
   1872 Amsterdam, 184  
   1878 Geneva, 186; American influence on, 310; establishment of World's Committee, 310  
   1881 London, 127, 311  
   1888 Stockholm, 176, 312; Wishard's tour, 302, 329  
   1891 Amsterdam, American influence, 341-42; Hind Smith, 346; Wishard's report to, 346  
   1898 Basle, 235  
   1902 Christiania, 702  
   1905 Paris, 702  
   1909 Elberfeld, 702  
   1913 Edinburgh, 702 [ers], 697, 702  
   1923 Pörschach, Austria (boys' work-1926 Helsingfors, 697, 702  
   1931 Toronto, Assembly of Y.M.C.A.  
 Workers with Boys, 703; first World Assembly of Young Men, 563, 702-3  
   1937 Mysore, 698, 700  
   1950 Nyborg-Strand, 702



- World Court, 547, 648  
 World Missionary Conference, 428, 433;  
   Edinburgh (1910), 705  
 World Services. *See* Foreign Work  
 World Student Christian Federation. *See*  
   Student Work  
 World War I. *See* Army and Navy Work  
 World War II. *See* Army and Navy Work  
 World Youth Fund, 714-15, 717, 728; (1951)  
   as "special needs" program, 714  
 World's Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A., service to dis-  
   placed persons, WW II, 714  
 Worman, E. C., 567 *passim*  
 Wright, Henry B., 505, 614, 627, 628, 645  
 Wright, Thomas H., 213  
 Wurtz, F. C., 672  
 Wyckoff, Charles, 318  
 Wynne, W. A., 225
- Yatman, C. H., 159  
*Year Book*, 134, 136, 162, 168, 210, 223;  
   (1935) 530; (1925) analysis of dry vote,  
   538; (1941) and Army and Navy work  
   survey, 713; international education  
   emphasis, 548; manual of method and  
   fact, 138; quoted on POW work, 495;  
   (1946) racial distinctions eliminated, 728;  
   report on first year of the NC, 445, 449;  
   social order, 545; student reference, 278;  
   as tool of IC, 430; (1945) on WPA, 713;  
   world directories feature of, 309, 314;  
   (1930's) young men's work analysis, 563-4  
 Yen, Y. C. James, work with Chinese Labor  
   Corps WW I, 491; Mass Education Move-  
   ment, 696  
 Yergan, Max, 580, 689  
 Yokefellows, 181, 552  
 Young Adults. *See* Young Men's Work  
 Young Men (philosophy of work for), 135,  
   140, 194, 470; Civil War as directing  
   Movement to, 84, 105, 112, 113; Con-  
   federation lead by, 59; confining work to,  
   191, 193, 527; emphasis in foreign work,  
   332, 660, 739; move toward young people's  
   work, 566; original philosophy of As-  
   sociation work for, 563; (1920-40) redis-  
   covery of, 562-64; young men's movement,  
   around the world, 338; young men's  
   work vs. general work, debate on, 68-70  
*Young Men*, 544, 548
- "Y.M.C.A. Training School." *See* George  
   Williams College  
*Young Men's Christian Journal*, 27, 38, 46,  
   50, 66, 68  
 Young Men's Christian Union, 49, 249  
*The Young Men's Era*, 129, 137; backing of  
   civil service reform, 393-94; boys' work  
   promotion, 202, 203, 207; and church  
   publicity, 371; conservatism on labor  
   issues, 234-35, 396; on the Kansas Move-  
   ment, 353, reflecting theological conser-  
   vatism, 377; Naismith quoted, 261; as  
   official organ of Athletic League, 265;  
   public affairs topics, 395, 396, 400; refer-  
   ence Japan, 355; as reflecting ideas of  
   business men, 390; religious content of,  
   180, 184; social problems, 396; student  
   reference, 291  
*Young Men's Magazine*, journal of Glasgow,  
   Scotland Y.M.C.A., 41, 73  
*Young Men's Societies*, 5, 19-22; in India,  
   337-38; in Japan, 322; in Montreal, 17,  
   41; David Naismith as founder of, 5  
 Young Men's Work (1920-40), 562-64; First  
   World Assembly of Young Men, 563, Na-  
   tional Young Men's Council, 563, 566,  
   World Assembly of Young Men, 703;  
   Negro, 582; New York State Young Adult  
   Council, 724; young adults, 722, Young  
   Adult Council, 722, young adults in in-  
   dustry, 724  
 Y's Men's Clubs, 566-67, 585; Detroit and  
   race study, 727; International Associa-  
   tion of Y's Men's Clubs, 566-67  
 Y.W.C.A., 427, 550; co-operation in com-  
   munity work, 561; National Board of,  
   735; problems of co-operation, 564-66; re-  
   lations with, 173, 175, 261, 484-85,  
   (WW I), 499; social liberalism, 537, 545;  
   surveys, international (Y.W.C.A.-  
   Y.M.C.A.), 592, 691-94; as world-wide fel-  
   lowship, 705; U.S.O., WW II, 712;  
   Y.W.C.A.-Y.M.C.A. joint financial cam-  
   paign, 599. *See also* Student Y.W.C.A.  
 —*Woman's Press*, 138, 545  
 Youth, 553ff., 728, 738. *See also* Boys' Work;  
   Young Men's Work  
 Youth and Government. *See* Boys' Work  
 Yui, David Z. T., 670





1 1012 01083 6916

# DATE DUE

~~DEC 20 1992~~

~~FEB 20 1997~~

~~APR 20 2007~~

6/30/13

DEMCO 38-297

1890  
1891  
1892  
1893  
1894  
1895  
1896  
1897  
1898  
1899  
1900

1901  
1902  
1903  
1904  
1905  
1906  
1907  
1908  
1909  
1910  
1911  
1912  
1913  
1914  
1915  
1916  
1917  
1918  
1919  
1920  
1921  
1922  
1923  
1924  
1925  
1926  
1927  
1928  
1929  
1930  
1931  
1932  
1933  
1934  
1935  
1936  
1937  
1938  
1939  
1940  
1941  
1942  
1943  
1944  
1945  
1946  
1947  
1948  
1949  
1950  
1951  
1952  
1953  
1954  
1955  
1956  
1957  
1958  
1959  
1960  
1961  
1962  
1963  
1964  
1965  
1966  
1967  
1968  
1969  
1970  
1971  
1972  
1973  
1974  
1975  
1976  
1977  
1978  
1979  
1980  
1981  
1982  
1983  
1984  
1985  
1986  
1987  
1988  
1989  
1990  
1991  
1992  
1993  
1994  
1995  
1996  
1997  
1998  
1999  
2000



